

*Engraved for Robertson's History of England.*



## FRONTISPIECE.

*LIBERTY presenting BRITANNIA with Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights &c who is instructing the inhabitants of the different States of EUROPE in the principles of freedom, while Tyranny, trampled under the feet of Liberty, is pointing to an Army in the Back-ground, laying down the Arms of Despotism. In the Front Ground, various articles of Commerce the Science, Science, Literature &c. emblematical of the flourishing state of GREAT BRITAIN.*

# NEW AND COMPLETE History of England,

*From the first Settlement of Brutus,*

UPWARDS OF ONE THOUSAND YEARS BEFORE JULIUS CÆSAR,

To the Year 1795.

COMPRISING

AN ACCURATE ACCOUNT OF THE

REVOLUTIONS,  
CONQUESTS,  
WARS,  
BATTLES,  
SEA-FIGHTS,  
BLOCKADES,  
BOMBARDMENTS,  
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SKIRMISHES,  
FORTIFICATIONS,  
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ACQUISITIONS,  
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SETTLEMENTS,  
TREASONS,  
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INVENTIONS,  
ARTS AND SCIENCES,  
LEARNING,  
ANTIQUITIES,  
NAVAL & MILITARY  
TRANSACTIONS, &c.

WITH EVERY CIRCUMSTANCE WORTHY OF BEING RECORDED IN THE BRITISH ANNALS;

FORMING A CHRONOLOGICAL DETAIL OF THE TRANSACTIONS OF ALL THE

MONARCHS WHO HAVE SWAYED THE SCEPTRE OF BRITAIN;

Wherein their Characters are properly delineated, with equal Impartiality and Disinterestedness;

*Whether exalted by their Virtues or execrated for their Vices, remarkable for their Courage or detested for their Pusillanimity.*

ALSO,

*BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES*

OF

ADMIRALS, GENERALS, STATESMEN, PATRIOTS, HISTORIANS, ORATORS, &c.

*Whose superior Abilities have immortalized their Names, and contributed to the Honour and Dignity of their Country.*

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## HISTORY OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

By CHARLES ALFRED ASHBURTON, Esq. *K*

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# P R E F A C E.

**H**ISTORY in general is the grand key to the knowledge of human nature, in the perusal of which we view the inmost recesses of the soul, and discover what our fellow-creatures are, by reading their genuine characters in their actions. By the study of this pleasing science, all mankind may trace up to their source, and pursue and unravel all the wonderful intrigues, disguises, and intricacies of the human heart. Life, as it is generally conducted by persons of all stations, appears from History in its true and proper colours, as a continued scene of craft, violence, selfishness, cruelty, folly, and vanity, on the one hand; and generosity, courage, heroism, magnanimity and disinterestedness on the other. It is the great instructor for all ranks in life, but especially those who move in the higher spheres: for they, (who from affluence are besieged, as it were, and blocked up by triple guards of flatterers, whose chief care and great interest is to prevent the approach of truth,) may see in History, characters as great or greater than their own, treated with the utmost plainness. There the haughty tyrant may observe how a Nero was spoke of in his absence, though deified by the slavish knee of servility and flattery: and thence may judge how he himself will be spoken of by Historians, who will no longer dread his menace, after his head is laid in the dust. History will faithfully lay before him his various and important duties, which those who come into his presence, either dare not, or will not, instruct him in. It is the grand tribunal, before which princes themselves are, in the view of all mankind, arraigned, tried, and, often with the greatest freedom, as well as impartiality and justice, condemned to everlasting infamy: but when a prince like Alfred, truly styled the Great, appears, History is no way backward in resounding his praise, and in transmitting to posterity a faithful narrative of his virtuous actions. Thus the utility of History in general is evident; and the History of our own country must be no less useful, since it will instruct our fellow-countrymen in the knowledge of the English affairs from the earliest period to the present time; a proper understanding of which must certainly be an advantage of the greatest importance to every native of this country.

The reasons which authors have given respecting undertakings of this kind have been many and various; some pretending to have written at the instigation of friends; while others have penned partial Histories, and by that means have misled their readers; but the chief motives which induce us to publish the following History are, 1. The great benefit and usefulness of English History to all ranks of people in this country; 2. The prolixity of Histories of England in general; 3. A view of presenting to our countrymen a clear and impartial History of our native country, divested of long and partial relations on the one hand, and tediousness on the other; and, 4. There not having been any New History of England for a number of years past, all the recent transactions of this country must of course remain unrelated, and the readers left uninformed concerning the events of their own times.

The uncertainty of the ancient History of this country is very obvious; but as *Jeffrey of Monmouth* has transmitted to us an account of the ancient affairs of Britain, we shall present our readers with the History of the Island from the earliest accounts to the arrival of Julius Cæsar, from his labours. Several authors of late have rejected *Jeffrey's* work as fabulous, but for what reason we know not, since it was highly approved by the learned, and held in great estimation for the space of near five hundred years.

*Aaron Thompson*, in his Preface to a translation of the British History of *Jeffrey of Monmouth*, observes, "That it had no adversary before William of Newburgh, about the end of the reign of Richard the First, whose virulent invective against it, we are told, proceeded from a revenge he thought he owed to the Welsh for an affront they had given him; that his opposition was far from shaking the credit of it with our succeeding historians, who have most of them, till the beginning of the last century, confirmed it with their testimonies, and copied after it, as often as they had occasion to treat of the same affairs; That its authority was alledged by king Edward the First, and all the nobility of the kingdom, in a controversy of the greatest importance, before Boniface the Eighth; That even in this learned age, that is so industrious to detect any imposture, which through the credulity of former times has passed upon the world, the arguments against this History are not thought so convincing, but that several men of equal reputation for learning and judgement with its adversaries, have written in favour of it; that very few have at last spoken decisively against it, or absolutely condemned it; and that it is still frequently quoted by our most learned historians and antiquaries." From these considerations we may readily conclude, that this History has been, and still continues to be, held in high estimation by all those who are lovers of the History and Antiquity of this Island.

A strong argument in support of the authenticity of *Jeffrey of Monmouth's* History is, that Brutus founded the city of New Troy\*, which was afterwards called London. There is also extant, in the Tower of London, a transcript of a very ancient document relative to the antiquity of the city of London, which was taken out of the city archives and sent to king Henry VI. in the seventh year of his reign. As this instrument may not be in the hands of

many

\* See Book I. Chap. I.



many of our readers, and as it serves to authenticate *Jeffrey's History*, we shall here insert a translation of it.

“ Among the noble cities of the world which fame cries up, the city of London, the only seat of the realm of England, is the principal, which widely spreads abroad the rumour of its name. It is happy for the wholesomeness of the air, for the Christian religion, for its most worthy liberty, and most ancient foundation. For, according to the credit of chronicles, it is considerably older than Rome, being built by Brute, after the likeness of great Troy, before that Rome was built by Romulus and Remus. Whence to this day it useth and enjoyeth the ancient city of Troy's liberties, rights, and customs. For it hath a senatorial dignity; with smaller magistrates, And it hath annual sheriffs instead of consuls. For whosoever repair thither, of whatsoever condition they be, whether free or servants, they obtain there the refuge of defence and freedom. Almost all the bishops, abbots, and nobles of England, are, as it were, citizens and freemen of this city, having their noble inns here.”

Sheringham has very learnedly shewn, that the ancient Britons not only wrote the same character, but spoke nearly the same language, had the same religious notions, and the same manners and customs, as the Greeks, and consequently as the Trojans. And that the Druids of Britain made use of Greek letters in matters which they thought fit to communicate, is evident from Cæsar \*.

Upon a very famous dispute concerning the subjection of the crown of Scotland to that of England, Edward I. wrote to Pope Boniface VIII. to whom the Scots had applied for redress, and asserted in defence of his right, that the direct and superior dominion of Scotland had from all antiquity belonged to his crown; and in these assertions he was supported by all his nobility, who severally set their seals to the letter. That part which relates to the matter in question we shall here insert from Walsingham :

“ About the time of Eli and Samuel the prophet, a valiant and famous man of the Trojan nation, named Brutus, after the destruction of Troy, arrived with many of the Trojan nobility at a certain island then called Albion, inhabited by giants, and having routed and slain them with his forces, he called it after his name Britain, and his companions Britons, and built a city which he called Trinovantum, now called London, and afterwards divided his kingdom between his three sons; viz. To Locrin his first-born he gave that part of Britain which is now called England; and to Albanact his second son that part, which was from him named Albania, now Scotland; and to Camber his youngest son that part, which after his name was called Cambria, now Wales, reserving to Locrin the royal dignity. Two years after the death of Brutus, arrived in Britain a certain king of the Huns named Humber, and slew Albanact the brother of Locrin; at which news Locrin king of the Britons pursued him, and he in his flight was drowned in the river, which is called after his name Humber; and so Albania returned to Locrin. Also Dunwallo king of the Britons preferred Saterus to be king of Scotland, and upon his rebelling caused both him and his kingdom to be surrendered up to him. Also the two sons of Dunwallo, Belinus and Brennius, divided their father's kingdom between them, in such sort that Belinus the elder possessed the crown of the island, with Britain, Wales, and Cornwall; and Brennius the younger held the kingdom of Scotland under him: the Trojan Constitution requiring, that the hereditary dignity should go to the first-born. Also Arthur king of the Britons, a most renowned prince, subdued Scotland when in rebellion against him, and almost destroyed the whole nation; and afterwards advanced one Anselm to be king of Scotland. And when after this, the same king Arthur made his most famous feast at the city of Legions, all the kings that were subject to him were present at it, amongst whom Anselm king of Scotland, doing homage for the Kingdom of Scotland, carried king Arthur's sword before him. All the kings of Scotland have successively been subject to all the kings of the Britons.”

Thus we may, with Sheringham, conclude, that this History is not altogether fictitious, since so great and wise a prince as king Edward I. and all his nobles, espoused and supported it. And we the more readily offer it to the public, on account of several concurring testimonies of antiquities that have been discovered in various parts of this island, which are supposed to have existed long before the invasion of this country by the Romans.

To render this performance more generally useful, and to give a more adequate idea of the events of Great-Britain than can be conveyed by verbal description, a set of Historical Engravings will be given, and Heads of all the Kings of England, executed in a superior stile of excellence, from Original Drawings, or Paintings of the first Masters, it being the earnest desire of the Proprietors to present the Public with what has been long wanted, an Elegant, Correct, and Impartial *History of England*.

\* Cæsar's words, in his *Commentariorum de Bello Gallico*, Lib. vi. Cap. 13, are, “ This discipline [of the Druids] is supposed to have originated in Britain, and to have passed thence into Gaul: and now those who have a mind to be thoroughly acquainted with that knowledge, frequently go thither [in Britain] for instruction.” And a little further, he says, “ It is not held lawful to commit these things [the mysteries of their religion] to writing; though in almost all public transactions and private accounts they use the Greek characters.”







A

# NEW AND COMPLETE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

## B O O K I.

### C H A P I.

*Britain, from the earliest Accounts, to the Invasion of Julius Cæsar.*

**T**HE Britons were the first people who inhabited this island; but by what means they came, or from what place, is hard to determine. It has been asserted, by many authors, that Britain was peopled from Gaul: and this appears from the account given by Jeffrey of Monmouth\*, in his British History†, which being not altogether improbable, though some parts of it have the appearance of fiction, we shall here present to our readers:

After the Trojan war, Æneas‡ fled with Ascanius§ to Italy, where he was courteously received by king Latinus. This roused the indignation of Turnus king of the Rutuli, who, to be revenged, made war upon Æneas: and Æneas, in a battle with his forces, slew Turnus, by which he obtained a settlement in Italy, (afterwards erected into a kingdom,) and with it Lavinia the daughter of Latinus. Upon the death of Æneas, Ascanius succeeded to the kingdom, A. M. 2774, and reigned thirty years at Lavinium||, a city which his father built, and eight years at Alba Longa\*\*. Sylvius the son of Ascanius, in pursuit of a private amour, married the niece of Lavinia, who proved with child by him. Ascanius consulted his magicians concerning the conception of the damsel; who acquainted him that she had conceived a son, that he should kill his father and mother, and after travelling over many countries in exile, should arrive at the highest pitch of human glory. Nor were they mistaken; for the woman brought forth a son, and died in child-bed, and the child was delivered to a nurse, who named him Brutus. Thus it appeared, that by the

death of his mother the prophecy was partly fulfilled. At the age of fifteen the youth accompanied his father in hunting, whom he undesignedly killed by an arrow which he shot at a deer. Upon the death of his father Sylvius, he was banished from Italy. Thus exiled, he bent his course towards Greece, where he soon after arrived, and found the posterity of Helenus, the son of Priamus, in slavery under the Grecian king Pandrasus††. Brutus, upon examination, found them to be the descendants of his ancestor's countrymen; and therefore took up his abode among them. By his conduct and bravery he soon gained the esteem of the Trojans, who flocked in great numbers to him, desiring him to take the command of them, that they might extricate themselves from the galling yoke, and throw off the chains of slavery. Brutus, finding that the number of Trojans, who had enlisted under his banner, amounted to upwards of 7000 men, besides women and children, readily complied with their request. Having, therefore, assembled the Trojans together, and fortified a few towns, he retired with his forces to the woods, and sent the following letter to the king:

“ Brutus, general of the remainder of the Trojans,  
“ to Pandrasus, king of the Grecians, sendeth greeting:  
“ As it is beneath the dignity of a nation descended from  
“ the illustrious race of Dardanus‡‡, to be treated in  
“ your kingdom otherwise than the nobility of their birth  
“ requires, they have betaken themselves to the co-  
“ verts of the woods: for, they prefer living after  
“ the manner of wild beasts, feeding upon flesh

\* *Jeffrey of Monmouth* was a monk of the Benedictine order, and translated his History from the Welsh into Latin in the twelfth century.

† Though preceding writers have rejected the accounts of this island, as given by *Jeffrey of Monmouth*, before the invasion of Julius Cæsar, as fictitious, without being able to substitute any satisfactory information to supply their place, we think it the duty of every Historian to lay before his reader whatever transactions are upon record, whether confirmed by authentic evidence, or left doubtful by the appearance of fable; and therefore we present this account of the early state of Britain, leaving the reader to form his own opinion upon its probability.

‡ Æneas arrived in Italy, A. M. 2768.

§ Ascanius was the son of Æneas by Creüsa. He was first named Iulus, from a Trojan king of that name; which afterwards with a small variation, was changed into Iulus.

|| This town, which was situated about six miles eastward of Laurentum, was built by Æneas in honour of his consort Lavinia. It was the seat of the Dii Penates, i. e. household gods, near the river Numicus or Numicius; between which and the river Tiber Æneas landed, according to Virgil. It is supposed to have stood near Patricia, a castle in the Campagna di Roma, not far from the Mediterranean Sea, between Ardea and Osca, on a hill called Il Monte di Levano; and that the church of St. Petronilla is the ancient temple of Anna Perenna, in the city of Lavinium.

\*\* Alba Longa was built by Ascanius, in the year of the world 2798, and was, during part of his reign, made the capital No. 1.

of his little kingdom; it also became the seat of the Latin kings. It stretched itself out in length between the Lake Albano and a mountain of the same name; and thence it had the name of Longa. It was a colony from this city that founded Rome. However, it for a long time resisted the power of the Romans, but was at last ruined by Tullus Hostilius, A. M. 3898, being 494 years after its foundation, and 400 years after the building of Rome. It stood twenty miles east of Rome towards Veletri on the Via Appia. Out of its ruins the town of Albano (Latinæ Albanum) was built. Albano is one of those six bishoprics which are conferred on the six oldest cardinals. The modern Albano stands a little to the northward of the place where Alba Longa was situated, and is near the castle Gondolfo, and on the site of the Villa Pompeii, as appears by the ruins of an amphitheatre which was built there by Dioclesian. This place is famous for its excellent wine, which is highly commended by the Roman poet Horace; and it still retains the character of being the best in all Italy.

†† After the destruction of Troy, (which sustained a siege of ten years,) Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, carried Helenus, and many others into slavery; and, to revenge the death of his father, who was mortally wounded in the heel by Paris, gave orders that they should remain in perpetual bondage.

‡‡ Dardanus was the son of Jupiter and Electra, according to Virgil, but having killed his brother Janus, he fled into Samothracia, and afterwards into Asia, where he took up his abode in the Lesser Phrygia, and built the city of Dardania, which was afterwards called Troy, from Troas, the grandchild of Dardanus.



“ and herbs, with the enjoyment of liberty, to the continuing longer in the greatest luxury. Under the yoke of your slavery. If this gives your majesty any offence, impute it not to them, but pardon it, since it is the common sentiment of every captive, to be desirous of regaining his former dignity. Let pity, therefore, move you to bestow on them their lost liberty; and permit them to inhabit the thickets of the woods, to which they have retired, to avoid slavery. But if this shall be denied them, then by your permission and assistance, let them depart into some foreign country.

Pandrusus, who was a man of great penetration, soon perceived the purport of the letter; and was not a little surprized at the boldness of such a message from those whom he had kept in bondage. Having called his nobles together, and the circumstance being debated among them, it was unanimously agreed, that an army should be raised in order to pursue and suppress them. While Pandrusus and his troops were on their march to the deserts, where it was imagined the Trojans had sheltered themselves, Brutus possessed himself of the town of Sparatinum; and, when Pandrusus and his army were marching that way, he, with three thousand men, sallied forth, and engaged the Grecians, who gave way on all sides, and, with their king at their head, hastened to pass the river Akalon, which run near the place, and in which many of them perished. Brutus pursued, and destroyed great numbers of them. Pandrusus's brother Antigonus, being grieved at the great slaughter of his countrymen, gathered together as many of his scattered troops as he was able, and returned with fury on his adversaries; but the Trojans, steady to their cause, maintained their ground with fortitude. Antigonus, on his part, encouraged the remaining Grecians to attack them, and with amazing resolution stood against them till almost all his men were slaughtered, and himself taken prisoner, together with his companion Anacletus.

Soon after the victory Brutus reinforced the garrison of Sparatinum with 600 men, and then retired to the woods, where the Trojan people anxiously waited his return. Pandrusus, being much grieved at his own disgraceful flight, and the captivity of his brother, re-assembled as many forces as he was able, and the next morning laid siege to the town of Sparatinum, into which he supposed Brutus had retired with his prisoners. As soon as he had arrived before the walls, and viewed the situation of the castle, he divided his army into several bodies, and placed them in different stations round the town. One party was commanded not to suffer any of the besieged to go out of the place; another was ordered to turn the courses of the rivers; and a third to beat down the walls with battering rams and other engines of destruction. Night coming on, Pandrusus made choice of the bravest of his men to guard and defend his camp and tents from the incursions of the enemy, while the rest, who were fatigued with the labours of the day, refreshed themselves with wholesome sleep. The besieged were not in the least intimidated by the number of forces which appeared before the walls; but, like brave soldiers, resolved to defend themselves to the utmost, and accordingly repelled the force of the Grecians with darts and firebrands, which they cast with vehemence from the tops of their walls; and when the Grecians made a breach in the wall, the Trojans compelled them to retire by throwing wild-fire and scalding water upon them. The garrison at length becoming much distressed through a scarcity of provision, they were constrained to send a message to Brutus, in which they desired his speedy assistance and succour, for they greatly feared that they should be so weakened as to be obliged to quit the town, and abandon the castle to the enemy. The Trojan troops being greatly inferior in number to those of the Grecians, Brutus did not choose to hazard a pitched battle, and therefore had recourse to stratagem. He proposed to enter their camp by night, and having previously deceived their watch, to surprize them in their sleep. Well

knowing that this scheme would prove abortive without the concurrence and assistance of some Grecian, he ordered Anacletus, the companion of Antigonus, to be brought to him; and, with a drawn sword in his hand, made the following pathetic and moving speech to him:

“ Most noble youth, your own and your friend Antigonus's life will shortly be closed, unless you will faithfully execute the orders I am about to give you. My intention is to invade the camp of the Grecians this night, and to fall upon them sword in hand, but am apprehensive that the watch will discover the stratagem, and by that means all my schemes will be rendered fruitless. Since, therefore, it will be necessary to surprize the guard beforehand, and, if possible, to destroy them, I desire you to advance towards their camp and deceive them, in order that I may have the easier access to the rest. I conjure you to act as I command you: manage this affair with secrecy and art, and great shall be your reward. Go, therefore to the watch at the second hour of the night, and with fair speeches and flattering words, tell them that you have brought away Antigonus from prison, that you have left him at the bottom of the woods, among the shrubs, and that he cannot advance any farther by reason of the heaviness of the fetters where-with you shall pretend he is bound. You shall then conduct them to the foot of the wood, as if it were to deliver him, where I will attend with a band of troops ready to destroy them.”

At this Anacletus was much terrified, and promised upon oath, that on condition he and Antigonus might have longer life granted them, he would execute his orders. Accordingly, at the time appointed, Anacletus advanced towards the Grecian camp, and, being perceived by the watch, he was quickly surrounded; they immediately demanded the occasion of his coming, and asked, whether it was not to betray the Grecian army into the hands of the Trojans? To which, with a cheerful countenance, and a shew of great friendship, he made the following reply: “ Think not that I am come to betray my country; but having made my escape from the prison of the Trojans, I fly hither, desiring you to accompany me to Antigonus, whom I have delivered from the chains of Brutus. But he, being unable to come with me, by reason of the unusual weight of his fetters, I have caused to lie hid among the shrubs at the end of the wood, till I could meet with some of our countrymen, whom I might readily conduct to his assistance.” The guard were greatly astonished at this answer, and doubted much of the veracity of their guest, till one who knew him came and saluted him, and afterwards told them who he was. They then, without the least hesitation, left the camp, and attended him to the wood, where he had informed them Antigonus lay hid. When they were arrived at the place, and were entering among the shrubs, Brutus, who lay in an ambush with a sufficient quantity of armed men, rushed out with great impetuosity and fury upon them, putting the whole of the guard to the sword. He then, like an able general, marched directly towards the camp of the Grecians, divided his men into three bands, and assigned to each of them a separate part of the camp, to which he charged them to go discreetly, and without noise; and when they were entered he ordered them not to attempt to take away the life of any one till he should be in possession of the king's tent, and should cause the trumpet to sound for a signal.

The Trojans, soon after receiving their instructions, entered the Grecian camp, and after taking their appointed stations, waited with eagerness, the promised signal; which Brutus delayed not to give as soon as he had arrived before the tent of Pandrusus, to assault which was the principal object of this enterprize. On the sounding of the trumpet, they drew their swords, and entered in among the Grecians, making rapid destruction, and allowing no quarter. In this manner they traversed the camp. The affrighted Grecians ran up and down

without



without weapons among the armed Trojans. Those who escaped the sword, were, in the eagerness of their flight, dashed against the rocks, trees, or shrubs, which only increased the misery of their death: and the greatest part of those, who escaped the slaughter, were drowned in the adjacent rivers: so that very few were left to tell the mournful tale.

Brutus, as was before observed, having possessed himself of the king's tent, made it his business to keep Pandrusus a safe prisoner; for he knew he could more easily attain his ends by preserving his life than by putting him to death. The night being spent in slaughter, Brutus retired in the morning to the town, carrying the king with him, while his men shared the plunder of the camp among them. After repairing the fortifications of the town, and giving orders for the burying of the slain, Brutus retired with his forces to the woods in great joy and triumph, taking the king along with him. He then summoned the oldest of the Trojans, in order to consult with them on the measures proper to be taken. According to their various affections they required different things. Some were for requesting a portion of land, that they might live in freedom, and enjoy their ancient liberty; others were of opinion that it would be better to demand leave to depart, and to request a supply of necessities for their voyage. After much debating and great perplexity, Mempricius, one of their number, rose up, and addressed himself to his countrymen in the following speech:

"What can be the occasion of your suspense, fathers, in a matter which I think so eminently concerns your safety? The only thing you can request, with any prospect of a firm peace to yourselves and your posterity, is liberty to depart. For, if you make no other terms with Pandrusus for his life, than only to have some part of the country assigned you to live among the Grecians, you will never enjoy a lasting peace while the brothers, sons, or grandsons, of those you slew yesterday shall continue to be your neighbours. So long as the memory of their fathers deaths shall remain, they will be your implacable enemies; and upon every trifling provocation will endeavour to revenge themselves: nor will you of yourselves be able to withstand so great a multitude of people. If you shall at any time happen to fall out among yourselves, be assured, that their number will daily increase, and yours as quickly diminish. I propose, therefore, that you request of him his eldest daughter Ignoge as a wife for our general, and with her gold, silver, corn, and whatever else may be necessary for our intended voyage. If we obtain this, we may, with his leave, remove to some other country."

Mempricius having concluded his speech, it was unanimously resolved that Pandrusus should be brought in among them and condemned to a most cruel death, unless he would grant their request. In consequence of this resolution the king was brought before them, and being seated in a chair above the rest, and informed of the tortures which were to be prepared for him, unless he would acquiesce in all their demands, he made them the following answer:

"Since my ill fate has delivered me and my brother Antigonus into your hands, I can do no other than grant your petition, lest a repulse may cost us our lives, which are now entirely in your power. In my opinion, the advantage and pleasure of life is preferable to all other considerations; therefore wonder not that I am willing to redeem it at so great a price. But though it is against my inclination that I obey your commands, yet it seems matter of comfort to me that I am to give my daughter to so noble a youth, whose descent from the illustrious race of Priamus and Anchises is clear, both from that greatness of mind which appears in him, and the certain accounts we have received of it. For who less than himself could have released from their chains, the banished Trojans, when reduced under slavery to so many and

great princes? Who else could have encouraged them to make head against the Grecians? Or, with so small a body of men, vanquished so numerous and powerful an army, and taken their king prisoner in the engagement? And, therefore since this noble youth has gained so much glory by the opposition he has made to me, I will readily give him my daughter Ignoge, and also gold, silver, ships, corn, wine, and oil, and whatever you should find necessary for your voyage. If you shall alter your resolution, and think fit to continue among the Grecians, I grant you the third part of my kingdom for your habitation; if not, I will faithfully perform my promise: and, for your greater security, will stay as a hostage with you till I have performed all that you have requested."

A council being held concerning the concessions of Pandrusus, and the terms of departure being accepted, several messengers received orders from the king to collect a large fleet of ships together. His messengers having done as he had commanded them, and acquainted the king of the number they had collected, he assigned to the Trojans three hundred and twenty-four, laden with all sorts of provisions and stores for a long voyage. He next married his daughter Ignoge to Brutus, and made each person a present of gold and silver according to his rank and quality. These things being performed, the king was set at liberty; and the Trojans, now released from his power, set sail with a fair wind. Ignoge, Brutus's wife, standing upon the stern of the ship, swooned away several times in the arms of her husband, and with many sighs and tears lamented the leaving her parents and her country, nor ever turned her eyes from the shore while it was in view. The wind continuing fair for the space of two days and a night, they at length arrived at the island of Leogecia, which had been formerly infested by pirates, but was then uninhabited. Brutus not knowing this, sent three hundred men ashore to observe the land, and see who inhabited it; but they finding nobody, killed several kinds of wild beasts which they met with in the woods and groves. Travelling further into the country, they arrived at a desolate city, and found therein a temple dedicated to Diana, and in it a statue of that goddess which gave answer to all who consulted it. At last loading themselves with the spoil they had taken in hunting, they returned to their ships, and gave an account of the country, the city, and temple, to their commander and their companions. Brutus, with Gerion the soothsayer, and twelve of the most ancient of the men who accompanied him, went in search of the city and temple, with a view to offer sacrifices to the deity of the place, and to enquire of her what country was destined for their future habitation. Being arrived at the temple, they presented themselves before the shrine of the goddess, with garlands about their foreheads, according to the ancient heathen ceremonies, and made three fires to three deities, viz. Jupiter, Mercury, and Diana; and to each of these they offered sacrifices. Brutus himself held before the altar of the goddess, a consecrated vessel filled with wine and the blood of a white hart; and, looking up to the image, made the following speech:

"Diva potens nemorum, terror sylvestribus apris;  
"Cui licet amfractus ire per æthereos,  
"Inferasque domos; terrestria jura resolve,  
"Et dic quas terras nos habitare velis?  
"Dic certam sedem qua te venerabor in ævum,  
"Qua tibi virginis templa dicabo choris?"

"Goddess of woods, tremendous in the chace  
"To mountain boars, and all the savage race!  
"Wide o'er th' æthereal walks extend thy sway,  
"And o'er th' infernal mansions void of day!  
"On thy third realm look down! unfold our fate,  
"And say what region is our destined seat.  
"Where shall we next thy lasting temples raise?  
"And choirs of virgins celebrate thy praise?"

These



These words he repeated nine times; he then turned four times round the altar, poured the wine into the fire, and laid himself down upon the hart's skin, which he had previously spread before the altar; where, after some time, he fell asleep. About the third hour of the night the goddess seemed to present herself before him, and foretold his future success in the following remarkable words:

"Brute, sub occasum solis trans Gallica regna  
 "Insula in oceano est undique clausa mari:  
 "Insula in oceano est habitata gigantibus olim,  
 "Nunc deserta quidem; gentibus apta tuis.  
 "Hanc pete, namque tibi sedes erit illa perennis:  
 "Sic fiet natis altera Troja tuis.  
 "Sic de prole tua reges nascentur: ipsis  
 "Totius terræ subditus orbis erit."

"Brutus! there lies beyond the Gallic bounds  
 "An island which the western sea surrounds;  
 "By giants \* once possess'd: now few remain  
 "To bar thy entrance, or obstruct thy reign.  
 "To reach that happy shore thy sails employ:  
 "There fate decrees to raise a second Troy,  
 "And found an empire in thy royal line,  
 "Which time shall ne'er destroy, nor bounds confine."

The general, awakened by the vision, was for some time in doubt with himself, whether what he had seen was a dream, or a real appearance of the goddess Diana herself, foretelling the land to which he and his friends were to go. At length he called his companions, and made them acquainted with the vision he had seen; whereupon they greatly rejoiced, and earnestly entreated him to return to their ships while the wind remained favourable, that they might hasten their voyage towards the west, and go in pursuit of that place which the goddess had promised them. They, therefore, without the least delay, returned to their company and set sail again. After they had overcome several dangers, they steered for Hercules's Promontory †, which they passed with difficulty. Landing on the shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea ‡, they found several nations, that were descended from those Trojans who accompanied Antenor § in his flight from Troy. The name of their commander was Corineus, who was a very modest man in council, and was exceedingly strong, courageous, and active. When Brutus and his Trojans understood from whom Corineus and the people under his command were descended, they joined him; but those belonging to Corineus were styled Cornish people, and were very serviceable to Brutus in all his engagements. Leaving the Tyrrhenian coast, they steered for Hercules's Pillars ¶, which having passed, they sailed northward till they came to the mouth of the river Loire in Aquitain \*\*, where they cast anchor. They staid at this place seven days to view the country. When Goffarius Pictus, the king of Aquitain, became acquainted with their arrival, he sent ambassadors to their chiefs, desiring to know whether they had brought peace or war. The ambassadors, in their way to the fleet, fell in with Corineus, who with two hundred men were gone to hunt in the woods. They asked Corineus, who gave him leave to enter

the king's forests and kill his game; to which Corineus replied, that there ought to be no occasion for leave. Upon this answer, Imbertus, one of the ambassadors, rushed forwards, and with a full-drawn bow levelled a shot at Corineus; who, with amazing skill, avoided the arrow, and immediately ran to Imbertus, and, with his bow in his hand, struck him so violent a blow on his head as to render him incapable of further resistance. The rest, who were greatly astonished, fled with precipitancy, and carried the news to Goffarius. The Pictavian general being very sorry for the loss of Imbertus, immediately raised a numerous army, determining to revenge the death of his ambassador on the innovators. Brutus, on the other hand, upon hearing of Goffarius's intentions, immediately prepared to meet him; he ordered all the women and children to remain on board the ships, leaving a strong guard to take care of them, while he and his soldiers went to meet the Pictavian forces. When the armies met an assault was made, and an obstinate and bloody fight ensued, in which, after the greatest part of the day was spent, Corineus was ashamed to see the Aquitains stand their ground bravely, and the Trojans maintaining the fight without victory. He therefore took fresh courage, and drew off his men to the right wing, and afterwards broke in upon the thickest of the enemy's ranks, making so great a slaughter, that he forced his way through the cohort, and put them all to flight. Brutus and both armies, as well friends as enemies, were greatly amazed at his courage and strength, who brandishing about his battle axe among the flying troops, did not a little terrify them with these insulting words: "Whither fly ye, cowards? Whither fly ye, base wretches? Stand your ground, that ye may encounter Corineus. What; for shame; do so many thousands of you fly from one man? However, take this comfort for your flight, that you are pursued by one before whom the giants could not stand, but fell down slain in heaps together." At these words, one Subardus, a consul, returned with three hundred men to assault him. When he advanced, Corineus, with his shield warded off the blow which he aimed at him, and with his battle-axe gave Subardus such a stroke, that he clave him almost in half. He then made great slaughter among the followers of Subardus. Brutus observing his friend Corineus so beset, ran with a band of men to his assistance. This caused a renewal of the battle; and great numbers were slain on both sides. The Trojans, however, soon gained the victory, and put Goffarius and his Pictavians to flight. The king Goffarius, being much chagrined at his disasters, and at his narrow escape, went to several parts of Gaul, to procure succours and assistance from those princes who were either related or known to him. At that time Gaul was subject to twelve princes, who with equal authority possessed the government of Aquitain. These princes received him courteously, and promised, with one consent to expel those foreign invaders from the Aquitanian coasts.

Brutus, being greatly overjoyed at the victory, enriched his men with the spoils of the slain; he then divided them again into several bodies, and marched into the country with a design to lay it wholly waste, and lade his ships with the riches of it. With this view, therefore, he set

\* Though the existence of giants has been questioned by some, yet we may conclude, that there have been instances of very large people in different parts of the world. Thus the giant whom David slew was of a remarkably large stature; and the inhabitants of Patagonia, in South America, have been described by some of our travellers, as people of an extraordinary large size: such may have been the inhabitants of this island, before Brutus and his companions landed upon it. The idea of the existence of giants is also confirmed by Moses, for he tells us there were giants in the earth—Gen. vi. 4.

† Hercules's Promontory (*Promontorium Herculis*) is the most southern headland of Italy. It is at present called Cape Spartivento.

‡ Now called the Tuscan Sea.

§ Antenor was a Trojan nobleman, who was supposed to have betrayed his country, because he entertained the Grecian

ambassadors, who were sent to demand Helen, and did not discover Ulysses when he knew him in his disguise. But Titus Livius, in his Roman History, Lib. 1. Cap. 1. says, that he and Æneas only advised their countrymen to restore Helen, and make peace. He made his way through the midst of the Greeks, and got safe into the territories of Venice, where he built a city, and called it after his own name, Antenorea, A. M. 2776. It was afterwards called Patavium, now Padua.

¶ Mount Calpe in Spain, and Mount Abila in Africa, constitute what the ancients called Hercules's Pillars. They are situated on each side of the Straights of Gibraltar, and were supposed by the ancients to have been the western boundary of the world.

\*\* Aquitain, the third part of ancient Gaul; it was formerly much larger than it is at present. It is enclosed by the river Loire, the ocean, and the Pyrenees.



the cities on fire, seized the treasures that were hid in them, destroyed their orchards and corn-fields, and made great havock among the people, being unwilling that a Pictavian should remain alive. Brutus now expected Goffarius to return with the other princes of Gaul and a great and mighty army; on which account he pitched his tent, and formed his camp near the spot where the city of Tours now stands. Goffarius received intelligence of the place where Brutus had encamped his army, and he, by forced marches, soon arrived in sight of the camp; when, with a stern look, and disdainful countenance, he with vehemence exclaimed: "O wretched Fate! Have these base exiles made a camp also in my kingdom? Arm, arm, soldiers; and march through their thickest ranks: we shall quickly take these pitiful fellows like sheep, and send them about our kingdom for slaves." These words inspired the soldiers with courage; they immediately prepared their arms, and arranging themselves into twelve bodies, advanced towards the enemy. Brutus on his part, drew up his forces in order for battle, and after giving them a few necessary instructions, went out to meet the Pictavians. At the beginning of the attack the Trojans had the advantage, and made so great a slaughter among the enemy's troops, that in a short space of time near two thousand of the Pictavians lay dead on the field. The heaps of slain so terrified the remaining forces, that they were on the point of abandoning the enterprize, and flying before the arms of Brutus; when, considering their superiority in numbers, (being about three times as many as Brutus's army,) they returned again to the charge, and forming one great body, broke in upon the Trojans, and obliged them to retire to their camp with slaughter. The Gauls having thus far obtained the victory, they besieged the Trojans in their tents, and designed not to suffer them to stir out, before they should either surrender themselves prisoners in chains, or expire for want of provision.

In the mean time Corineus consulted with Brutus, concerning the best method to be pursued in their then perilous situation. He proposed to march out of the camp, with a sufficient number of men, that night, by bye-ways, and conceal himself with them in an adjacent wood till break of day; and while Brutus should fall forth upon the enemy in the morning twilight, he with his company would rush on them from his concealment, and put them to the sword. This stratagem greatly pleased Brutus; and Corineus, according to his engagement, marched secretly out of the camp with three thousand men, and put himself under the covert of the woods. At day-break Brutus drew up his army in order of battle, and prepared to meet the enemy. The Gauls quickly met him, and began the engagement. Many hundreds fell on both sides, neither party giving the least quarter. While both armies were thus warmly engaged, Corineus came unperceived from the woods, and fell upon the enemy's rear. This inspired the Trojans on the other side with fresh courage, and they exerted themselves with redoubled vigour. The Gauls being astonished at the shout of Corineus's men, imagined their number to have been greater than it really was; and therefore hastened to quit the field: the Trojans pursued them with great slaughter, nor desisted till they had gained a complete victory. Brutus, though elated at the great success of his arms, was yet much distressed on account of the reduction of his forces, while he perceived those of the enemy daily increase. Re-

maining some time in suspense, whether it would be better to continue the war any longer, or remove his forces out of Aquitain, he at last resolved to return to his ships while the greater part of his followers were yet safe, and hitherto victorious, and go in quest of the island which the goddess Diana had informed him of. Therefore, without further delay, he with the consent of his company, repaired to his fleet, and lading it with the riches and precious spoils he had got, set sail with a fair wind towards the promised island, and arrived at last on the shore of Totness\*.

The island of Great-Britain was then called *Albion*, on account of the white rocks or cliffs on its coast, and was inhabited by none but a few giants†. The pleasant situation of the island, the plenty of rivers abounding with fish, and the engaging prospect of woods, made Brutus and his companions very desirous of fixing their abode in it. In passing, therefore, from one part of Albion to another, they forced the giants to fly into the caves of the mountains, and divided the country among them according to the direction of their commander. They soon after began to till the ground, and build houses, (though their houses were nothing but huts,) so that in a little time the country had the appearance of a place that had been long inhabited. Brutus then called the island after his own name Britain, and his companions Britons; being desirous to perpetuate his memory in every thing he did; and thence afterwards the language of the nation, which at first bore the name of Trojan, or rough Greek, was called British. Corineus, following the example of Brutus, called that part of the island which fell to his share Corinea, and his people Corineans. Corineus's district was afterwards called Cornwall, as it is at this day, either from a corruption of Corinea, or from Cornubia, the name which the Latins gave it, on account of its being shaped like a horn.

Brutus having at last seen his kingdom, entered upon a design of building a city, and therefore he travelled through the land to find out a convenient spot for so great a work: arriving at the river Thames, he walked several miles along the shore, and at length pitched upon a place very fit for his purpose. Here he built a city, which he called *New Troy*; under which name it continued a long time, till by a corruption of the original word, it obtained the name of Trinovantum. King Lud, the brother of Cassibellaun, surrounded it with walls and towers, and called it after his own name Kaer Lud, i. e. Lud's City. This changing of the name of the city gave umbrage to Nennius, another of Lud's brothers, which quarrel is mentioned by Gildas.

After Brutus had finished the building of the city, he made choice of the citizens that were to inhabit it, and prescribed them laws for their peaceable government‡.

During these transactions Brutus had by his wife Ignoge, three sons, whose names were Locrin, Albanact, and Kamber. These, after the death of their father, which happened in the twenty-fourth year after his arrival, buried him in the city which he had built, and divided the kingdom of Britain among them, and then retired each to his government. Locrin, the eldest, possessed the middle part of the island, afterwards called Leogria. Kamber had that part which lies beyond the river Severn, and after his name was called Cambria, but not Wales, and hence the Welsh call themselves Cambri, or Cumri. Albanact, the younger brother,

\* Totness is a town of Devonshire, seated on the river Dart, about eight miles from Dartmouth, twenty-seven miles south-west of Exeter, and one hundred and ninety-six miles west by south of London. It was formerly fortified with a castle, but it has been long since demolished. It at present consists of one broad paved street, containing about three hundred houses, and being about a mile in length. It was made a borough by prescription, and is the oldest in the county. King John made it a corporation, consisting of fourteen burgesses, whereof one is mayor, who, with his predecessor and No. I.

the recorder, are justices of the peace. Totness first sent members to parliament the 3rd of Edward I. Its chief trade is in serge.

See Note \*, page 8.

† At this time Eli the priest governed in Judas, and the ark of the covenant was taken by the Philistines. At the same time also, the sons of Hector, after the expulsion of the posterity of Antenor, reigned in Troy; as did Sylvius Æneas in Italy, he being the son of Æneas, the uncle of Brutus, and the third king of the Latins.



possessed the country he called Albania, now Scotland. After a long series of peace and tranquillity, Humber, king of the Huns, landed in Albania, and killed Albanact in battle; in a short time after he forced Albanact's people to fly to Locrin for protection.

Locrin, on hearing of the death of Albanact, joined his brother Kamber, and went attended by the whole strength of Britain, to meet the king of the Huns, near the river now called the Humber, where he gave him battle, and put him to the route. Humber the king, in his flight, bent his way towards the river, in which he was drowned; and from this accident the river received its name, by which it has ever since been called. After the victory, Locrin, as an encouragement to his forces, bestowed the plunder of the enemies on his soldiers, reserving only for himself the gold and silver which they found in the ships, together with three young ladies of admirable beauty. The name of one of them was Estrildis; she was the daughter of a petty king in Germany, and was forcibly taken away by Humber after he had laid waste her father's territories. Locrin, greatly enamoured with her beauty, would have gladly married her; which when Corineus found, he was extremely enraged, because Locrin had entered into an engagement with him to marry his daughter. He went, therefore, to the king, and shaking his battle-axe in his hand, vented his rage against him in these words: "Locrin, do you thus reward me for the many wounds which I received under your father's command, in his wars with strange nations, that you must slight my daughter, and debase yourself to marry a barbarian? While there is strength in this right hand, that has slain so many giants on the Tyrrhenian coasts, I will never put up with this insult." Repeating this threatening speech three times with a loud voice, he shook his battle-axe as if he were going to strike him, when the friends of both parties interposed, who, after they had appeased Corineus, obliged Locrin to perform his agreement.

Locrin, therefore, in pursuance of the request of his friends, married Guendolœna, the daughter of Corineus. But notwithstanding his marriage, he still retained his love for Estrildis, for whom he caused apartments to be made under ground, where he entertained her, and she was honourably attended. In this manner he concealed and made frequent visits to her for seven years successively, without the knowledge of any one but those who were the most intimate of his domesticks; and these visits were paid under the pretence of performing some secret sacrifices to his gods. Thus did he impose on the credulity of the people. In the mean time Estrildis became pregnant, and was delivered of a beautiful daughter, whom she named Sabre. Guendolœna also proved with child, and brought forth a son, who was called Maddan, and put under the care of Corineus, his grandfather, for education.

A few years after the birth of Maddan, Corineus died, and Locrin still retaining a strong passion for his concubine, put away Guendolœna his queen, and advanced Estrildis to the royal dignity. Guendolœna, fired with resentment, retired to Cornwall, where she assembled together all the forces of that district, and began to raise disturbances against her husband. Both the armies of Locrin and that belonging to Guendolœna met and fought near the river Sture; and in this battle Locrin fell. After his death Guendolœna took upon her the government of the whole kingdom, retaining the furious spirit of her father. She then commanded that Estrildis and her daughter Sabre should be thrown into the river which now bears the name of Severn. It is also by the Welsh called Sabren, which name the Romans corrupted into Sabrina.

Guendolœna reigned fifteen years after the death of Locrin, who reigned ten, and then advanced her son Maddan, who was now arrived at the state of maturity, to the throne, contenting herself with the county of Cornwall for the remainder of her life\*. Maddan, now in possession of the throne, had by his wife two sons Menpricius and Malim, and ruled the kingdom in peace forty years. As soon as he was breathless the two brothers quarrelled for the kingdom, each being ambitious for the sovereignty of the whole island. Menpricius, ever impatient to attain his ambitious ends, entered into a supposed friendly treaty with Malim, and having formed a conspiracy, murdered him in the assembly where their ambassadors were met. Thus by means of treachery he obtained the dominion of the whole island. Having firmly seated himself on the throne, he exercised the most unparalleled tyranny and cruelty; and in a short space of time put to death almost every nobleman in Britain. In short he oppressed every one, whom he apprehended he might have the least occasion to fear, and pursued his hatred to his whole race. He also deserted his own wife, by whom he had a noble youth named Ebraucus, and addicted himself to the worst of crimes, preferring the passion of unnatural lust to the pleasures of the conjugal state. At length, in the twentieth year of his reign, he retired from a hunting party into a valley, and was surrounded by a number of wolves, who devoured him†.

Ebraucus, the son of Menpricius, was now advanced to the throne; and he held the reins of government forty years. He was of a remarkable large stature, and of wonderful strength. He was the first after Brutus who invaded Gaul with a fleet, and distressed their provinces by destroying their men, and laying waste their cities. Having by this means enriched himself with a great quantity of gold and silver, he returned triumphantly to Britain. After his return from Gaul he built a city on the other side of the Humber, which from his own name he called Kaer-Ebruac, *i. e.* Ebruac's city‡.

Ebraucus had twenty sons and thirty daughters, by twenty wives, and governed the kingdom of Britain sixty years. The names of his sons were Brutus (surnamed Greenshield), Margadud, Sifillius, Regin, Morivid, Bladad, Lagon, Bodloan, Kincar, Spaden, Gaul, Darden, Eldad, Ivor, Gangu, Hector, Kerin, Rud, Assarach, and Buel. The names of his daughters were Gloigni, Ignogni, Oudas, Guenliam, Gauded, Angarad, Guendoloe, Tangustel, Gorgon, Medlan, Methahel, Gurar, Malure, Kambreda, Ragan, Gael, Ecub, Nest, Cheun, Stadud, Gladud, Ebren, Blagan, Aballac, Angaes, Gahes, Edra, Anaor, Stadeal, and Egron. All the daughters were sent into Italy to Sylvius Alba, who reigned after Sylvius Latinus, where they were married among the Trojan nobility, the Latin and Sabine women refusing to match with them: but the sons, (except Brutus,) under the conduct of their brother Assarach, departed in a fleet for Germany, where they soon after arrived, and with the assistance of Sylvius Alba, in a little time, subdued the people of that country, and obtained the conquered parts for a kingdom.

Brutus, (surnamed Greenshield,) succeeded his father Ebraucus in the government of Britain, and reigned twelve years. Brutus was succeeded by his son Leil, a prince of a pacific disposition, and one who delighted to do justice. His reign was long and prosperous: and he is supposed to have been the builder of the city of Kaer-Leil § (Carlisle). Leil reigned twenty-five years; but towards the latter end of his life grew more remiss in his government, so that his neglect of affairs occasioned a civil dissention in the kingdom. After him his son Hudibras reigned thirty-nine years, and composed the civil eruption which broke out in his father's reign. He

\* At this time it was that Samuel the prophet governed in Judea.

† This happened when Saul reigned in Judea, and Euristheus in Lacedæmonia.

‡ This was about the time that David reigned in Judea, and

Sylvius Latinus in Italy, and that Gad, Nathan, and Asaph prophesied in Israel.

§ At this time Solomon began to build the temple of Jerusalem, and Sylvius Epitus succeeded his father Alba in Italy.



built Kaerlem (Canterbury), Kaerguen (Winchester), and the town of Mount Paladar (now Shaftesbury).

Hudibras was succeeded by his son Bladud, who reigned twenty years. He built the city of Kaerbadus, (now Bath \*.) In this city he caused hot baths to be made for the benefit of the public, and dedicated them to the goddess Minerva, in honour of whom he built a temple.

Leir, the son of Bladud, succeeded to the throne, and governed the country like an able statesman sixty years. He built the city of Kaerleir, (afterwards Leircestre, and now Leicester, on the river Soar. He died without any male issue, but had three daughters whose names were Gonorilla, Regau, and Cordeilla; all of whom he was exceedingly fond of, but more especially of Cordeilla, who was the youngest. When he grew old, he had thoughts of dividing his kingdom among his three daughters, and of bestowing them on such husbands as were fit to be advanced to the government of a kingdom with them. But to make trial of his daughters, and to find out which were the most worthy of his favours, he desired them to be called, that he might ask which of them loved him most. The question being proposed to Gonorilla the eldest, she immediately answered. "That she called heaven to witness, she loved him more than her own soul." To which the father replied, "Since you have preferred my declining age to your own life, I will marry you, my dearest daughter, to whomsoever you shall make choice of, and give with you the third part of my kingdom." Then Regau, the second daughter, was asked the same question; and she willing, after the example of her sister, to prevail upon her father's good nature, answered, with an appeal to heaven, "That she could not otherwise express her thoughts than by telling him, that she loved him above all creatures." The credulous father hereupon made her the same promise that he had before made to her elder sister, which was, the choice of a husband, with the third part of the kingdom for her dowry. But Cordeilla the youngest, understanding how easily he was satisfied with the flattering expressions of her sisters, attempted to gain his affection after a different manner; and therefore addressed her father in these words: "My father, said she, is there any daughter that can love her parent more than her duty requires? In my opinion, whoever pretends to it must disguise her real sentiments under the veil of flattery. I have always loved you as I ought to love a father, nor do I yet depart from my purposed duty; and if you insist to have something more extorted from me, hear now the greatness of my affection, which I always bear you, and make this answer to all your questions: Look how much you have, so much is your value, and so much I love you." The father, imagining she spoke this from self-interest, was greatly enraged; and immediately replied: "Since you have so far despised my old age, as not to think me worthy the love your sisters express for me, you shall have from me the like regard, and shall be excluded from any share with your sisters in my kingdom. Notwithstanding, since you are my daughter, I will marry you to some foreigner, if fortune offers you any such husband; but will never take upon myself to procure so honourable a match for you as for your sisters; because, though I have loved you more than I have loved them, you have, in your requital, thought me less worthy than your sisters have." After a little consultation with his nobles, he bestowed his two other daughters on the dukes of Cornwall and Albania in marriage, and gave the half of his dominions as a dowry for the present, and a promise of the remainder at his death.

Shortly after the marriage of Gonorilla and Regau, Aganippus, king of the Franks, having heard of the name of Cordeilla's beauty, sent ambassadors to king Leir, desiring to have his daughter in marriage. The father, still retaining his anger against her, returned the following brief answer: "I am very willing to bestow my

daughter, but without either money or territories, because I have already given away my kingdom, with all my treasure, to my eldest daughters Gonorilla and Regau." When this answer was carried to Aganippus, he being greatly in love with the lady, told his ambassadors that he wanted neither money nor territory, but the possession of Cordeilla would satisfy him. He therefore sent again to king Leir, and told him, "That he had money and territories enough, as he possessed the third part of Gaul, and that he desired no more than his daughter, that he might have heirs by her." The match was at length concluded, and Cordeilla was sent to Gaul, and married to Aganippus.

Some years after the marriage of Cordeilla, Leir became infirm through age, and the two dukes upon whom he had bestowed one half of his territories, and a promise of the remainder, made an insurrection against him, and deprived him of his kingdom, and of all that regal authority he had hitherto exercised with great power and glory. At last they came to an agreement, and hostilities ceased; Maglaunus, duke of Albania, his son-in-law, was to allow him and sixty soldiers, who were to be kept for state, a subsistence at his own house. After staying two years at the palace of Maglaunus, his daughter Gonorilla, began to be dissatisfied, and complained, that the number of her father's attendants were by far too many. She, therefore, spoke to her husband concerning it, and after obtaining his consent, gave orders that thirty of the men should be discharged, and that he should only retain thirty in his suit. Leir resenting this treatment, left the court of Maglaunus, and retired to that of Henuinus, duke of Cornwall, to whom he had married his second daughter Regau. Here he was honourably received; but before a year had elapsed, a quarrel happened between the houses of Maglaunus and Henuinus, which roused the indignation of Regau; in so much that she commanded her father to discharge all his attendants but five, and to be contented with their service. This usage he could by no means bear: he left the Cornish court, and retired again to that of his eldest daughter Gonorilla, where he hoped to spend the remainder of his days in peace and comfort. But in this he was mistaken; for she insisted he should not stay with her, unless he would dismiss his retinue, and be contented with the attendance of only one man; and with bitter reproaches told him how ill his desire of vain-glorious pomp agreed with his old age and poverty. Finding his intreaties were ineffectual, and that he could not prevail upon her by any means, to assist him in his distress, he was at last forced to comply with her request, and to dismiss all his attendants but one man. He now began to reflect upon the grandeur from which he had fallen, and the miserable state he was now reduced to; and to entertain thoughts of going beyond sea to his youngest daughter; but was doubtful whether he should be able to move her commiseration, as he had treated her so unworthily. However, disdaining any longer to bear the cruel treatment he met with in Britain, he resolved to take shipping for Gaul. In his passage he had only the third place given him among the princes who were with him in the ship; whereupon, being overwhelmed with sorrow, he broke silence in these words: "O irreversible decrees of the Fates, that never swerve from your stated course! Why did you ever advance me to an unstable felicity, since the punishment of lost happiness is greater than the sense of present misery? The remembrance of the time when vast numbers of men obsequiously attended me at the taking of cities, and wasting the territories belonging to the enemies of my country, more deeply pierces my heart, than the view of my present calamity, which has exposed me to the derision and scorn of those who formerly crouched at my feet. O fickle fortune! Shall I ever again see the day, when I may be able to reward those according to their deserts who have forsaken me in my distress? How true was thy answer, Cordeilla, when I asked thee concerning thy love to me, *As much as you have, so much is your value, and I love*



“you? While I had any thing to give they valued me,  
 “being friends not to me, but to my gifts. They loved  
 “me then indeed, but my gifts much more. When  
 “my gifts ceased my friends vanished. But with what  
 “face shall I presume to see you, my dearest daughter,  
 “since in my anger I married you upon worse terms  
 “than your sisters, who, after all the favours they have  
 “received from me, force me into banishment and  
 “poverty?”

While king Leir was lamenting his condition in these and the like expressions, he arrived on the coast of Karitia, where his daughter was, and waited before the city while he sent a messenger to inform her of his arrival, and of the misery he was fallen into, and to desire her to send relief to a distressed father, who suffered both with hunger and nakedness. The virtuous Cordeilla was astonished at the news; and weeping bitterly, asked how many men her father had with him. The messenger informed her, that he had but one, who had formerly been his armour-bearer, and that he was staying with him without the town. Upon hearing this she was fully convinced of the truth of the messenger's assertions; and taking what money she thought might be sufficient, she gave it to him, with strict orders to carry her father to another city, and there proclaim that he was sick, and to provide for him bathing, clothes, and other necessaries. She likewise gave orders, that he should take into his pay forty men well armed and accoutred; and that when all things were thus prepared, he should acquaint king Aganippus and his daughter of his arrival. The messenger returning to king Leir, made him acquainted with what Cordeilla had said, and carried him to another city, where he kept him concealed, till he had performed all that Cordeilla had commanded.

As soon as he was provided with royal apparel, ornaments, and retinue, he sent word to king Aganippus and his daughter, that he was driven out of his kingdom of Britain by his sons-in-law, and was come to them to procure their assistance for the recovering of his dominions. On the arrival of this message at court, the king and queen, attended by their chief ministers of state, and the nobility of their kingdom, went out to meet him, received him honourably, and submitted to his management the whole power of Gaul, till such time as he should be restored to his former dignity.

In the mean time Aganippus sent officers over all Gaul to raise an army, in order to quell the insurgents in Britain, and to place his father-in-law upon the throne. The forces being raised, Leir returned to Britain with his son-in-law and his daughter, where he fought against the armies of Maglaunus and Henuinus, and totally defeated them. Thus having reduced the whole kingdom under his power, he again assumed the regal dignity, and died in the third year after. Aganippus also died; so that the government devolved upon Cordeilla. She then buried her father in a vault which she ordered to be made under the river Soar, in Leicestershire.

After a peaceable possession of the throne for five years, Cordeilla began to meet with disturbances from the two sons of her sisters, who were both young men of great spirit, Margan the son of Maglaunus, and Cunedagius the son of Henuinus. These after the death of their fathers succeeded them in their dukedoms; and were greatly incensed to see Britain under the government of a woman: they therefore raised a numerous army in order to make an insurrection in Britain, and commenced outrageous incursions against the queen; nor did they cease hostilities, till after a general waste of their countries, and several battles fought, they at last took her and put her in prison, where through grief at the loss of her kingdom, she destroyed herself. After this the two princes divided the kingdom between them, of which the part that reaches from the north side of the river Humber as far as Caithness fell to Margan; and the other part belonged to Cunedagius. About two years afterwards some restless people gained access to Margan, and represented to him that the government of the whole island of right belonged to him; he,

being desirous of extending his territories, and of enjoying the whole of the island of Britain, marched with an army into Cunedagius's country, and began to burn and destroy all before him. Cunedagius, to revenge this insult, mustered all his forces, and marched against those of Margan; upon their meeting a dreadful battle ensued, in which a vast number of the duke of Albania's forces were destroyed; and the rest, with Margan at their head, were put to flight. Cunedagius pursued them into Kambria, where he gained a complete victory over his enemy; and put him to death. He then acquired the whole of the island for his government, and reigned over it thirty-three years\*.

Cunedagius was succeeded by his son Rivalle, a fortunate youth, who applied himself with all diligence to the well governing of the state. His son Gurgustius succeeded him; after him reigned Sifillius; who was succeeded by Jago the nephew of Gurgustius. He was succeeded by Kinmarcus the son of Sifillius; and after him reigned Gorboguto, who had two sons, Ferrex and Porrex. When Gorboguto was advanced in years, the sons began to quarrel about the succession; and Porrex, fired with indignation and ambition, formed a design to kill his brother by treachery, which being discovered by Ferrex, he escaped, and went to Gaul, where he procured aid from Suard king of the Franks, with which he returned and made war upon his brother. In an engagement Ferrex and all his forces were put to the sword. This transaction coming to the knowledge of Widen their mother, she declared that she would not be appeased till Porrex should be slain, for she loved Ferrex with great affection, and hated him. She therefore, with her attendants took the opportunity, while Porrex was asleep, to take away his life. From that time a long civil war oppressed the inhabitants, and the island was divided among five kings, who alternately harrassed each other.

After Britain had been distressed in the above-mentioned manner some years, Dunwallo Molmutius, the son of Cloten king of Cornwall, stepped forward to rescue it from anarchy and discord. When his father was dead he ascended the throne of Cornwall, which he did not long possess before he made war against Ymner king of Loegria, whom he slew in battle. Upon the death of Ymner, Rudaucus king of Kambria, and Staterius king of Albania had a meeting, wherein they formed a strong alliance together, and afterwards marched with their armies into Dunwallo's country, intending to destroy all before them: but Dunwallo met them with thirty thousand men, and gave them battle. A great part of the day being spent in the fight, and the victory still remaining dubious, he drew off six hundred choice soldiers, and commanded them to take off their own armour, and put on that of the enemy. Thus accoutred he marched with expedition to the enemy's ranks, as though he was of their party, and approaching the very place where Rudaucus and Staterius were, he commanded his men to fall upon them; and in this assault the two kings, together with many others, were slain. Dunwallo Molmutius fearing an assault from his own men while in this disguise, returned with them to put off the armour of the enemy, and to take their own again: he then encouraged them to renew the battle, which they did with vigour, and soon obtained a complete victory. Having so far succeeded, he marched into the countries of Rudaucus and Staterius, destroying their towns and cities, and every where reducing the people under his obedience. In like manner he proceeded till he had made an entire conquest of the island; when he prepared himself a crown of gold, and restored the kingdom to its ancient splendour. This prince established the Molmutine laws, famous among the English till the time of William the Conqueror. In these, among other things, he enacted, that the temples of the gods, as also cities, should have the privilege of giving sanctuary and protection to any fugitive or criminal, who should fly to them from his enemy. He likewise enacted, that the ways leading to those temples and cities, as also the husbandmen's ploughs,

\* At this time the prophets Isaiah and Hosea flourished, and Rome was built on the eleventh of the calends of May, A. M. 3198.



ploughs, should be allowed the same privilege. He died after a reign of forty years, and was buried in the city of Trinovantum, near the temple of Concord, which he himself built at the establishment of his laws \*.

After the death of Dunwallo Molmutius, a violent quarrel happened between his two sons Belinus and Brennius, who were both ambitious of succeeding to the throne. They had several sharp conflicts together, and the friends of both at last interposed, and brought them to agree, that the kingdom should be divided between them in the following manner; viz. That Belinus should enjoy the crown of the island, with the dominions of Loegria, Kambria, and Cornwall, as being the elder; and because, according to the Trojan constitution, the right of inheritance ought to come to him: and Brennius, as being the younger, should be in subjection to his brother, and have for his share Northumberland, which extended from the river Humber to Caithness. Peace being made between the two brothers on these terms, they governed the country in tranquillity and justice for five years; when some people of a restless and factious disposition gained access to Brennius, and addressed him in these words:

“What sluggish spirit has possessed you, O Brennius! that you can calmly bear to be in subjection to Belinus, to whom, by parentage and blood you are equal; besides the experience you have gained in military affairs, by several engagements, when you so often repulsed Cheulphus, general of the Morines, upon his invading our country, and drove him out of your kingdom? Be no longer bound by a treaty which is a reproach to you, but marry the daughter of Elsingius king of the Norwegians, that with his assistance you may recover your lost dignity.” Brennius, inflamed with these, and the like specious suggestions, hearkened to them, and went to Norway, where he married Elsingius’s daughter, according to the desire of his flatterers.

Belinus receiving information of his brother’s design, took the earliest opportunity of marching his troops into Northumberland, and possessed himself of that country, and the cities in it, which he garrisoned with his own men. Brennius receiving intelligence that his brother had got possession of his country, prepared a large Norwegian fleet and army, intending to return to Britain, that he might engage his brother Belinus and overthrow him; but while he was under sail with a fair wind he was overtaken by Guichthlac king of the Dacians, who had pursued him. Guichthlac had formerly been deeply in love with the young lady whom Brennius had married, and through grief and vexation for the loss of her, got ready a fleet for the pursuit of Brennius with all expedition. In the sea-fight that happened on this occasion, he had the good fortune to take the vessel in which the lady was, and carried her to his companions. During the engagement contrary winds arose, and dispersed the fleets; and the king of the Dacians being driven up and down for the space of five days, at length arrived at Northumberland with the lady; they were under great and dreadful apprehensions, not knowing what country this unforeseen accident had thrown them upon. The country people carried them to Belinus, who was on the sea-coast, expecting the arrival of his brother. There were with Guichthlac’s ship three others, one of which had belonged to Brennius’s fleet. As soon as they had declared to the king who they were, he was greatly rejoiced at the happy accident which had cast them upon his shore, while he was endeavouring to revenge himself on his brother.

Brennius arrived a few days after on the coast of Albania, and then receiving information that his brother had taken his wife and others, and also a confirmation of the capture of Northumberland, he sent ambassadors to him demanding the restitution of his wife and kingdom; and if he refused them, to declare that

the whole island should be quickly laid desolate, and that he would destroy his brother whenever he could come to an engagement with him. On the other hand, Belinus absolutely refused to comply with his requests: and assembling together the whole force of the island, went into Albania to give him battle. Brennius, therefore, advanced to meet him in a wood called Calaterium, in order to attack him. When each party had arrived at the field of battle, they divided their forces into several bodies, and approaching each other began to fight. In this battle a vast deal of blood was shed, and many were slain on both sides; the number was afterwards computed at about fifteen thousand. As the Britons gained the victory, the Norwegians fled to their ships, but were pursued by Belinus, and killed without mercy. Brennius, escaping, retired to Gaul.

Belinus, after the victory, called a council of his nobility, to advise with them concerning the king of the Dacians, who had sent a message to him, telling him that he would submit himself and the kingdom of Dacia to him, and also pay a yearly tribute, if he might have leave to depart with his mistress. He likewise proposed to confirm the covenant with an oath, and to give hostages for the due performance of it. These propositions being laid before the council, they unanimously agreed that Belinus should grant Guichthlac’s request upon his own terms. Belinus accordingly gave his consent, and Guichthlac with his mistress were released from captivity, and returned to Dacia.

Belinus being in possession of the whole island, revived and confirmed the Molmutian laws, and gave orders for a regular execution of justice throughout his kingdom. A dispute arose concerning the highways of sanctuary, because the limits, determining that privilege, were unsettled. The king, therefore, willing to clear the law from ambiguities, summoned all the masons and builders of the island together, and commanded them to make a causeway of stone and mortar, by which the boundaries might be fixed \*.

While Belinus was thus reigning in peace and tranquillity, his brother Brennius was greatly distressed. Being banished from his kingdom he remained in Gaul without the least hope of success; for after having tried to gain over some of the princes of Gaul to his interest, and failing therein, he wandered about their country almost in want of the necessaries of life. At last he applied to Seginus duke of the Allobroges, and was honourably received by him. He soon insinuated himself so far into the favour of the duke, that he became the greatest favourite at court. And in all affairs, whether foreign or domestic, he was consulted, and gave such counsel and advice that the duke loved him with a paternal affection. In short, so great was the friendship between them, that the duke resolved to give him his only daughter in marriage; and in case he himself should have no male issue, he appointed him and his daughter to succeed him in his dukedom of the Allobroges after his death; but if he should have a son, he promised to assist in advancing him to the throne of Britain; and this was not only the duke’s desire, but of all the nobility of his court. The marriage was celebrated without further delay, and the princes did homage to him as to the successor to the throne. The duke died about a year after the marriage of his daughter, and Brennius, being seated on the throne, took an opportunity of engaging those princes of the country firmly in his interest, whom he had before obliged with his friendship; and this he did by pecuniary gifts, for he bestowed a great part of the duke’s treasure upon them, kept an open house for all, and made sumptuous entertainments.

Having thus firmly seated himself in the dukedom of the Allobroges, he began to consider how he might

\* A particular account of the Molmutian laws may be found in Gildas’s translation of a tract from the British into No. II.

Latin, which version was afterwards translated by king Alfred into English.



take revenge of his brother Belinus. He signified his intentions to his nobles, and they without hesitation concurred with him, expressing their readiness to attend him to any kingdom he might please to conduct them. In a short time a vast army was raised, and he entered into a treaty with the Gauls, for a free passage through their country into Britain: having fitted out a fleet upon the coast of Neustria, he set sail, and soon arrived on the British shore. Upon hearing of his arrival, Belinus, accompanied by the whole strength of Britain, marched out against him: but when the two armies were drawn out in battle array, and just ready to begin the attack, Conwenna their mother, who was yet alive, passed through the ranks in great haste, being very impatient to behold her son whom she had not seen for a long time. As soon, therefore, as she had reached the place where he was stationed, she threw her arms round his neck, and embraced him in the most tender manner; then laying bare her bosom, in broken accents, thus addressed him:

“Remember, son, remember the breasts of your mother, and the womb wherein the Creator of all things formed you, and from whence he brought you forth into the world, while I endured the greatest anguish. By the pains then which I have suffered for you, I entreat you to hear my request. Pardon, O pardon your brother, and moderate your anger. You ought not to revenge yourself upon him who has done you no injury. If you do but duly consider the issue of the banishment you complain of, it cannot in strictness be called injustice. He did not banish you to make your condition worse, but forced you to quit a meaner, that you might attain a higher dignity. Consider, that at first you enjoyed but a part of a kingdom, and that in subjection to your brother. When you lost that, you became his equal by obtaining the kingdom of the Allobroges. What then has he done, but promoted you from the dependency of a viceroy to the dignity of a king? Consider also farther, that the difference betwixt you began not through him, but yourself, who with the assistance of the king of Norway, made insurrection against him.”

Moved by the speech and affliction of his mother, he obeyed her with a composure which would have done honour to the greatest philosopher; and putting off his helmet of his own accord, went straitway with his mother to his brother. Belinus observing him approach with a peaceable countenance, and entirely unarmed, threw down his accoutrements also, and ran to embrace him: so that, without shedding of blood, or any other means of negotiation but that just related, these brothers became again united by the strongest ties of friendship; and disarming their forces they marched peaceably together with them to Trinovantum. They then laid down plans for their future mutual operations; and it was resolved to conduct their confederate army into Gaul, and to reduce the provinces of that country under their subjection.

The next year they passed over into Gaul, and began to lay waste that country; which they reduced entirely under their obedience in less than a year's time. They then marched towards Rome, destroying the cities and villages of Italy as they passed along.

The Roman consuls at this time were Gabius and Porfenna; who, (finding that Belinus and Brennius conquered wherever they went,) by the advice and consent of the senate, desired peace and friendship with them. They likewise offered large presents in gold and silver, and to pay a yearly tribute, on condition that they might be permitted to enjoy their dominions in peace. The two kings, therefore, taking hostages from them, granted their request, and drew off their forces into Germany. While they were employing their arms in that country, the Romans attempted to throw off the yoke. Finding that a junction was about to be formed between the Roman and the German armies, they consulted with each other on the best method to be taken to quiet the Romans, and maintain the war with the Germans. The

result of their consultation was, that Belinus with the Britons should stay in Germany, while Brennius with his Allobroges marched to Rome, to quell the insurgents. The Romans perceiving their design, quitted the Germans, and hastened to get before Brennius in his march to Rome. Belinus having privately received intelligence of it, marched back his army the same night; and possessing himself of a valley through which the enemy was to pass, lay hid in expectation of their coming. The next day the Romans gained the same valley; but when they saw the glittering of the enemy's armour, they were greatly astonished, imagining that Brennius and the Galli Senones were there. Belinus rushed suddenly upon them; and as they were unarmed and marching in disorder, he quickly made a great slaughter among them, and put the rest to flight. Having gained the victory, he repaired to Brennius, who by this time had besieged Rome eight days. Joining their armies, they assailed the city on every side, endeavouring to destroy its walls: and in order to strike the besieged with greater terror, they erected gibbets before the city gates, and threatened to hang up the hostages they had given, unless they would immediately surrender. This threatening did not in the least intimidate the Romans; for they remained inflexible, notwithstanding the danger they saw their sons and relations exposed to. The confederate armies being several times repulsed from the walls, so exasperated their commanders, that they ordered twenty-four of the noblest hostages to be hung in the sight of their parents. This spectacle only rendered the Romans more hardened, especially as they had received intelligence that their consuls, Gabius and Porfenna, would advance to their assistance the next day; and therefore, they resolved to sally forth upon the enemy when the consuls might arrive with their re-assembled forces. These advancing in a close body gave battle to the Britons and Allobroges, and being joined by the citizens who sallied forth, made no small slaughter among them. Belinus and Brennius, fearful of the victory, invigorated their men, pressing forward upon the Roman lines several times, and forcing them at last to retire. In this battle Gabius was killed, and Porfenna taken prisoner. Having thus compleated the victory, they divided the hidden treasure of the city among their men.

Brennius remained in Italy, exercising the most unheard of tyranny over the people, while Belinus returned to Britain, which he governed the remainder of his life in peace. He repaired the cities which were falling to decay, and built many new ones. Among the rest he built one near the Severn Sea, upon the river Usk, which was for a long time called Caerosc, and was the metropolis of Demetia; but after the Roman invasion it obtained the name of the city of Legions, from the Roman legions who used to take up their winter quarters there. At last, when he had finished his days, his body was burnt, and his ashes were put in a golden urn.

Gurgiunt Brabtruc his son was his successor. He was a sober and a prudent prince, and followed the example of his father in all his actions; he was a lover of peace and justice. When some of the neighbouring provinces rebelled against him, he repressed their insolence in several fierce battles, and by that means obliged them to become subject to him. The king of the Dacians, who paid tribute in his father's time, refused to pay it in his. This refusal occasioned Gurgiunt Brabtruc to fit out a large fleet, with which he sailed to Dacia, where he harrassed the people, slew their king, and reduced the country under his ancient yoke.

As Gurgiunt Brabtruc was returning home from his expedition through the Orkney islands, he found thirty ships fraught with men and women; and upon his enquiring of them the occasion of their coming thither, their leader named Partholoim, approached him in a respectful and submissive manner, desiring pardon and peace. He then acquainted the king that he had been driven from Spain, and was sailing round those seas in quest of a habitation. He also desired some small part



of Britain to dwell in, that they might put an end to their tedious wandering; it had been a year and half since he had been driven out of his own country, all which time he and his company had been out at sea. When Gurguint Brabtruc understood that they came from Spain, and were called Barclenses, he granted their petition, and sent men with them to Ireland, which was then wholly uninhabited, and assigned it to them: and some of their posterity still remain in the island. Gurguint Brabtruc after this ended his days in peace, and was buried in the City of Legions, which he enlarged and beautified.

After Gurguint Brabtruc was dead, Guithelin ascended the throne. He was a mild and an affectionate prince: and had for his queen a noble lady named Martia, who was skilled in all the learning of the times. Among many productions, she was the author of the Martian Law, which was translated into Saxon by king Alfred. Upon the death of Guithelin, the government of the kingdom devolved upon the queen and her son Sisilius, who was then but seven years old, and therefore unfit to take the reins of government into his hands.

On account of Martia's prudence she governed the kingdom; but upon her death Sisilius took it upon himself. After him his son Kimarus reigned; and Danius, the brother of Kimarus, succeeded him. After his death the crown was possessed by Morvidus, a son whom he had by his concubine Tangustella. He was a very cruel and overbearing prince, but a liberal rewarder of merit. Morvidus had five sons, the eldest of whom was Gorbonian; he ascended the throne after his father's decease. The conduct of Gorbonian was very different from that of his father; for the father was cruel and oppressive, but the son was a lover of justice and equity. His constant employment was to worship the gods with reverence and awe, and to do justice to his subjects. If any one oppressed his neighbour, he would relieve the oppressed one, and cast the other into prison. He encouraged husbandry, and rewarded the industrious. He supplied his soldiers with money, so that none of them did wrong to any body. He was buried at Trinovantum.

After Gorbonian's death his brother Arthgallo was advanced to the throne. He was in all his actions the reverse of his brother. He every where depressed the nobility, and advanced the meaner sort of people to their rank and stations. He plundered the rich; and by that means amassed great quantities of wealth. The nobles, after bearing his tyranny along time, made an insurrection against him, deposed him, and advanced his brother Elidure to the crown. Some time after, as Elidure was hunting in a wood, he saw his brother Arthgallo in distress; he forgetting all injuries, ran towards him, caught him, and affectionately embraced him. As he had long lamented his brother's affliction, he carried him to the city of Alclud, where he concealed him in his bed-chamber: feigning himself sick, he sent for his prime nobility from the different parts of the kingdom. When they were met together at the city where he lay, he gave orders that they should come into his chamber one by one, softly, and without noise; his pretence being, that so many talking together would greatly disturb him. The nobles, therefore, not suspecting any plot, entered his house one after another. Elidure had previously charged his servants to be in readiness, to take each of them as they entered, and behead them, unless they would again submit to Arthgallo his brother. Thus they were compelled, through fear, to be reconciled to Arthgallo. The agreement being at last ratified, Elidure conducted Arthgallo to York, where he took the crown from his own head, and placed it on his brother's. From this act he obtained the surname of Pious. Arthgallo reigned ten years after his reinstatement, and made ample amends for his former mal-administration, by pursuing measures quite contrary to his first, exercising strict justice, and letting the oppressed go free. He died at last in peace, and was buried at Kaerlier.

At the death of Arthgallo, Elidure was again placed

on the throne. He followed the example of his elder brother Gorbonian, performing all acts of devotion, living a virtuous life, and doing justice to all. His brothers Vigenius and Peredure, being of a restless and turbulent spirit, raised a formidable army, and made war against him; in which they proved victorious, taking Elidure prisoner, and shutting him up in the tower of Trinovantum, where they placed a guard over him. They then divided the kingdom betwixt them. After seven years Vigenius died, and the whole kingdom devolved upon Peredure. Possessing now the whole kingdom, he governed the people with generosity and mildness; so that he even excelled his brothers who went before him, and Elidure was nearly forgotten. But Fate, against which nothing can stand, put a period to the existence of Peredure, so that Elidure was quickly released from prison, and advanced to the throne the third time. Having finished the course of his life in just and virtuous actions, he left an example to his successors, worthy of imitation.

Elidure being now no more, Corbonian's son ascended the throne, and imitated his wise and prudent government; for abhorring tyranny, i.e. practised justice in the country, nor ever swerved from the rule of equity. After him reigned Margan, the son of Arthgallo, who, being instructed by the examples of his worthy predecessors, held the reins of government in peace. His brother Enniaunus succeeded him; but he pursued a tyrannical mode of government, and was deposed in the sixth year of his reign. In his room, his kinsman Idwallo, the son of Vigenius, was placed; he was a strict observer of justice and equity. Runno, the son of Peredure, succeeded him; and Geruntius, the son of Elidure, was his successor. His son Catellus succeeded him. After him reigned Coillus; after Coillus, Porrex; and after Porrex, Cherin. This prince had three sons, Fulgratius, Eldadus, and Andragius, who in their turns were advanced to the dignity of the crown. Uranius succeeded Andragius; and after him reigned in order, Eliud, Cledaucus, Cletonus, Gurgintius, Merianus, Blerduno, Cap, Oenus, Sisilius, Blegabred. Arthmail succeeded Blegabred, whose brother he was. After Arthmail reigned Edol; after Edol, Redion; then Rederchius, after him Sanu- ilpennissel: Pir succeeded him; after Pir reigned Capoir, whose son Cligueillus succeeded him: Cligueillus was a man of prudent and mild disposition: he made it his unremitted study to do justice, and to love mercy; and by that means became beloved by all his people. His son Heli succeeded him, and reigned forty years. Heli had three sons, viz. Lud, Cassibellaun, and Nennius. Lud, being the eldest, succeeded his father in the kingdom, and became famous for the building of cities, and for rebuilding the walls of Trinovantum, which he also surrounded with a great many towers. Lud was a warlike prince, and was very magnificent in his public feasts and entertainments. Trinovantum being the place of his chief residence, was called Caerlud, and afterwards, by the corruption of the word, Caerlondon (i. e. the city of London.) He built the gate which afterwards bore his name. This gate was known in the British tongue by the name of Parthlud, and in the Saxon tongue by that of Ludegate. He was buried near the place where it stood. He had two sons, Androgeus and Tenuantius, who were incapable of governing the kingdom on account of their age; and therefore, their uncle Cassibellaun was preferred to the kingdom in their room. As soon as he was crowned he began to display his generosity and magnificence to such a degree, that his fame reached distant kingdoms; which generous disposition was the reason that caused the reins of government to be placed in his hands. Notwithstanding Cassibellaun, from an impulse of piety, would not suffer them to be without their share in the kingdom, but assigned a large portion of it to them. The city of Trinovantum, with the dukedom of Kent, he bestowed on Androgeus; and the dukedom of Cornwall on Tenuantius; but he himself, as possessing the crown, maintained the sovereignty over them.

[Having



[Having in the preceding chapter given the accounts of this country as related by *Jeffrey of Monmouth*, we shall now proceed to a regular detail of the different occurrences from the landing of Julius Cæsar, beginning with the state of the island and its inhabitants at the time of his invasion.]

## CHAP. II.

*Of the Customs and Manners of the ancient Britons, their Religion, &c.*

THE ancient inhabitants of this island were, in general, a tall, well-made people! they had remarkably good constitutions, so that, according to Plutarch, they frequently attained the age of a hundred and twenty years. Their regular and sober mode of living, together with the temperance of the air, no doubt, greatly contributed to their longevity. Among them, whoever should presume to eat either a hen, a hare, or a goose, were accounted guilty of a great and heinous offence; yet, notwithstanding this, as Cæsar observes\*, they bred them for their pleasures. Their usual drink was made from barley.

It was the custom of the Britons to go naked, without any covering, except those on the southern coasts, who threw carelessly about them the skin of some wild beast: this was not done so much to defend themselves from the inclemency of the weather, as the fear of giving offence to those foreigners who came to trade with them. They also painted on their bodies various figures of birds, beasts, trees, &c. and dyed them with the juice of woad. This was the practice of the women as well as of the men.

Their towns were composed of a number of huts, placed at a little distance from each other, without the least appearance of order or regularity. These were generally placed in the midst of woods, the avenues of which were usually defended with slight ramparts of earth, or trees felled and laid across one another.

The island being advantageously situated for trade and commerce, the inhabitants of Gaul and of Britain carried on a mutual traffic in several articles: but their chief trade was with the Phœnicians, who exported from this country vast quantities of tin, whence the Isles of Scilly, where they usually landed, obtained the name of Cassiterides. As they did not go further in their vessels than Gaul, they were neither substantially built, nor very large; and as long as they were sailing they abstained from meat.

The Britons had one custom, which seems to have been peculiar to themselves, as no historian mentions the same of any other nation; and that was, their having, by common consent, a society of wives among certain numbers. Cæsar acquaints us that they had ten or twelve of these wives together in common, especially brothers with each other, and parents with their children: but if any of the women brought forth children, the offspring was considered as belonging to him who first married her. This account is confirmed by Dion, who adds that the children thus begotten, were brought up in common amongst them. Eusebius also asserts, that many Britons together kept one wife in common to them all. This strange and unusual custom was much noticed at Rome: and when a British lady was upbraided by Julia, Severus's empress, upon account of this barbarous custom, she smartly replied: "Romans! we do that openly with the best of our men which you do in secret with the worst of yours."

The religion of the Britons was exceedingly superstitious, even to the sacrificing of human creatures. Beside their ancient idols Dis, Jupiter, Apollo, Diana, &c. they paid a peculiar veneration to Andate, the goddess of victory, erecting temples to her honour, whose

walls occupied a considerable space; upon which several of their prophane portraits were seen by Gildas, who described them as having grim and stern visages, and pronounced them infernal in their nature, and in number exceeding the hieroglyphicks of Egypt. Tacitus observes, that they were extremely addicted to the inspecting of the entrails of beasts, and also of men; and that they honoured the altars of Andate with the sacrifice and blood of those whom they took captive in wars. Pliny, the celebrated historian, treating of magic, asserts, that the Britons honoured it with so much pomp and ceremony, that a person would imagine the Persians themselves had been taught it by them.

The Druids †, or priests, were the instructors of the people, and the conductors of all their religious ceremonies. By reason of the seeming learning of the Druids, the innocence and simplicity of their living, and long custom, the people held them in great esteem: and they were not only priests to instruct them in the mysteries of their religion, but they were also judges throughout the nation. It was the peculiar prerogative of the Druids, to examine and approve of all laws, to determine all manner of controversies, and to appoint rewards and punishments at discretion: the common people imagining, that unless punishments were inflicted by a divine authority, they were not obliged to submit to them. If any person refused to obey their decree, they were immediately forbidden the sacrifices; and this was accounted the most grievous punishment that could be inflicted. Those who were thus excommunicated were excluded from the benefit of the law, were rendered incapable of receiving any honour or dignity, and their conversation was avoided as the pest of the nation. The Druids were exempt from all kinds of military duties, taxes, and imposts; which great privileges caused many to become their disciples, and others to send their sons and relations to be admitted into their sacred order. These disciples were no doubt, taught a great number of verses by heart, continuing under this discipline several years: for they were not permitted to commit their learning to writing; both because the vulgar should not be acquainted with the mysteries of their religion, and because their disciples might the better exercise their memories and other faculties. They taught the immortality and transmigration of souls: which removing the fear of death, was held as a proper doctrine to excite courage in war. They also instructed their scholars in the knowledge of astronomy, teaching the magnitude and motions of the stars and other heavenly bodies: they likewise discoursed to them concerning the nature of things, and the super-excellency and power of the immortal gods. They had also a class of priests called Bards, whose office it was to celebrate the praises and exploits of their heroes and warriors in verse; and these compositions were sung to their harps: many of these Bards exercised their function even after the Romans had quitted the island. They had likewise a third class or sort of priests who were called Eubates; and their business, as Marcellinus inform us, was to study natural philosophy. The following short collection of Druidical maxims will serve to give our readers a sufficient knowledge of the religion of ancient Britain:

- "None must be instructed but in the sacred groves.
- "Mistletoe must be gathered with reverence, and if possible in the sixth moon. It must be cut with a golden bill.
- "Every thing derives its origin from Heaven.
- "The Arcana of the sciences must not be committed to writing, but to the memory.
- "Great care is to be taken of the education of children.
- "The power of mistletoe makes women fruitful.
- "The disobedient are to be shut out from the sacrifices.

\* Comm. book iv. chap. x.

† This word is derived from the Celtic word Deru, an oak, because the mistletoe which grows upon the oak they looked

upon as a most sacred thing, and as the greatest blessing which the gods could bestow upon them.



*Engraved for Ashburns History of England.*



*A. Male and Female, Ancient Britain.*

*Published by W. & J. Stratford, 21, New Holborn Hill, April 1, 1793.*

*Wood Sculp.*





*A Druid.*



*A Roman.*



- "Souls are immortal.  
 "The soul after death goes into other bodies.  
 "If the world shall be destroyed, it will be by fire or water.  
 "Upon extraordinary emergencies, a man must be sacrificed. According as the body falls, or moves after it is fallen; according as the blood flows or the wound opens, future events are foretold.  
 "Prisoners of war are to be slain upon the altars, or burnt alive inclosed in wicker, in honour of the Gods.  
 "All commerce with strangers must be prohibited.  
 "He that comes last to the assembly of the states, ought to be punished with death.  
 "Children are to be brought up apart from their parents, till they are fourteen years of age.  
 "Money lent in this world will be repaid in the next.  
 "There is another world, and they who kill themselves to accompany their friends thither, will live with them there.  
 "Letters given to dying persons, or thrown on the funeral piles of the dead, will faithfully be delivered in the other world.  
 "The moon is a sovereign remedy for all things, as its name in Celtic implies.  
 "Let the disobedient be excommunicated: let him be deprived of the benefit of the law, let him be avoided by all, and rendered incapable of any employ.  
 "All masters of families are kings in their own houses, they have a power of life and death over their wives, children, and slaves."

Here we may just observe, that there were women as well as men Druids; and that it was a female Druid, according to Vopiscus, who foretold to Dioclesian, when a private soldier in Gaul, that he should arrive at the dignity of emperor of Rome.

The ancient Britons were a courageous, fierce, and warlike race, having frequently dissensions and quarrels among themselves, so that the kings of the country were often at war with one another. This is sufficiently testified in the foregoing chapter. And according to

Tacitus, it was their want of unanimity that contributed to the success of the Roman arms against this island. They fought nearly in the same manner that the ancient Greeks and Trojans did: and Cæsar gives a substantial account of their method of fighting in his *Commentary of his War in Gaul*\*. Their words are, "This is the nature of fighting from chariots: they first ride to all parts, and throw their darts, and frequently break the ranks by the prancing of the steeds and the noise of the wheels; and when they have got amongst the troops of horse, they alight from their chariots and fight on foot; the charioteers in the mean while draw off a little from the engagement, and place themselves in such a manner, that if these should be overborne by the numbers of the enemy, they may have an easy retreat to them. Thus they perform in battle, the nimbleness of the horse, and the firmness of the foot; and so expert are they, by constant use and exercise, that they can stop their horses on full gallop down a steep hill, and can check and turn them in a small compass, run upon the pole, rise upon the harness, and quickly from thence recover the chariots." Dion informs us, that their horses were small and swift, and that they themselves would run at an extraordinary rate; and further, he acquaints us that when they came to an engagement, they were firm and immovable. The common arms which they made use of were small shields, without helmets, but very large swords; and this seems to intimate to us, that their eagerness was more to wound their enemies than to defend themselves. They had also short spears and daggers; and by the shaking of their spears they imagined they struck terror into their enemies. They were remarkable for enduring hunger, cold, and fatigue with admirable patience: for in bogs up to their chins they would continue several days without food; and in woods they would live upon the barks of trees and upon roots. In short they were a strong, hardy and robust people, till the conquest of the island by the Romans. when the Roman manners and luxuries were introduced.

## B O O K II.

### *From the first Invasion of Britain by the Romans to the Entrance of William the Conqueror.*

#### C H A P. I.

*Julius Cæsar's Invasion of Britain. The Britons obliged to pay a yearly Tribute. The State of Britain in the Reigns of the Emperors Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula. Claudius invades and conquers Britain. Account of the Wars between the Britons and Romans. The final Departure of the Romans; and the discharge of Britain from the Roman Yoke.*

**C**AIUS Julius Cæsar having conquered the greatest part of Gaul, turned his thoughts towards the invasion of Britain, his craving appetite for conquest not being yet satiated. Accordingly, being fired with the prospect of new glories, he resolved, in the 54th year before Christ, upon an expedition into this island. Suetonius tells us †, that the riches of this country, and the hope of enriching himself with the spoils of it, were the motives which intigated him to undertake the conquest of it. Be this as it may, he invaded the country of the Britons twice, under pretence of their having assisted his enemies, the common excuse of the Romans on similar occasions, and has given us himself, in his commentaries ‡, the following account of his two expeditions hither.

Having spent by far the greater part of the summer in Germany, and a very little part of it remaining, Cæsar determined nevertheless to make an expedition into

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Britain, for he was informed, that in almost all their wars in Gaul, the Britons greatly assisted his enemies. And though the season of the year should sail him to prosecute the war, yet he thought it would be of great service to him if he only visited the island, examined into the nature of the people, surveyed their ports, their coasts, and creeks; all which were hardly known to the Gauls, as none but their merchants came to the British shores; and even to them no parts were known but those which were opposite to Gaul. He therefore assembled the merchants together, and not being able to get any satisfactory answers from them respecting the temper and disposition of the inhabitants, their experience in war, &c. he resolved to make a descent upon it, and examine it for himself. He commanded C. Volusenus to reconnoitre the coast, and after having obtained the necessary information to return to him.

In the mean time, the Britons received intelligence from the merchants concerning Cæsar's design; and therefore endeavoured to divert him from it, by sending ambassadors with offers of their submission to the Roman state, and the delivery of hostages for their security. He gave the ambassadors a very civil reception, and having exhorted them to continue steadfast in their resolution, dismissed them with many fair promises; but, nevertheless, he cautiously concealed his intentions from them. And, therefore, sent along with them Comius, whom he had just before made king of

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\* Lib. iv. c. 29. † Suet. in Jul. Cæs. c. 47. ‡ Lib. iv. c. 18.



the Atrebatæ\*. He gave him instructions to excite the Britons to enter into an alliance with the Romans, and to let them know that he intended to come over into their island. The Britons not being pleased with this news seized the Roman ambassador, loaded him with irons, and cast him into prison.

Volsenus soon after returned, and gave an account of the discoveries he had made. Whereupon all things being got in readiness, Cæsar put two legions† on board eighty ships, leaving orders for his horse speedily to follow in eighteen more; but these orders were slowly executed. Cæsar, therefore, set sail from the country of the Morini, (now Picardy in France,) at three o'clock in the morning, and arrived within sight of the British cliffs about ten o'clock on the following day. He observed that the shore was covered with armed Britons, and that it would be an exceeding difficult matter for him to effect his landing. This determined him to look out for some other place where he might land with less danger. However, he lay by till three o'clock‡ in the afternoon, expecting some ships that were not yet come up. As soon as the fleet was joined, he made a signal for his principal officers, and having given them all necessary instructions concerning their landing, he set sail and came to an anchor about eight miles farther§, where the country was open and the shore level. The Britons now perceiving his intent, sent their chariots and horsemen before, which were followed by all the foot. The ships being too large to come close to the shore, occasioned the Romans to throw themselves, armed as they were, into the sea, in order to attack the enemy who stood ready to receive them on the beach. Cæsar finding his soldiers did not show their usual ardor upon this occasion, ordered the galleys to get as near the shore as possible, and to annoy the enemy with a shower of stones and darts from their slings and engines. This had the desired effect, as it put the Britons into some disorder. Notwithstanding this, the Romans still demurred upon throwing themselves into the sea, and perhaps would not have been brought to it at last, had not an ensign of the tenth legion, who first implored the gods that the action might prove favourable to that legion, shewn them the way, by leaping in first with his colours in his hand, exclaiming, "Follow me, my fellow soldiers, unless ye desire that your standard should fall into the hands of the enemy; I am determined to do my duty to the republic, and my general||." Fired at this, the soldiers forgot their danger, and leaping into the sea with undaunted courage, began the fight. The Britons, however, maintained their ground, and Cæsar greatly feared the Romans would have been repulsed, had he not, by means of some armed sloops, made the enemy retreat a little. The Romans then advanced with all possible expedition, and having effected their landing\*\*, they pressed the Britons so vigorously that at length they put them to flight. However they durst not pursue them, having no horse, which, as Cæsar says, was the only thing that hindered him from obtaining a complete victory††.

The Britons upon this defeat, immediately sent ambassadors, and with them Comius, whom they had unjustly imprisoned, suing for peace, laying the blame of his ill treatment upon the populace, and their own imprudence. Cæsar, whose mercy was equal to his valour, readily forgave them; and receiving some hostages, with a promise of more, concluded a peace with the Britons the fourth day after his landing‡‡.

The peace being now established, the British troops were dismissed, and some of their princes submitted themselves to Cæsar. Whilst these things were in agitation, the ships that were transporting the Roman

cavalry met with a great storm, which forced them back again into the ports of Gaul; and what was worse, the same storm destroyed great part of his fleet that lay in the road. At the same time the tide of flood, the moon being at full, rose so high, that the galleys they had drawn ashore were filled with water. Suetonius accounted this the first of the three great misfortunes that ever befel Cæsar in all his proceedings.

These accidents threw the Romans into a terrible consternation, they having not brought with them wherewithal to repair their vessels, or any quantity of provisions, Cæsar having designed to winter in Gaul.

The Britons perceiving the distress of the Romans, and knowing that they were in want of provisions, ships, and cavalry, immediately resolved upon a revolt; and in a general council, condemned all such as impious who refused to join with the Romans, whose elements had thus far exerted themselves in their behalf, encouraging themselves in the idea, that if they expelled the Romans no other power would ever attempt to invade their country. Cæsar, therefore, imagining their intentions by the delays which happened, took all imaginable care to gather what provisions he was able. And having sent to Gaul for what was necessary to refit his ships, he made use of the timber and iron of the broken ones to repair the rest. The soldiers, in a few days put the fleet in a condition for sailing, there having been only twelve ships entirely disabled §§.

In the interim, the seventh legion being sent out to forage, no suspicion of an attack prevailing in Cæsar's camp, news was brought to him, that an unusual cloud of dust was seen to arise from that quarter where the legion were. Cæsar, conjecturing the cause, marched immediately with the two companies that guarded the camp, ordering the rest to follow with all expedition. The harvest being in every where else, the Britons made no doubt but that the Romans would come to that place to forage, and therefore lay in readiness to fall upon them as they should be dispersed up and down the field gathering corn. Accordingly they had put some to the sword, and were surrounding the rest with their chariots, when Cæsar came to their assistance. After having brought them off, he retired to the camp, not judging it proper to hazard a battle, unless forced to it|||.

The Britons, elated with their success, gathered together a greater number of horse and foot, and resolved to attack the Romans in their camp. But Cæsar foreseeing this, gave them so warm a reception that they were soon put to flight, the Romans pursuing them as long as their breath and strength would permit. This loss so sunk the courage of the Britons, that they sent ambassadors to Cæsar to sue for peace, which was obtained, and concluded upon their promising to send after him into Gaul double the number of hostages he had demanded of them before\*\*\*. The season being now far advanced, he set sail from Britain with a fair wind, and arrived safe with his whole fleet on the continent of Gaul; whither only two cities in Britain sent their hostages, the rest neglecting it. After the arrival of Cæsar's letters at Rome, a thanksgiving of twenty days was decreed by the senate†††.

Cæsar having left orders with his officers to repair his old, and build some new ships, went into Italy, where he passed part of the winter. On his return to the port of Jactus‡‡‡, he found that the Britons had neglected to send the hostages required. He therefore ordered eight hundred vessels, on board of which he put five legions and two thousand horse, and then sailing for Britain, he landed without any opposition. The Britons, terrified at the sight of so vast a fleet, thought fit to retire to the mountains §§§. After Cæsar had forti-

\* Arras, the chief city of Artois.

† About fourteen thousand; a full legion consisting of ten cohorts, each cohort of three maniples, each manipule of two centuries, and every century of one hundred foot. For every thousand foot there were one hundred horse.

‡ Comm. lib. iv. c. 20. § Ibid. c. 21. || Ibid. c. 23.

\*\* Which is supposed to have been at Deal. Hume chap. 1.

†† Comm. lib. iv. c. 24. ‡‡ Ibid. c. 25, 26. §§ Ibid. c. 27.

|| Ibid. c. 28. \*\*\* Ibid. c. 30.

††† Ibid. c. 34. ‡‡‡ Near Calais. §§§ Comm. lib. v. c. 7.



fied the camp, according to the custom of the Romans, he set out in the night in quest of the enemy. He had not marched above twelve miles, before he saw them posted on the other side of the river Stour in Kent, in order to dispute his passage. Notwithstanding the resolution of the Britons, the cavalry of the enemy soon obliged them to quit their situation. They retired into the woods, the avenues whereof were blocked up with huge trees laid across one another. The seventh legion, though it appeared a difficult matter, attacked them thus entrenched, and put them to flight: but night coming on, Cæsar gave orders not to pursue them. On the day following, Cæsar, though he had made great preparations for attacking the Britons, was much embarrassed, having received the disagreeable news of the dispersion and almost total destruction of his fleet by a storm. Hereupon he hastened back to the camp, and found forty of his ships broken to pieces, and the rest very much damaged. He immediately caused his fleet to be repaired, and sent for a reinforcement from Gaul. To prevent the like accident for the future, he made his soldiers with infinite toil and labour draw up the ships, as soon as they were refitted, within the camp. Leaving a sufficient force to guard the camp, he then proceeded in his search of the Britons.

He had not marched far, before he was informed that the enemy's forces were very much augmented, under the conduct of Cassibellaun, king of the Trinobantes, whose kingdom was skirted by the river Thames about eighty miles from the sea\*. The Romans in their march were suddenly attacked by the British cavalry and chariots; but they were repulsed with great loss. Some days after, whilst the Romans were busied about their intrenchments, a part of the British troops that lay concealed in the woods, fell with great fury upon those that guarded the camp, putting them into very great disorder. Cæsar observing this, immediately sent two companies to their assistance, who at the first onset were put to the rout. As this battle was fought in sight of the camp, Cæsar saw plainly the great disadvantage the Romans, encumbered with their heavy armour, lay under, against an enemy that was nimble and light-armed, and fought always in small parties, with a body of reserve in their rear, from whence their forces were continually recruited. The Roman cavalry, was no less embarrassed than the infantry. As the Britons frequently pretended to retreat, the horsemen that were detached out to pursue them were immediately cut off, so that they found it equally dangerous to pursue or to retreat. From the confused manner in which Cæsar relates this action, we may readily conclude, that the Britons had by far the advantage.

The next day, Cæsar having sent out all the horse to forage with three legions to guard them, the Britons, advancing towards the enemy, fell with great fury upon the foragers, who were defended by the legions till Cæsar could arrive with a reinforcement from the army; upon which a battle ensued, wherein the Britons were entirely defeated.

After this victory, Cæsar marched towards the Thames, with a design to enter the dominions of Cassibellaun. When he came to the fording place, he perceived the enemy drawn up in great numbers on the opposite side. Notwithstanding this, and Cassibellaun's having fortified the bank and river, with sharp stakes, he ordered the horse to ride in, and the foot to follow; which they did, wading up to their chins†. The attack was made with great resolution, and the Britons were forced to retire and leave the Romans a free passage. Cassibellaun, on account of these misfortunes, withdrew into his own territories, retaining not above 4000 men, and disbanding the rest.

In the mean time the Trinobantes perceiving Cæsar was near the borders of their country, sent ambassadors to him earnestly suing for peace, and desiring him at the same time, to take into his protection Mandubratius

their king, who had fled into Gaul from Cassibellaun, who had before deposed his father Imanuentius, and put him to death. Cæsar promised to send back Mandubratius, on condition they would victual his army, and deliver forty hostages, to which they agreed‡. Several other states followed the example of the Trinobantes, and Cæsar found himself in a condition to attack the capital city of Cassibellaun, whither all the country people were retired with their flocks and herds. The Romans therefore advanced towards the town, and arrived before it, stormed it briskly at two different places at once, so that the Britons fled out at one of their avenues, but not without losing a great number of their men, and leaving behind them abundance of cattle.

Cassibellaun being greatly chagrined at his ill successes, instigated four Kentish princes, Cingetorix, Carnilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, to engage the Romans, who were left to guard their ships, but after a long and obstinate engagement they were repulsed, and Cingetorix was taken prisoner.

Cassibellaun, at length, finding his country wasted, his designs rendered abortive, and himself abandoned by the traiterous revolt of many cities and states, sent Comius of Arras to mediate a peace with Cæsar; which, upon account of his own valour, and the lateness of the season, was readily acceded to. In the conditions of the treaty, Cæsar imposed a certain annual tribute upon the Britons, (estimated by some at three thousand pounds), and moreover included the security of Mandubratius with his dominions: and that these conditions should be faithfully observed, he commanded a number of hostages to be immediately delivered. Thus by the unhappy divisions which prevailed among the chiefs, Britain fell a prey to the Romans. Peace being concluded, and every thing being properly adjusted; and the season also being far advanced, Cæsar embarked with his whole army, leaving the shores of Britain, and soon after arrived on the coast of Gaul.

Such is Cæsar's own account of his wars and conquests in Britain. He certainly did not accomplish his design, which was, according to Dion Cassius, to conquer and reduce the whole island to a Roman province. And after all he was contented with imposing a light tribute on Cassibellaun, and leaving the country without fortifying any place, or stationing any troops to secure the payment of the tribute. The celebrated Roman poet Lucan positively accuses him of turning his back to the Britons. Horace and Tibullus, two other famous Roman poets, acknowledge, that in their time the Britons were not looked upon as conquered by the Romans. According to the above cited Dion Cassius, Cæsar's conquest was so trifling, or so ill secured, that for twenty years after his departure, the Britons retained their own kings and their own laws. In short his two expeditions into this country rather increased the glory than the dominions of Rome. And Tacitus, speaking of these invasions, says, that Cæsar had rather shewn the Romans the way to Britain, than put them in possession of it.

After the departure of Cæsar from Britain, the inhabitants, though they became more and more known to the Romans, yet they continued in an eminent degree free from their power. Augustus, Julius's successor, seems to have neglected this island, as a country where amity or enmity was of no consequence to the Romans: or, perhaps, through policy, he was resolved to set bounds to the Roman empire, imagining, that by extending his territories, revolts might happen, and that he might then lose what had been acquired for him. Be this as it may, after Cæsar's death, the tribute imposed on the Britons was not paid, nor perhaps demanded, for twenty years. Augustus at last resolved to compel the Britons to abide by the terms they had made with his uncle; and to this end he proceeded twice as far as Gaul, in order to invade Britain; but was prevented the first time by a revolt in Pannonia; and the second, by being met there by the British ambassadors, who sued



for peace, which he readily granted them. But upon their not keeping their word, he formed the resolution of making a thorough conquest of them. The Britons, informed of his design, again found means to divert him from his purpose. Tenuantius, who succeeded Cassibellaun, sent the emperor rich presents, which were laid up in the capitol. Cunobelin his successor, maintained a good understanding with the Romans. He ordered money to be coined, some pieces whereof are still to be seen in the cabinets of the curious, with the five first letters of his name, C. u. n. o. b. or C. a. m. the three first of Camelodunum, his capital city on one side; on the other, a man sitting and coining money, with these letters, T. A. S. c. i. o. by which antiquaries understand, that this money was designed for the payment of tribute.

Tiberius, like Augustus, being no way ambitious to extend his empire, left the Britons to enjoy their liberty, satisfied with the respect they shewed him in returning some soldiers of Germanicus, who were shipwrecked on their coast.

Caligula, a dissolute tyrant, having passed the Alps with an intent to rob and pillage the empire, was excited by Adminius, (the son of Cunobelin a British king, who had been banished from his country for some misdemeanor by his father,) to make an attempt upon Britain; but being told as he was embarking his men, that the Britons were prepared to receive him, he desisted from his enterprize.

Thus the Britons enjoyed their freedom for about ninety-five years, under four emperors; and it was not till the reign of Claudius, that their subjection to the Romans took its date. The occasion of which we shall here relate.

Cunobelin left two sons, Togodumnus and Caractacus, who both succeeded: but whether they reigned jointly or separately is unknown. It happened in their reign that one Bericus for endeavouring to raise a sedition, being forced to fly the kingdom, betook himself to the emperor's court at Rome, where he was always laying out to the emperor, how easy a matter it would be to conquer Britain. Claudius, A.D. 43, giving attention to what he advanced, resolved to make the trial, and sent to the Britons demanding the tribute due to the empire. As it had never been regularly paid, and as the Britons were exasperated by the ill reception their ambassadors met with at the court of Rome, whom they had sent to demand Bericus, they peremptorily refused to pay it, and at the same time prohibited all commerce with the Romans. Claudius having what he wanted, a plausible pretence for the war, sent A. Plautius, the prætor, before, whilst he prepared to follow, with a reinforcement whenever there might be occasion for their service. Plautius, therefore, landed his men without the least opposition; for the Britons had received intelligence of a mutiny in the Roman army, at the time when they were going to embark, and not imagining it would have been quelled so soon, had neglected to put themselves in a condition to resist him. Plautius would fain have brought the matter to a crisis immediately, but the Britons did all they could to avoid it, with a design to make him lose time, hoping he would like Cæsar, go and winter in Gaul. Notwithstanding all their precautions, he found means to attack Togodumnus separately; and having entirely defeated him, and routed his forces, he went in quest of Caractacus, whom he soon after came up with, and likewise defeated. The Britons encamped in a careless manner on the other side of a river, which they deemed impossible for the Romans to pass without the assistance of a bridge: but the Britons were much surprised at seeing some German soldiers swim across the river with their arms; they therefore immediately decamped and retired to a greater distance. Hereupon Plautius passed over a considerable body of troops, un-

der Vespasian and his brother Sabinus, who advancing towards the enemy, gave them battle and put them to flight. The Britons, however, rallying again the next day, attacked a detachment of the Roman army so vigorously, commanded by Sidius Geta, that they put them at first into disorder; and had nearly taken Geta himself; but getting out of their hands, he headed his troops, and returning to the charge, obliged the Britons to leave the field. After these losses, the islanders retired towards the mouth of the river Thames. As they were perfectly acquainted with all the fords, they passed the river without any difficulty, whilst the Romans who could follow them only at a distance, fell among the morasses, whence they had much trouble to disengage themselves. The Germans having at last found a ford, and the rest of the army having passed over a bridge a little higher up\*, the Britons were surrounded on all sides, and great slaughter was made among them.

Plautius judging it to be now a fit time to acquaint the emperor of his successes, and to desire him to come and reap the honour of putting an end to the war, sent messengers to him; and Claudius, who had all things in readiness for his journey, set out immediately. As soon as he arrived, A. D. 44, he put himself at the head of his army, and compelling the Britons to come to a battle, entirely routed them. After this victory, he advanced towards Camelodunum†, which having subdued, he stationed some Roman soldiers at that place, making it into the form of a province. Upon these successes, he was saluted imperator by the army several times, contrary to the Roman custom, which never allowed a general to be honoured with that title above once in the same war.

Claudius by this expedition, which was finished in fifteen days, acquired great reputation, as his clemency to the vanquished appeared by his leaving them in possession of their goods. Touched with his generous proceedings, they erected a temple and altar to him, and paid him divine honours. The emperor now left Plautius governor of Britain, and returned to Rome, after being absent six months, where the senate decreed him the honour of a triumph, and the surname of Britannicus.

Plautius continued the conquests the emperor had begun, being seconded by Vespasian and Titus, who served under him. Vespasian beat the Britons in thirty conflicts. He conquered two of the most powerful nations, and subdued the Isle of Wight. Plautius the commander in chief, being at length recalled, the senate, as a reward for his services, decreed him the honour of an inferior sort of triumph.

P. Ostorius Scapula being sent into Britain in his stead, A. D. 50, found on his arrival, the Britons making continual inroads into the Romans conquests. Upon which getting his army together, he marched suddenly against them in the midst of winter, and defeating the first that made head against him, he so disconcerted the rest, that he had nothing more to fear from their incursions. Much about this time London became also a colony, and that part of Britain, lying between the Thames and the sea, was reduced to a province, by the name of *Britannia Prima*.

The Icenians‡, though in alliance with the Romans, were the first that opposed the design of Ostorius; and others following their example, joined their forces together, and encamped on a very advantageous ground. The Romans, however, forced their intrenchments, and made great slaughter among them. After this Ostorius turned his arms against the Cangians, who inhabited the western parts of Wales. These were soon dispersed. The Roman army was not far from the Irish sea, when news was brought the general that the Brigantes§ were in arms. This obliged him to put off the execution of

\* Notwithstanding the authority of Dion Cassius, it is by no means probable, that there should be a ford so high the mouth of the river Thames, or a bridge a little higher up. He seems to have confounded some river that runs into the Thames with the Thames itself.

† Malden in Essex.

‡ The inhabitants of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire.

§ The inhabitants of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham, Westmoreland, and Cumberland.



his first design to some future opportunity; and being willing, before he proceeded to new conquests, to secure his former ones, he marched back against the revolted Brigantes. This insurrection was appeased by the punishment of those who had been the cause of it. But the Silures\*, by far the bravest and most powerful of all the Britons, could not be prevailed upon to acknowledge the superiority of the Roman arms. They confided in Caractacus, their king, who was looked upon as the greatest general Britain had ever produced. This prince, on whom the nations in alliance with the Silures, had conferred the command of the confederate army, was retired into the country of the Ordovices†, where he had gathered his whole army together, with a firm resolution to withstand the enemy. To this end, he posted himself in a very advantageous situation, on a steep hill, by the side of which a steep and rapid river ran: he also fortified the avenues with ramparts of stone, and guarded them with the best of his troops; and to inspire them with courage, he rode up and down on the day of battle, representing to them, that the battle about to be fought would determine, whether they should preserve their liberty, or be enslaved to the Romans. He called to their remembrance the glory of their ancestors, who had driven Cæsar out of Britain, and freed their country from the Roman yoke. The soldiers testified their approbation of the sentiments of their commander, and declared, they were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their liberty. The resolution and firmness that appeared in the countenances of the Britons, startled the Roman general at first. But finding his army desirous of engaging, he gave the signal for battle, after he had observed the fordable places of the river. They then passed the river without much difficulty; but before they could approach the camp of the Britons, they were exposed to a shower of darts, by which many were killed and wounded. Notwithstanding the opposition that was made, they reached the rampart, which being loose stones piled one upon another, they easily overcame. The Britons at first had greatly the advantage; but when the Romans entered their camp, they were quickly put to flight. The wife, daughter, and brothers of Caractacus were taken prisoners, and he himself, a few days after, was delivered in chains to Ostorius by Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, to whom he had fled for protection. He had commanded the confederate army of the Britons nine years, according to Tacitus; but according to Dion Cassius only seven. By the emperor's command the captives were sent to Rome; and on a day appointed, they were carried before him as he sat on his throne. First Caractacus's vassals and retinue were conducted, then his wife, daughter, and brothers, and lastly he himself, walking with a serene and settled countenance, without appearing to be dejected at his misfortunes. The prayers which were made by the former were exceedingly servile; but Caractacus, neither craving mercy, nor being disconcerted, with a noble bravery thus addressed the tribunal:

"If my moderation in prosperity had been answerable to my nobility and fortune, I had come rather as a friend, than as a captive to Rome; nor would you have disdained to have received me as an ally, being a prince descended from illustrious progenitors, and a sovereign of many nations. My present condition is to me low and dishonourable, but to you glorious and triumphant. I had once, horses, men, arms, and riches at my command. Is it wonderful then that I should part with them unwillingly? If Fate has allotted universal empire to you, I must submit. Had I yielded to your arms without opposition, my fortune would not have been remarkable, nor would your glory have been conspicuous; and oblivion would have followed my punishment. But now if you spare my life, I shall be a perpetual example of your clemency." Claudius,

being greatly moved with this discourse, generously pardoned them all.

Ostorius now began to lose ground in Britain; for the Britons fell furiously upon the legionary cohorts, that were left as guards among the Silures; they cut off the commander, eight captains, and many brave soldiers: in short, had not timely assistance arrived from the neighbouring forts, all the Romans would have been put to the sword. After many actions, attended with various success, Ostorius, finding himself unable to subdue the Silures, and being worn out with fatigue and vexation, resigned his breath in the year 56. The Britons rejoiced exceedingly at his death, and the more, because they attributed it to his regret at not being able to put a stop to the course of their victories.

Aulus Didius was immediately sent over; and he found the state of affairs in a worse condition than ever, a legion commanded by Manlius Valens having been defeated with great loss. His arrival put a stop to the Silures, who elated with their late success, were making inroads into the frontiers of the Roman province.

Civil discords and contests, however, soon gave the Romans new advantages. These were occasioned by Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, who after she had enriched herself by the delivery of Caractacus, rejected her husband Venutius, married his servant Vellocatus, and made him king. The Romans supported her in this unjust action; and Venutius, thus debarred of his rights, justly turned his anger against the Romans themselves, retained his kingdom against their utmost opposition, and made them perceive that he was no despicable soldier, first in a sharp battle of uncertain event, and then against the legion of Cæsius Nafica. Didius becoming very infirm, was obliged to manage the war by his lieutenants.

Verannius, who succeeded Didius in the reign of Nero, died before he had been twelve months in Britain.

It is probable that the Christian religion was planted in Britain about this time; but by whom it was effected, or with what success, is altogether uncertain.

Suetonius Paulinus succeeded Verannius in the government of the Roman territories in Britain. After he had firmly secured the acquisitions of former generals, he proceeded to new conquests. His first undertaking was the conquest of Mona, now Anglesey. To this end he commanded the foot to pass over in flat-bottomed boats, the sea being very shallow in that place, and the horse followed, some fording, others swimming. The islanders were drawn up on the other side, with the women running up and down among them, dressed like furies, their hair hanging loose, fire-brands in their hands, and surrounded with the Druids, who, with hands lifted up to Heaven, poured out dreadful imprecations. This horrible sight much astonished the Romans, so that they stood like statues, exposed to the rage and fury of the enemy. Overcoming their fears by the exhortations of their general, they fell upon the enemy sword in hand, and soon became masters of the island. Suetonius then commanded all the consecrated groves to be cut down, where the Islanders sacrificed their captives, and consulted the gods by inspecting the entrails of men.

Whilst Suetonius was busied in these matters, an unexpected turn of affairs obliged him to quit Mona in an abrupt manner, and march towards the country of the Iceni and Trinobantes, for a general revolt had taken place; the cause of which we shall here relate. Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, had made the emperor and his daughters co-heirs to his great treasures, thinking by that means to secure the protection of Nero for his family and kingdom. But the event proved the contrary. As soon as he was deceased, the emperor's officers seized upon all his effects in their master's name. Boadicea, his widow, a woman of great spirit, opposing these unjust proceedings, the brutality of the officers caused

\* Who inhabited Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, and Glamorganshire.

† Montgomeryshire, Merionethshire, Carnarvonshire, Flintshire, and Denbighshire. See Lib. i. c. 2.



her to be publicly scourged, and her daughters to be ravished. This barbarity was highly resented by the Britons, who soon were inspired with a spirit of revolt, which quickly broke out into action. The Icenians immediately took arms under the conduct of the injured Boadicea; and these were followed by their neighbours the Trinobantes. Venutius and his party joined with them; and, in fine, all the nations that had submitted to the Romans, took up arms with one consent, the city of London only excepted. The Britons were deprived of their estates, without any form of law, by the Roman soldiers, who were sent to settle in the island. Caius Decianus, Nero's procurator, without any regard to the petitions that were presented to him, or to the ordinance of Claudius, that left the vanquished in possession of their goods, confiscated their estates to the emperor's use. These and other acts of tyranny and cruelty, inspired the people to shake off the Roman yoke.

Boadicea, burning with a desire of revenge, headed the revolvers, and exhorted them in a lively manner, to take advantage of the absence of the Roman general, and to free themselves from slavery, by putting their oppressors to the sword. The Britons, closing with her proposal, fell in a furious manner upon the Roman colonies, and massacred all without distinction, whether they were men, or women, young or old. Unheard-of cruelties were acted upon this occasion. Wives were hung up with their infants at their breasts, to make them in some measure suffer a double death. Virgins had their breasts cut off and crammed into their mouths, that they might seem in the agonies of death to eat their own flesh. The veterans at Camelodunum, having shut themselves up in a temple, as in an asylum, they chose rather sacrilegiously to burn them alive, than to starve them to death. So that in this revolt, according to Tacitus, seventy thousand, but, according to Dion Cassius, eighty thousand perished in the massacre.

Boadicea was now at the head of one hundred thousand Britons, and ardently desired to engage in battle with Suetonius, whose army consisted only of ten thousand men, flattering herself she should soon complete her revenge, by the destruction of the inconsiderable remains of the enemy. Suetonius, who expected no succours from any place, was much dismayed; and plainly saw, as the case then stood, he must either conquer or die; and, therefore, so far was he from retiring from the Britons, who were marching towards him, that he resolved to go forward and attack them. To this end he pitched upon a narrow piece of ground for a field of battle, with a forest behind him, that secured him from ambuscades in the rear, and a large plain before him, where the Britons were encamped. He drew up the legions close together in the center, the light-armed were placed round about them, and the horse made the two wings. The enemy appeared about the plain in battalions and squadrons, exulting at their numbers, and secure in the idea of victory. And so sure were they of success, that they brought their wives and children into the field to be witnesses of their actions, and sharers in the booty.

Boadicea, with her daughters by her side in the chariot, addressed herself to the several nations, declaring, "It was not the first time the Britons had been victorious under the conduct of their queen. That for her part she came not there, as one descended from royal progenitors, to fight for empire or for riches, but as one of the common people, to avenge the loss of their liberty, the wrongs done to her own person, and the violation of her daughters' chastity. That the lust of the Romans was not to be bore with, and that neither old nor young escaped its pollutions; but that the gods had already begun to punish them according to their deserts; for one legion that durst hazard a battle, was destroyed, and the rest returned to their camp, or fled for their lives; so that they would be so far from being able to stand the attack of a victorious army, that the very shouts of so many thousands would put them to flight. That if the

Britons would but consider the number of their forces and the motives of the war, they would resolve to vanquish or die. That it was much better to fall honourably in defence of their liberty, than to be exposed again to the outrages of the Romans. This was her resolution; but for the men, they might if they pleased, chuse life and slavery."

Suetonius also was not silent on this occasion; and though he was assured of the valour of his troops, yet he thought it necessary to exhort them to despise the clamours and threats of the Britons. He represented to them that among the enemy "There were more women than soldiers, and that the greatest part of them, having neither arms nor courage, would immediately fly from the victorious Romans. That in the most numerous armies, the decision of the battle depended upon a few, and that their glory would be so much the greater as it was the less divided. That they should be careful to keep their ranks close, and to fight sword in hand, after they had thrown their darts. And, lastly, that they should not lose time about the spoil, which would be the certain reward of their victory." The Romans then darted their javelins without quitting their advantageous post; and, after the Britons had expended their darts, advanced sword in hand, seconded by the auxiliaries from Germany, who fought with equal bravery. Whilst they fought at a distance with their darts, the Britons imagined that the Romans, terrified at their great numbers, would have fled before them. But in this they were mistaken; for the Romans advanced with undaunted bravery, which quickly put the Britons into disorder. This inspired the Romans with fresh courage, and they began the slaughter, sparing neither man, woman, nor child; their thirst for blood was so great, that they even sacrificed the horses. In this great and decisive battle the Romans had about four hundred slain, and as many wounded; and Tacitus assures us, that not less than eighty thousand Britons were destroyed. Boadicea escaped falling into the hands of the conquerors; but was touched with so deep a sense of her shame and loss, that she ended her days with poison.

Suetonius being recalled, resigned the management of Britain to Petronius Turpilianus, who acted nothing remarkable, hiding his love of ease and sloth under the specious appellation of the love of peace.

To him succeeded Trebellius Maximus, as indolent as himself. He, owing to a quarrel with Cælius, one of his officers, was forced to fly to Vitellius, general of the Roman army in Germany.

Nero having destroyed himself, the Britons enjoyed some quiet during the short reigns of Galba and Otho, the army being commanded only by tribunes, among whom Cælius bore the chief sway. Vitellius, having mounted the throne, sent Vespasian into Britain, who being unskilled in the art of war, made no head against the Britons. Vespasian succeeding Vitellius in the empire, appointed Petilius Cerealis in his room. He defeated the Brigantes, the most northern and numerous of all the British nations, in several battles. Julius Frontinus, who succeeded him, acquired no less glory in subduing the warlike Silures.

Towards the end of Vespasian's reign, Julius Agricola was made governor of Britain; for a particular account of whose wars, we are indebted to his son-in-law Tacitus.

The Ordovices, some time before the arrival of Agricola, A. D. 79, in Britain, having surprized and destroyed a body of Roman horse, determined him to march directly against them; and notwithstanding they were retired among their mountains; he pursued and overcame them. After this he turned his arms against Mona, which the Romans had been obliged to abandon. Some of the horse, whom he ordered to swim over with their arms in their hands, put the islanders into such a consternation, that they forthwith submitted without opposition.

Agricola, rightly judging that the Britons were never to be conquered by arms alone; and that lenity was no



less necessary than force, used all the means in his power to gain the affections of the Britons. He therefore began to reform the abuses which the avarice or carelessness of preceding governors had occasioned. He put a stop to all manner of extortions, and caused justice to be impartially administered. Thus did he gain their esteem, and had no reason to fear their revolting, whilst he should be employed in enlarging his conquests. Vespasian dying about this time, Titus his son, knowing the great merit of Agricola, continued him in his government.

In the spring of the following year, he took the field again, and marched his army towards the north, where he made some new conquests. And in the winter he endeavoured to soften the rough manners of the Britons, and prevail upon them to imitate the customs of the Romans. The Britons consenting, gave rise to many stately temples, noble portico's, and other buildings both public and private. The British nobles accustomed themselves to speak the Latin tongue, to which a little before they had the utmost aversion. They also wore the Roman habit, and, as Tacitus remarks, they came to look upon, as signs of politeness, what was only so many badges of their slavery.

In his third campaign, Agricola advanced as far as the river Tweed, building fortresses, as he proceeded in his conquests. The fourth was taken up in subduing the nations inhabiting between the Tweed and the Friths of Edinburgh and Dunbritton, into which the rivers Glota and Bodotria discharge themselves. These two Friths, one on the west, and the other on the east side of Scotland, penetrate so far into the land, that the space between them is not above thirty or thirty-five miles. Here Agricola built castles and fortresses, by which means the nations that were yet unconquered were pent up as it were in another island. In his fifth campaign Agricola marched his army beyond the Friths, where he subdued some nations, and planted garrisons along the western coasts opposite Ireland, designing to make a descent upon that island, having had information of the state of the country from a nobleman, who had been banished out of it. In his sixth campaign, Agricola passed the river Bodotria, ordering his fleet, to row along the coasts, and take a view of the ports in the northern parts. Whilst Agricola was advancing northwards, news was brought him, that the northern nations had revolted, and were marching towards him with a formidable army. He therefore ordered a troop of horse to march against them, in order to prolong the fight; but day-break discovered his army to be in a dangerous situation, whereupon he advanced to the assistance of his army, and after a very obstinate engagement, he compelled the enemy to retire. The fens favoured their retreat, or else that single battle might have put an end to the war.

In the following spring, A. D. 85, the Britons took the field again, and Agricola taking some natives for guides, marched at the head of his army in quest of them. Having arrived near the Grampius, (Grantz-bain, in Scotland,) he saw the enemy drawn up to the number of about thirty thousand. Galgacus, the British general, upon the approach of the Romans, represented to his army, that as they were at the extremity of the island, they could place no hopes in flight, and therefore nothing but victory could deliver them from perpetual bondage. On the other hand, Agricola, with all the force and charms of the Roman eloquence, exhorted his soldiers to do their duty. Then drawing up his army to the best advantage, spreading them out to make their numbers appear greater than they really were, he headed them himself. Galgacus had ranged his men on the side of a hill, that his whole army might be visible at once to the Romans, and by that means he expected they would be terrified, and decline the battle. Herein they were mistaken; for a battle was carried on with darts, the Britons not caring to quit their posts. They notwithstanding shewed great skill and courage by means of their broad swords and short bucklers, bearing off, with amazing dexterity, the darts of the

Romans, and pouring upon them showers of their own. Agricola, finding they were immovable by the present mode of fighting, ordered the Batavian and Thuringian cohorts to advance against the enemy, with their sharp-pointed bucklers, which rendered their pointless swords unserviceable; and they were compelled to retire with precipitation. Agricola, pursuing the victory, observed the field covered in a dreadful manner with the dead and dying. Night and weariness put an end to the pursuit. The unfortunate Britons, both men and women, wandering about in a deplorable manner, spent the night in calling their lost friends, carrying off the wounded, in burning their houses, through despair, and in shifting from one part to another, not knowing where to rest. Sometimes they consulted with each other, and conceived some hopes; then again they were broken with pity and compassion, and oftener with rage and madness at the sight of their deplorable wives and children, many of whom they butchered themselves, merely because they should not fall into the hands of their enemies. This signal victory put an effectual stop to all future resistance; and Agricola easily completed the conquest of the whole island. Thus the Britons, after forty-two years struggle against the most powerful nation in the world, were subdued, and Britain reduced into a Roman province. This was completed in the fourth year of the reign of the emperor Domitian, about one hundred and thirty eight years after the first landing of Julius Cæsar, whence Agricola was recalled out of Britain, and caused to be poisoned by Domitian.

From Agricola to the reign of Adrian, we have but a slender account of the British affairs; from which we may conclude, that the Britons were permitted to remain in the peaceable possession of their liberty. It may also be observed in this interval, that the Romans suffered the Britons to have their own kings, taking a pride in having such for their subjects. Juvenal mentions Arviragus as king of some part of Britain in the reign of Domitian.

In the first year of Adrian, the northern people, consisting of Picts, Scots, and Britons, made irruptions into the Roman province. Their first exploit was to demolish some of the fortresses which had been built by Agricola between the two Friths. Upon this Julius Severus was sent over, but being suddenly recalled, made no progress against them. The emperor himself landed in Britain with a large army, and marched towards the north with a view to quell the insurgents. Having advanced as far as York, he was diverted from his intended conquest by the description some old soldiers gave him of the country. In hopes therefore of keeping them quiet by enlarging their bounds, he delivered up to the Caledonians all the lands which were situated between the two Friths and the Tyne; at the same time, to secure the Roman province from their incursions, caused, in the year 123, a mighty wall to be made of wood and earth, which extended from the river Eden in Cumberland, to the Tyne in Northumberland, being eighty miles in length; after this transaction he returned triumphantly to Rome, where he gained the title of *Restorer of Britain*, which, as a motto, was stamped upon his coin.

How strong soever this rampart of Adrian's might be, it did not prevent the inroads of the Caledonians. When the Roman forces were at a distance, they began to make their usual irruptions. In the reign of Antoninus Pius, A. D. 139, they broke down the rampart in several places, and invaded the southern province. Whereupon Lollius Urbicus, Antoninus's lieutenant, marched against them, defeated the Brigantes, and raised another wall\* between the Friths of Edinburgh and Dunbritton, where Agricola had before built his fortresses.

Marcus Aurelius, who succeeded Antoninus as emperor of Rome, made Calpurnius Agricola governor of Britain. He partly by prudence, and partly by force, appeased the northern tumults, and more firmly established the Roman power in Britain. In this emperor's reign, Lucius, a British king, embraced the Christian religion, which had been a long time before planted in Britain.

\* It has been imagined by many writers, that this wall was built by Severus, though it was in reality built by Lollius Urbicus.



Britain, though it had made no great progress. He sent ambassadors\* to Eleutherus, the twelfth bishop of Rome, desiring his assistance and direction in the instruction of himself and his subjects in the knowledge of the Christian faith. Eleutherus gladly embraced the opportunity, and instructed the two ambassadors (whose names were Elwan and Medwin) in the first place; baptizing them, and consecrating them bishops; after which he sent them back to their own country, where the gospel flourished under their ministration.

In the reign of Commodus, A. D. 186, the Caledonians taking up arms, surprized the Roman army, destroyed the general, with most of his soldiers, and ravaged the country. The whole province was in danger of being over-run, had not the emperor immediately sent over Ulpian Marcellus, who in a short time put an end to this dangerous war. He observed, that these commotions were owing to the want of discipline among the Romans; and therefore he applied himself to reform the abuses which had crept in among them, and happily succeeded. But notwithstanding these and all his other services, the emperor stripped him of his government, and would fain have deprived him of life. After his departure from the island, the emperor sent his favourite Perennis, who dismissed the old officers of the army, and replaced them with others, who were strongly attached to his interest. This so exasperated the soldiery, that they sent a detachment of fifteen hundred men to accuse him before the emperor of treasonable practices. Commodus, having been jealous of him for some time, delivered him up to the soldiers, who first scourged, and then executed him on the spot.

Marcellus being slain, the emperor, by letters, solicited Helvius Pertinax to undertake the lieutenancy of Britain, A. D. 188, which he accepted. He suppressed the sedition, but not without great danger to himself, as in a mutiny in the ninth legion, he was left for dead among the slain. Then desiring to be dismissed, he was succeeded by Clodius Albinus; whom, upon some suspicion, Commodus recalling, Junius Severus was sent in his room.

After the death of Commodus, A. D. 195, Pertinax was made emperor, who reinstated Albinus in his government; and in this post he was continued by Julian. Albinus by his liberalities had so won the affections of the soldiers, that after the death of Julian they proclaimed him emperor. At the same time, Septimius Severus in Pannonia, and Pescennius Niger in Syria, had the same honour conferred upon them by their respective armies. Albinus being deceived by Severus, transported his troops into Gaul, where he was met by the emperor with a numerous army, who immediately gave him battle, in which Albinus's forces were defeated, and himself slain†. Not long after this, A. D. 197, Severus divided Britain into two governments. The south was given to Heraclitus, and Virius Lupus had the north, bordering upon the Caledonians, who so infested him, that he was forced to purchase a peace with money.

After this treaty Britain remained undisturbed, until the fifteenth year of Severus, when the Caledonians again began their encroachments, being encouraged thereto by the entire neglect of all discipline in the Roman army. They had advanced so far, that the emperor‡ relolved to go over in person with a numerous army, and make a thorough conquest of the north. He carried with him his two sons, Caracalla and Geta. Upon his arrival, however, A. D. 209, the Caledonians offered him an honourable peace, but he disdainfully refused it; and leaving Geta at London to take care of the southern parts, he marched directly with Caracalla towards their country, and penetrated even to the very extremity of the north. In this expedition, which was performed

with vast labour and unremitted industry, he lost fifty thousand men, in cutting down woods, draining bogs, or filling them with bawns, and by the continual ambuscades of the enemy. After he had encountered these difficulties, and subdued the fierce nations of the north, he found the country could not be kept in subjection without a numerous army always upon the spot. He therefore contented himself with dividing the island into two parts, by building a wall in the same place Adrian had formerly thrown up his rampart, and not, as some have imagined, between the two friths§. This wall, some remains whereof are still to be seen, was called by the ancient Britons, Murfever; or the wall of Severus; by the English, the Picts' wall. The emperor then retired to Eboracum||, and took upon him the title of *Britannicus Maximus*. Caracalla, throwing off all restraint, suffered the soldiers to commit all manner of licentiousness, so that the Caledonians, who were little accustomed to their yoke, again revolted. Severus not knowing the reason of it, ordered the rebels to be massacred. A little after this he died at Eboracum, A. D. 212, being worn out with old age, infirmities, and grief for the wickedness of his son Antonius Carracalla\*\*. After which, his two sons, having made peace with the Caledonians, returned to Rome.

Little is known concerning the affairs of Britain from the death of Severus to the reign of Dioclesian, A. D. 284. It appears by the coins of Lollianus, Victorinus, Posthumius and others, found in England, that some of the thirty tyrants were acknowledged in Britain. Probus the emperor sent over into Britain great numbers of Vandals and Burgundians, who it is generally supposed, were settled on Gogmagog-hills, near Cambridge, where they still remains a fortification supposed to be the work of these foreigners; though it is much more probable, that it belonged to the Danes, who for a long time were in possession of Cambridge.

Carausius, a man of mean birth, but of great understanding, was, about A. D. 287, ordered to scour the seas of the Franks and Saxons, who infested the Belgick, Armorican, and British coasts. He was a man of so little honesty, that he neither restored to the owners what he had taken, nor gave the emperor's officers an account thereof; so that he in a short time, heaped great quantities of riches into his own coffers. This mal-conduct greatly exasperated Maximian, and he resolved to cause Carausius to be assassinated. By some means, however, Carausius obtained intelligence of the emperor's intentions; and as he was a rich and powerful man, he made interest with the soldiers in Britain, whom his money gained over to his party. Maximian marched a large army as far as Gaul, with a view to attack and bring him to justice; but he found Carausius so firmly seated in Britain, that he withdrew his forces, and permitted him to enjoy the government of the island. Maximian had no inclination to let Carausius remain in the quiet possession of Britain; and therefore dispatched Constantius with an army against him. Before Constantius's arrival, Aleetus, the confidential friend of Carausius, had destroyed the usurper, and caused himself to be elected emperor in Britain. Constantius landed in Britain, A. D. 296, and engaged the army under Aleetus, who was slain by Asclepiodorus; he also took upon himself the imperial dignity, and was slain in battle.

A. D. 303, the Christians throughout the empire suffered a most horrid and dreadful persecution because they refused to offer sacrifice to the gods of the Romans, according to the command of Dioclesian.

Whilst these things were transacting, Dioclesian and Maximian resigned the empire both on the same day, A. D. 304, to Constantius and Galerius. The western

\* The time of this embassy is variously related by different authors; Bede says, it happened in the year 156; Malmesbury places it in 166; Matth. Westmin. 185; and others assert that it happened at still different periods.

† This transaction happened near Ludunum, now Lyons, in France.

‡ Severus was at this time sixty years of age, and much afflicted with the gout.

§ See the Note in p. 23. || York.

\*\* This impious wretch caused the physicians who attended his father to be put to death, merely because they did not dispatch his aged relative.



provinces, with Britain, fell to the share of Constantius, whose inclination was to favour the Christians. Upon some disturbances in the island, he came over, and died at York in an expedition against the northern people, who were then distinguished by the names of Deucalidonians and Victurians. Before he expired he had the satisfaction of seeing his son Constantine\*, whom he named for his successor.

The Britons lived in quiet during the reign of Constantine†. He was the first emperor that made a law, whereby the Christians had the free exercise of their religion throughout the Roman empire, and consequently in Britain. In a few years he became master of the whole Roman empire, against the power of all those who had usurped any authority, or who made any opposition. Some time afterwards he removed his imperial seat from Rome to Constantinople, and drawing after him many forces from Gaul, Germany, and Britain, towards the then seat of his empire, he opened a way for invasions and incursions into the western provinces, and laid the foundation not only of the loss of Britain, but also of the ruin of the Roman empire; for the better security of which, he divided it into four præfectures, and these into fourteen dioceses or provinces. Britain, one of the dioceses, was subjected to the præfect of Gaul, and was, instead of the two divisions made by Severus, divided into three parts, viz. *Britannia Prima*, containing the southern parts of Britain, and having the city of London for its capital; *Britannia Secunda*, comprehending that part which is now called Wales, and having the town of Isca, now Caerleon, for its capital; and *Maxima Cæsariensis*, containing all the northern parts of Britain, and having Eboricum, now York, for its metropolis. This last province was afterwards divided into two, viz. *Maxima Cæsariensis*, and *Flavia Cæsariensis*; but whether Constantine, or some succeeding emperor made the division, authors are not agreed. In the reign of Constantine, or not long after, there were twenty-eight cities in Britain, as we are assured from Gildas and Bede; all which are reasonably believed to have been bishoprics. In the ninth year of his reign, saith Sir Henry Spelman, he commanded a council to be held at Arles, in France, where three British bishops were present, viz. Eborius, bishop of York; Restitutius, bishop of London; and Adelphius, bishop of Camelodunum, or Malden.

Constantine likewise called the general council at Nice in Bithynia, and wrote to the Britons, as he did to other people, commanding them, to observe the decrees of that council; and also directed his epistle to the inhabitants of Britain, commanding them to burn all Arius's books‡. By his will he divided the empire, after his death, between his three sons, Constantinus, Constantius, and Constans: he was interred at Constantinople; and his funeral pomp was attended by Constantius.

Britain being drained of its forces, as well as other Roman provinces, after the removal of the seat of the

empire to the east, was so exposed to the terrible ravages of the Picts and Scots, that they were obliged to call in a foreign nation to their aid, who afterwards became masters of the island.

After the death of Constantine, the Roman empire was divided between his three sons, as above mentioned, but in a little time Constantius became master of the whole. He sent into Britain, Paulus, a notary, who committed numberless extortions. Martinus, the governor, though he could not oppose him, persuaded him to use his power with more moderation. Paulus, in an insolent manner, told him, that those who found fault with his proceeding deserved to be put in irons as rebels to the emperor. The governor enraged at these words, drew his sword and struck at him, but missing his blow, he turned the point of it against his own breast, and by that means became his own executioner. This circumstance added greatly to the power of the tyrant Paulus, who now condemned to death all that opposed his measures.

In the reign of Valentinian, Britain was greatly reduced by the joint attacks of the Picts, Scots, Attacots, Franks, and Saxons. Nectaridus, governor of the sea coasts, was defeated and slain, and soon after Buchobaudes, general of the land forces, met with the same fate. First Severus and then Jovinus were sent to put a stop to their ravages, but without success. At length Theodosius the Elder, so called to distinguish him from his son, the first emperor of that name, was deputed; he routed the pillagers in several encounters, and drove them entirely out of the Roman province, having recovered all their plunder, which he restored to the right owners, reserving a trifling part only for the soldiers. After this, he repaired the ruined cities and castles; and having laid the foundation of a lasting peace, returned to Rome in the year 368, leaving the care of the island to the governors of the five provinces.

In the reign of Valentinian II. and Gratian, Maximus was sent into Britain, in order to quell an insurrection of the Picts. Upon his arrival he formed a project of dividing the Scots and Picts, whose union was the only obstacle to the conquest of the whole island. To this end he persuaded the Picts to join with the Romans, by promising them all the land that should be taken from the Scots. Not long after, the Scots being attacked by the two united powers, were forced to abandon their country, and fly to Ireland and the adjacent isles. Maximus, according to his promise, put his allies in possession of their country, but with an intent to subdue them in their turn. Whilst he was meditating on these matters, Gratian, who reigned in conjunction with his brother Valentinian, made Theodosius the Younger his partner. His choice, though generally applauded, was by Maximus construed into a great affront to himself, who thought he deserved that honour much better, and therefore resolved to assume the title of emperor. Hereupon he took upon himself the imperial dignity, in Britain,

\* This Constantine was undoubtedly the son of Constantius by Helena; but who she was, whether his wife or concubine, of what country, whether of Britain, Mæsia, or Bithynia, is much controverted amongst authors. Zosimus, lib. II. 46, 47; Bede, lib. I. c. 6, 31; and Nicephorus, lib. VII. say, she was his concubine; but others, among whom is Eutropius, assert, that she was his wife, and that he was divorced from her when he married Theodora, the daughter-in-law of Maximian. As to her country Bede is silent, but Baronius, Usher, Camden, Alford, Stillingfleet, and Fuller, acquaint us, that she was a Briton; and some assert, that she was the daughter of king Coel; and that Constantine was born in Britain: Nicephorus, Livienus, Liplius, and some others, contend, that he was born at Drepanum, (a town of Bithynia in Asia, between the cities Nicomedia and Nicæa, near the Propontis, called Hellenopolis, in memory of Helena,) and that Helena was the daughter of Constantius's host, when he was at that place in his expedition against the Persians and Sarmatians. Firmicus, another writer, asserts, that he was born at Naissus, (now Nisi or Nissus,) a town of Upper Mæsia.

† He began to reign A. D. 307.

‡ The council assembled by Constantine at Nice, is one No. III.

“ of the most famous and interesting events that are presented to us in Ecclesiastical History; and yet, what is most surprising, there is no part of the history of the church that has been unfolded with such negligence, or rather passed over with such rapidity. The ancient writers are neither agreed concerning the time nor place in which it was assembled, the number of those who sat in council, nor the bishop who presided in it. No authentic acts of its famous sentence have been committed to writing, or, at least, none have been transmitted to our times. The eastern Christians differ from all others, both concerning the number, and the nature of the laws that were enacted in this celebrated council. The latter mention only twenty *canons*; but in the estimate of the former, they amount to a much greater number. It appears, however, by those laws, which all parties have admitted as genuine, and also from other authentic records, not only that Arius was condemned in this council, but that some other points were determined, and certain measures agreed upon, to calm the religious tumults that had so long troubled the church.” Vide Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, cent. IV. part II. chap. v. sec. XII.



and went into Gaul to fight Gratian. The Roman historians inform us, that Maximus, having caused Gratian to be assassinated as he was flying into Italy, and dethroned, Valentinian II. was himself vanquished, and beheaded by Theodosius. Valentinian being restored, was soon after murdered by Abrogastus, who placed Eugenius upon the throne. Theodosius fought the usurper, and served him in the same manner as he had done Maximus. Thus he became sole master of the empire, and remained so as long as he lived.

The Roman soldiers being drawn out of Britain, together with the flower of the British youth, exposed the island again to the incursions of the Picts and Scots.

The Britons, consisting now of a mixture of Romans and other foreigners, with the natives, whose interest it was to defend Britain as their common country, finding themselves thus harrassed by their neighbours, and having no hope of any assistance from Rome, resolved to elect an emperor of their own; and therefore pitched upon Marcus, an officer of great credit among them. But not having the good fortune to please the people, he was slain or dethroned, and another named Gratian, chosen in his stead. He being a man of a cruel and bloody temper, was assassinated four months after his election. They next chose one Constantine, a common soldier, merely on account of his name. The new emperor, being a man of courage, beat back the Scots and Picts into their own country, and then, making a peace with them, formed a design of becoming master of the whole Roman empire. With this view, he passed over into Gaul with the remainder of the British army, as well natives as Romans; but about four years after was vanquished by Constantius, and was beheaded by order of Honorius the emperor, in the year 407.

From this time the affairs of Britain gradually declined; for being destitute of the Roman legions, as well as of its noblest inhabitants, who accompanied the Roman army into Gaul, the island was exposed to the invasion of every barbarous adventurer. The Britons were particularly harrassed by the Picts and Scots, and other northern people. They now began to implore the assistance of their old masters the Romans, suing to those people as patrons and protectors, whom before they looked upon as tyrants and usurpers. They sent several messages to the emperor Honorius; but he, not being able to defend himself against the Goths under Alaric, was not in a condition to afford them any succour; and therefore advised them to inure themselves to arms; and to endeavour to repel all invaders by their own native force, freely acquitting them of all the Roman jurisdiction. Having the right of government in their own hands, they betook themselves to live after their own laws and institutions; and the Armoricans, who now obtained the name of Britons in Gaul, followed their example. Thus fell the vast and mighty empire of the Romans, first in Britain, and soon after in Italy. The Britons were discharged from their allegiance with the Romans about the year 410, which was 463 years after the first invasion of the island by Julius Cæsar. The Romans, however, again assisted the Britons, but finally departed from the island about the year 485, which was 488 years after their first entrance into it.

## CHAP. II.

*The Picts and Scots invade Britain. The Britons apply to Ætius, in vain for Succour. They elect a Monarch. Proposal for calling in the Saxons. The Proposition approved. Origin of the Saxons. The Manners, Government, and Religion of that People.*

**U**PON the final departure of the Romans in 435, as mentioned at the conclusion of our last chapter,

the Picts and Scots began their hostilities with greater confidence than ever. They attacked the wall which had been lately repaired, and being weakly defended by the Britons, they made large breaches in several places, that they might have no obstacles when their inclination prompted them to make inroads into the enemy's country. The Britons despairing of being able to resist their enemies, abandoned part of their country, and retired to the more southern parts of the kingdom. The Britons, however, paid a large sum of money to purchase a peace with their neighbours: and the wall of Severus was to be the common boundary between the two nations. The Scots murmured against this peace; and the war soon broke out afresh. Soon after the commencement of this war, the Britons in one battle lost fifteen thousand men. They then sued in a suppliant manner for peace; which they obtained upon very hard terms. All the country lying north of the Humber, was to be delivered up to the Picts and Scots, who took possession of it. This peace was of no long continuance; for a famine broke out in Britain not long after, and the Picts and Scots took advantage of their misfortunes and miseries; made inroads into their country, and ravaged it in a merciless manner.

The extreme misery of the Britons compelled them to have recourse once more to their old masters, the Romans, for assistance. They addressed doleful letters to Ætius, the Roman lieutenant in Gaul, who had been successful in repelling the violence of the Gothic arms. They began thus: "To Ætius, thrice consul; the groans of the Britons. The Barbarians drive us to the sea, and the sea drives us back to the Barbarians; between which we have the choice of these two deaths, either to be slaughtered by the one, or drowned by the other. And exclusive of the enemy, we the wretched remnant of the Britons, and your vassals, are punished by famine and mortality, which are present very much rage in our land." They, however, received no answer to their urgent petition; for the Roman empire was every where infested with Huns, Goths, and Vandals; so that the Romans were not able to send any succours into Britain. The Britons, reduced to the greatest distress, convened a general council, in order to fix upon some mode whereby they might extricate themselves from the power of the enemy, and preserve peace to their countrymen. They agreed, as the only means to prevent their ruin, to elect a monarch\*, flattering themselves, that, when united under one head, their divisions would cease, and they should by that means be the better enabled to resist their enemies. Dissensions still reigned among the petty kings; and they were so far from submitting to the monarch elect, that they sought to assassinate him, that they might be elected to his office. It was therefore impossible for these monarchs to subsist long, seeing all the malcontents joined together for their destruction. Thus the Britons by endeavouring to unite themselves under one, plunged themselves deeper into anarchy and confusion.

Vortigern, king of the Damnonii†, was chosen chief king in 445. This prince was haughty and insolent, neither wise in council, nor experienced in war; yet he was much beloved by his subjects, because his vices were similar to their own. He was no way concerned on account of the common danger, but considered the public treasury as a fund, only to satisfy his lusts and extravagancies. The people beginning to grow impatient and dissatisfied with his behaviour, made him dread assassination; and therefore he convened a general assembly, and represented to them in a lively and pathetic manner, the extreme misery of the nation, and the great danger from thence of being either driven out of their native country, or entirely destroyed by their enemies. He then proposed, that the warlike Saxons might be called to their assistance, telling them, that by

\* By monarch here is to be understood, one superior to the other heads or kings, on whom they depended in some

measure. — See Selden and William of Malmesbury.

† Inhabitants of Devon and Cornwall.



the help of those auxiliaries they would soon be in a condition not only to resist the enemy, but to repay them in their own coin. The proposal was readily accepted; and they proceeded to consider on the conditions proper to be offered to the Saxons. Vortigern proposed the allotting them some province, that their own interest might induce them to wage the war the more heartily and vigorously: and the isle of Thanet in Kent, being a proper place to land their forces at, and also convenient for them, whenever they should have a mind to return into their own country, was adjudged to them. They also agreed that the Saxon soldiers should be allowed pay. Ambassadors were immediately chosen, and dispatched to Germany, with a view to make known the requests of the Britons to the Saxons, and promising them advantageous conditions if they would come over to their assistance.

But before I proceed, it will be necessary to give some account of the Saxons, a subject but very slightly touched upon by the generality of English historians.

About the time the Romans began their conquests in Germany, the inhabitants of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, now called Jutland, leaving their country, possessed themselves of the northern parts of Germany. These Cimbrians divided themselves into three nations, the Suevi, Franks, and Saxons. The latter spreading themselves westward, towards the German Ocean. The Suevi were so terrible to the ancient Germans, that they looked upon them as a match for the immortal Gods; and the Franks over-run the whole province of Gaul, and founded the noble kingdom of France.

The Saxons possessed themselves of all those tracts of land that lie between the Rhine and the Elbe. Their territories, bounded on the west of the German Ocean, were extended eastward to the borders of Thuringia. Consequently they were masters of Saxony, Westphalia, and all that part of the Low-Countries lying north of the Rhine. Upon the decline of the Roman empire, after the death of Theodosius, the Saxons made themselves masters of all the country along the coasts of the German Ocean, and extended their conquests as far as the islands of Zealand.

The true etymology of their name is as difficult to be ascertained as their origin. The most common opinion is, that the word Saxon comes from *Seax*, which in their language signifies a sword. They had two sorts, a long one, which they wore by their side, or at their back, and another that was shorter, which served for a bayonet or dagger. They were both in the shape of a cutlance or falchion.

As to their manners, they very nearly resembled the ancient Germans, as described by Tacitus. They were naturally brave and warlike, as their many conquests sufficiently evince. But to their enemies they were severe and cruel, especially to their prisoners of war, whom they seldom failed to sacrifice to their gods.

Their dominions were divided in twelve governments or provinces, each of which had a chief or head, accountable to the general assembly of the nation. In time of war, they chose a general, to whom the command of their armies was given, and he was invested with almost sovereign power. Upon the conclusion of a war, like the Roman dictators, his authority was at an end.

As for their religion, it was the same with that of the other northern nations, and some part of Germany. The British Saxons embraced christianity, towards the end of the sixth century. The principal gods they adored, before they received the Gospel, were the *Sun*, *Moon*, *Tuisco*, *Woden*, *Thor*, *Friga*, or *Fræa*, and *Seater*. Three days of the week were consecrated to these deities. *Tuisco* is supposed to have been the grandson of Japhet, and to have first peopled the

northern parts of Europe. The god *Thor*, from whence the word thunder, was the same among the Saxons, as *Jupiter* was among the Romans, that is to say, *The Thunderer*. *Woden* was the god of war. Their principal families looked upon him as their founder and glorified in being descended from him. There are still some traces in England of the name of *Woden*, as *Wansdick*, *Wansborough*, which are contractions of *Woden's-dick* and *Woden's-borough*. *Friga* the wife of *Woden* was the Venus of the Saxons. She was worshipped in the shape of an hermaphrodite, as being the goddess of both sexes. They had another god named *Ermenfwol*, the same as Mercury, and some others common to them with all the northern nations.

### C H A P. III.

*The Saxons arrive in Britain. Hengist their Leader made King of Kent by Vortigern, who becomes enamoured of his Neice. Wars between the Saxons and Britons under the Conduct of Ambrosius I. and afterwards of King Arthur. The founding, at different Times, the Heptarchy, or Seven Kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons. The Britons driven into Wales, where they have subsisted every since a distinct People from the English. The Christian Religion extirpated by the Anglo-Saxons throughout their Conquests.*

UPON the arrival of the British ambassadors in Germany, and upon their making the request of the Britons known to Witigisil, the Saxon general, he summoned an assembly, which being met, the chief of the embassy addressed them in the following pathetic manner:

“ Illustrious and generous Saxons, the Britons, “ harrassed and oppressed by the continual inroads of “ the Picts and Scots, their neighbours and enemies, “ send us to you to implore your assistance. The fame “ of your victories has reached our ears. We are “ sensible your arms are irresistible, and therefore are “ come to sue for your protection. Britain for many “ years made a considerable part of the Roman empire; “ but our masters having abandoned us, we know no “ nation more powerful than yourselves, or better able “ to protect us. Grant but our request, and in return “ we offer all that a rich and fertile country, such as “ ours is, can afford. Put what price you please on “ your protection: we shall submit to what terms you “ yourselves shall judge reasonable, provided by your “ aid we are enabled to drive the enemy out of our “ country\*.” The Britons having thus related the cause of their coming, the Saxon general returned them this short, though favourable, answer: “ Be assured the “ Saxons will stand by you in your pressing necessities.” Accordingly a supply of nine thousand men was granted them, on condition the Saxons were put in possession of the isle of Thanet, and their troops allowed a certain pay †. Hengist and Horfa ‡, the sons of Witigisil, were nominated to command the forces designed for Britain.

The Saxons, notwithstanding their promise, did not think fit to send over so considerable a body of troops, as nine thousand men at one time, to a country they had but an imperfect knowledge of; and therefore pretending the rest were not ready, they shipped only a part of them on board three keyles or long boats; the nature of which vessels plainly shew their number was very inconsiderable.

Hengist and Horfa with their forces, arrived at Ebbesfleet in the isle of Thanet, in the year 449; where Vortigern stood ready on the shore, and received them with demonstrations of joy and respect, and put them in immediate possession of the island, according to the

\* Witichind, a Saxon historian, puts these words in the mouths of the British ambassadors; however it cannot be denied but that they are very natural, considering the deplorable condition the Britons were in.

† Nennius. W. of Malm. Bede. lib. 1.

‡ Horfa signifies a horse, and Hengist a stone-horse. It was usual with the Saxons to give their children the names of animals.



agreement. Having refreshed themselves a little after the fatigues of their voyage, he led them against the Picts and Scots, who were advanced as far to the southward as Stamford in Lincolnshire. In the first battle, the Saxons quickly put them to flight. The Picts and Scots, disheartened at this and several other defeats, retired by degrees into their own country, dreading nothing so much as coming to an engagement with the Saxons\*. Vortigern, overjoyed at these successes, presented the two brothers with some lands in Lincolnshire, where they gave the enemy the first repulse†.

Hengist thinking the Britons began to be dissatisfied, advised Vortigern to send for the remainder of the Saxon troops which were intended for Britain, telling him, that the only way to secure his crown and future happiness was to do as he advised him. Vortigern readily acquiesced in the proposal, and Hengist sent to his father Witigifil, desiring him to dispatch the troops immediately; which he accordingly did, and they arrived in sixteen large vessels in the year 450, bringing with them Efcus and Rowena, the eldest son and niece of Hengist. The arrival of this reinforcement inspired Vortigern with haughtiness and pride; and he endeavoured to depress his subjects and advance the Saxons: but Hengist, being a man of an aspiring genius, laid a snare for Vortigern, which he easily fell into. Having studied the humour and temper of Vortigern, and finding that love was his prevailing passion, he concerted measures accordingly. He one day begged the favour of his company at Thong-Castor‡. Vortigern willingly accepted of his invitation; and Hengist prepared a splendid entertainment. But what pleased his guest most, was the young Rowena, one of the most beautiful ladies in her time. Hengist had ordered her to stand directly opposite the king, under pretence of doing him honour, but, in truth, that he might, during the repast, regale his eyes, with the sight of so lovely an object. His plot took, for Vortigern kept his eyes fixed upon Rowena the whole time, who by her looks gave him to understand, she was not insensible of the honour he did her. Hengist perceiving the impression Rowena's beauty made upon the king, was resolved to give his growing passion no time to cool. He made a certain sign to his niece, upon which, she filled a golden cup with wine, and presented it on her knees to the king, saying in her language, "*Liever Kyning, Wafs Heal;*" that is, "Dear king, your health." Vortigern, agreeably surprized, asked his interpreter what she said, and how he must answer her in Saxon. Then looking upon her very amorously, he said, "*Drinck Heal;*" that is, "Do you drink the health." Rowena thereupon put the cup to her lips, and then gave it to the king, who immediately rose up to salute her, which Rowena receiving in a very respectful manner, and making a profound reverence, withdrew, leaving the king, full of love and desire. This may be said to be a fatal moment to Britain, as will appear by the sequel.

From that time, Vortigern could think of nothing but the possession of Rowena, and therefore, notwithstanding his having a wife already, demanded her in marriage. Hengist modestly informed him, that he could not, contrary to the custom of the Saxons, give his niece to a prince that was already married; adding, that he was not entire master of Rowena. The amorous Vortigern, however, resolved to surmount all difficulties, and began with divorcing his wife, by whom he had had several children; then gave his word, that Rowena should have the free exercise of her religion; but what most pleased the Saxons was, the investing Hengist and Horsa with the sovereignty of Kent, with leave to people it with Saxons. This being what the

crafty Saxon wanted, all obstacles vanished, and the enamoured Vortigern was put in possession of the charming Rowena.

Vortigern being enamoured of his new wife, greatly neglected the affairs of his country, and Hengist acquainted him, that conspiracies were forming against him. He also advised him to send for more Saxon troops, telling him, that those in the island were not sufficient to protect him from the malice of his enemies. Vortigern thinking the scheme a very good one, readily agreed to send for a great number of Saxons; and Hengist, having obtained his permission, sent for a fleet of forty ships, which came laden with Saxon forces under the command of Oeta his brother, who brought his son Ebusa along with him. These arrived in Britain in the year 452; and began with plundering the Orcades, then making a descent on the Picts, forced them to retire northwards, and seated themselves in their country, in such a manner that it was not possible to drive them from it. At first they settled on the north side of the Tine eastwards. But they quickly advanced towards the south, and drove the Britons beyond the Humber. Hengist, imagining he had now nothing to fear from the Britons, threw off the mask, and told them, that as the Saxon soldiers had not been paid, according to their agreement, he demanded the arrears, and declared, that if they were not immediately paid, he would do himself justice.

The Britons, seeing their danger, began to think of freeing themselves from their new acquaintances, and accordingly united themselves under Vortimer, the eldest son of Vortigern, in the year 453, with a view to drive the Saxons out of Britain. The armies of the competitors were not long before they met. The Britons and Saxons came to an engagement at Eglestord§, in 455, in which the former were victorious. Horsa||, the brother of Hengist, and Katigern\*\*, the younger brother of Vortimer, fell in this battle. The same year Hengist took upon him the title of king of Kent.

Two years after, in 457, another battle was fought near Crecanford, now Crayford, in Kent, in which Vortimer was entirely defeated, losing upwards of four thousand men, besides his principal officers. He retired to London, where he shut himself up till he could recruit his forces. During this time Hengist ravaged the country in a merciless manner, and struck terror into the Britons wherever he appeared. The Saxons joined to their natural ferocity a religious zeal; and imagined that they honoured their gods, by barbarously treating the Christians: the ecclesiastics were the most cruelly used.

The Britons, thus distressed, applied to the Armoricans for assistance; whereupon they sent ten thousand men, with Ambrosius at their head, who all landed at Totness in Devonshire, in 458. The arrival of this army was no way pleasing to Vortigern or Vortimer; for they viewed Ambrosius as one who was come to usurp the crown, under the specious pretence of defending it. As they conjectured, so the event had liked to have turned out; for Guithlin, archbishop of London, and Ambrosius, endeavoured to cause the ruin of Vortigern and Vortimer. This was evident from their keeping back the Armorican forces, and not suffering them to march against the Saxons. A mutual animosity took place between the two parties, and they soon came to blows. Their first battle was fought the same year near Catwaloph in Carmarthenshire. As it is difficult, from the confused accounts of historians, to know who got the better in this and several other engagements, we shall only observe, that the civil war lasted till the year 465; during which time the Britons were much weakened, but the Saxons, like able politicians, encreased their number, and daily grew stronger, both in Kent and beyond the Humber. To so wretched a condition were the

\* Will. of Malmesbury.

† Some affirm these lands lay in Kent. But Nennius assures us, they were in Londeſia, or Lindesia, Regione. *Lindum* is one of the Latin names of Lincoln.

‡ Now Caſtor, about ſix miles from Grimsby in Lincolnſhire.

§ Now Aylesford, in Kent.

|| He was buried at Horſted.

\*\* He was buried near Aylesford, where four ſtones were raised on end as a monument to his memory.



Britons at last reduced, that numbers of them, harrassed at one time by the civil wars, and at another by the Saxons, abandoned their native country.

In 465 a temporary peace was established; but in the following year the war broke out again with redoubled vigour. The Saxons obtained the advantage over the Britons in several engagements; by which means the British affairs became greatly disordered. In 475, Vortimer, the principal promoter of the war, died. It has been supposed, by some, that he was poisoned, through the suggestion of Hengist, by his mother-in-law Rowena. After this war had continued about twenty years, both parties shewed an inclination for peace, which was at length concluded, each retaining their respective conquests\*.

Hengist, instead of finding himself at the head of affairs in Britain, which was his intention in pursuing the war, was miserably chagrined when he considered, that he had gained nothing but a few victories over the Britons, without extending his dominions. He now attempted to accomplish by stratagem, what he was not able to do by force: to this end he contrived a plot, which by its blackness tarnished the glory of all his former actions. He invited Vortigern to an entertainment, which being readily accepted, Vortigern, attended by three hundred of his principal subjects, waited on the Saxon. He received them with every mark of esteem and respect, and the entertainment he had provided was uncommonly splendid: but towards the conclusion of the feast the scene was changed; and Hengist, by giving a certain signal, caused the British nobles to be massacred. Vortigern, however, was preserved alive; and to obtain his liberty, was obliged to deliver up to the Saxons a great part of his dominions bordering on Kent; which they divided into three counties, and called them Essex, Suffex, and Middlesex: those names are still continued. Notwithstanding this, Hengist ravaged the neighbouring country, and got possession of London, Lincoln, and Winchester.

This treacherous and barbarous treatment greatly roused the indignation of the Britons; and considering Vortigern as a friend to the Saxons, they deserted him, and joined Ambrosius, who assumed the title of Emperor of the Britons, creating at the same time prince Arthur a Patrician.

Hengist, finding that the greater part of the inhabitants of his newly acquired territories, had deserted their country, and had joined the Britons, resolved to call more Saxons from Germany to his assistance, and accordingly, in the year 477, invited Ella, a Saxon general, promising him part of the territories Vortigern had granted him, as an inheritance. Ella therefore embarked from Germany, and landed at Whitering, on the coast of Suffex, but not without opposition. During nine years the Saxons employed themselves in re-peopling their almost deserted territories with Saxons from Germany, and in augmenting their forces. The Britons viewed them with an eye of jealousy and grief, as they were not able to make any opposition to them du-

ring the life of Vortigern, he being strongly attached to the Saxon interest. However, being wearied with impatience, they summoned a council, and invited Ambrosius to take arms in their defence. They represented to him, that the longer the Saxons were suffered to remain unmolested, the stronger their party would grow; and that since the war had ceased, that part of Britain which was possessed by the Saxons abounded with youthful soldiers. Ambrosius acquainted them, that he was convinced, as well as they, of the necessity of an exertion to expel the foreigners; but that there were no hopes of succeeding while Vortigern existed: that notwithstanding his great age, and his being in appearance incapable of acting, yet he had a powerful party, who would not fail to raise new disturbances as soon as the war should break out: that they had found, by fatal experience, ever since the arrival of the Saxons, he had always favoured their schemes: that all their misfortunes and losses were owing to their internal dissensions; and that as these were still in being, there was no possibility of succeeding against the enemy. In short, he told them, that they had but one of two ways to take, either to permit the Saxons to remain in the quiet possession of their acquisitions, till the death of Vortigern, or to rid themselves of that domestic enemy, to the end that they might unite their forces, and march against their common enemy the foreigners. The latter was resolved on. Thus we may easily perceive, what a general hatred reigned among the Britons against Vortigern their sovereign. Ambrosius made preparations to put the resolution of the Britons in practice. Vortigern fled to Wales, where he shut himself up in a castle. Ambrosius laid siege to the strong hold, and the castle, whether by accident, or by the engines of the besiegers, took fire, was burnt to ashes, and the unfortunate Vortigern perished in the flames†.

Ambrosius having now no rival in the sovereignty of Britain, renewed the war against the Saxons with the utmost vigour, and gained a complete and signal victory over Ella and his two eldest sons in the year 487. Hereupon the Saxon general was much dismayed, as he was not able to withstand the force of the Britons, and therefore shut himself up in his fortresses till fresh supplies arrived from Germany. Hengist did not live to see the end of this war, for he died in the year 488, aged about sixty-nine years, of which he had passed thirty-nine in Britain, and thirty-three on the throne of Kent‡.

After Ella's defeat Elicus had been sent into the north, to assist Oeta and Ebusa against the Britons; but as soon as he received intelligence of the death of his father Hengist, he hastened to Kent to take possession of the kingdom. Ambrosius, in the mean time, omitted no opportunity which might tend to the improvement of his victory. He retook London, Winchester, and Lincoln; but Elicus, who had no inclination for war, sought rather the enjoyment of his kingdom in peace, than the acquisition of new territories, and consequently did not attempt to retake the above places.

In the year 491 Ella§, having gained some advantages over the Britons, assumed the title of King of

\* The celebrated Arthur, at fourteen years of age, made his appearance in the British army under Ambrosius, during this war. "His inclination for arms made him take upon him sometimes the profession of a soldier, which he never quitted during his life. He succeeded Gorlois, his father, to the kingdom of Dammonium in 467. He was no sooner on the throne, but he had a war to carry on against Howel, king of Arclute, in the neighbourhood of Scotland. This prince is said, out of envy to the glory Arthur had acquired, to enter into an alliance against him with the Saxons in the north. But Arthur was so far from losing his reputation, that he very much increased it, by driving him to the isle of Mona, where, giving him battle, he slew him with his own hand. He was then about eighteen years old. We shall find him hereafter signalizing himself by actions more glorious, as well as more beneficial to his country."—Rapin, book 11.

† The tragical death of Vortigern happened in the year 485, after a troublesome reign of forty years. He had three sons by his first wife, Vortimer, Catigern, and Pascentius. By his daughter, who he debauched, he had a son named Faust-

tus, who passed his life in a monastery, where he was distinguished for his piety.

‡ Some British or Welsh writers tell us, Hengist was taken prisoner and beheaded by the Britons. But the Saxons unanimously assure us he died a natural death. Besides Kent, Essex, and Middlesex, he was in possession of some lands in Lincolnshire, where he built Thong Castle. The Saxons beyond the Humber, acknowledged him for their sovereign; and he left two sons, Elicus, who succeeded him, and Audacer, who stayed in Germany.

§ Ella was elected monarch or general of the Saxons in the room of Hengist. For it must be observed, that although Hengist was only king of Kent, yet was he considered also as head of all the Saxons, according to the custom of that nation in Germany, where, in time of war, they had always their captain-general, accountable only to the Convention of the States. This custom the Saxons continued in Britain, and always elected a general, whom some writers stile monarch, because he was head over several kings.



Suffex, *i.e.* the South Saxons. Thus the second Saxon kingdom was established: it contained the counties of Suffex and Surrey.

In the year 495 Cerdick \*, an experienced soldier, together with his son Cenrick, arrived on the coast of Britain with five vessels, and a considerable quantity of Saxon soldiers. By various conquests he obtained a considerable possession of land on the sea coast.

In 501 Porta, with a reinforcement of Saxons, arrived at Portland †, which received its name from him. Thus the Saxon forces were greatly augmented, while those of Britain daily diminished. Arthur, now much distressed concerning the affairs of his country, applied to Hoel, king of Armorica, his nephew, for assistance; and this prince, at the head of fifteen thousand men, landed at Southampton. Thus reinforced, Arthur marched against the Northumbrians; and, after an obstinate battle, overcame them. He then went in quest of Cerdick, who was at that time besieging Lincoln. He soon came up with and surprized him, obliging Cerdick to hazard a battle, which, in the event, proved fatal to the Saxons.

The Saxons, fearing lest Arthur should overcome them, and drive them from their settlements, united all their forces, and made Cerdick general of the whole army ‡. The Britons were not idle spectators of these transactions; for they greatly augmented the number of their troops. Ambrosius, though much advanced in years, put himself at the head of the Britons, and advanced towards Cerdick §, who had no idea of retreating from him. The two armies being engaged, Ambrosius broke through the right wing of the Saxons, commanded by Cerdick, and put them to the rout. But whilst he was eagerly pursuing his victory against a body that made but a faint resistance, Cenrick, Cerdick's son, having had the same advantage over the right wing of the Britons, instead of pursuing them, fell upon Ambrosius in the flank, and by that wise conduct gave Cerdick time to rally his troops and complete the victory, by an entire defeat of the Britons.

Ambrosius, vexed to see the victory snatched out of his hands, did all he could to renew the fight. Notwithstanding his age and infirmities, he threw himself amongst his enemies, in order to animate his troops by his example. But these efforts served only to crown his glorious life with an honourable death. The success of that day was, by the public acknowledgment of his father, attributed to Cenrick. This battle was fought in 508, near a place, called by the Saxons, Cerdick's Ford ||.

Arthur was elected monarch in the room of Ambrosius, being crowned at Caerleon. After his coronation, he marched against the Northumbrian Saxons, and defeated them on the banks of the river Ribroyt in Lancashire. Baldulph and Colgrin, in the mean time, invaded his territories in the west, whereupon he marched against them, and routed their army near Cadbury, in Cornwall \*\*.

Cerdick having been reinforced with fresh supplies from the Saxon princes in Britain, as well as from Germany, laid siege to Bath. Baldulph and Colgrin having joined him also with their remaining troops, his army was so strong, that he wished the Britons would attempt to oppose him. He had his desire. Arthur, resolving to hazard all to save that place, advanced and gave him battle, which proved the bloodiest that had ever been fought between the two nations. It lasted from noon till night, without any visible advantage to either side. Both armies kept the field, waiting for the day to renew

the fight. The Saxons during the night, posted themselves on a little hill, called Bannesdown, which both sides had neglected to do the day before, though of great importance to them. As soon as it was light, Arthur, seeing how matters stood, was resolved to dislodge them from their advantageous posts, which he effected after a long and obstinate fight. The Britons, animated by the presence and valour of their king, and perceiving the Saxons, in retreating down the hill, had put themselves in some disorder, pressed upon them still more vigorously, and routed them entirely. They gained a most complete victory. Baldulph and Colgrin were both slain, and, Cerdick, with the remainder of his army, retired to a place where he might be out of danger of being attacked.

The Picts, who were in alliance with the Saxons, finding Arthur was at a great distance from their country, and knowing that Hoel lay sick at Areclute, resolved to besiege that town, with a view to take the king of Armorica prisoner. Arthur receiving information of the siege, marched with all possible expedition to the assistance of his nephew. He compelled the Picts to retire to their own country, and ravaged it from one end to the other ††. During this expedition died Gueniver, the wife of Arthur, who was buried in the county of Angus in Scotland. Shortly after Hoel returned to Armorica, the victory of Badon [Bath] having secured Arthur, for some time, from any incursions of the Saxons.

In 512 Efcus, king of Kent, died, and was succeeded by his son Octa. Two years after died Ella, king of Suffex, and monarch of the Saxons, having enlarged his narrow territories at the expence of the Britons, during a reign of twenty-three years. His two eldest sons having been slain at Badon, Cissa the youngest succeeded him in the kingdom of Suffex; but the monarchy of the Saxons was conferred on Cerdick.

In 514 fresh supplies arrived from Germany under the conduct of Stuff and Withgar, Cerdick's nephews; whereupon he again took the field, and committed great devastation in the country of the Britons. Notwithstanding this reinforcement, Arthur vigorously opposed this formidable enemy. After several battles, in which victory was sometimes on the side of the Britons, and sometimes on that of the Saxons, Cerdick, in 519, gained so complete a victory over the Britons, as made Arthur despair of ever dislodging the Saxons from their possessions in Britain. Peace was now concluded between the two contending parties; and Arthur surrendered to Cerdick, Hampshire and Somersetshire, which entirely satisfied the Saxon. Of these he founded the kingdom of Wessex, and was crowned at Winchester twenty-three years after his arrival in Britain.

From the peopling of Essex and Middlesex with Saxons and Jutes, in the time of Hengist, they had been governed by a deputy under the king of Kent; but in 527, Erchenwin, who was descended from Woden, assumed the title of king of Essex. He was governor under Octa king of Kent.

About this time, multitudes of Angles, under the conduct of twelve chiefs, all of equal authority, but whose names, except that of Uffa, are unknown, landed on the eastern coast of Britain, where continually advancing towards the west, they compelled the Britons to abandon the country along the eastern shore. The Angles thus situated had an opportunity of sending from time to time for fresh colonies from Germany, by the means of whom they founded the kingdom of the East-Angles. But as their first chiefs assumed not the title of kings, the beginning

\* From this truly great Saxon the kings of England, in the male line, were descended down to Edward the Confessor; and in the female, down to the illustrious prince who now sits on the throne. Cerdick was the tenth in a direct line from Woden, the root of all the principal families of the Saxons. He was famous also for founding a kingdom, to which all the rest in the end became subject, and consequently, he is to be looked upon, if not as the first, at least as one of the principal founders of the English monarchy.

† Rapin.

‡ The Saxon chiefs were Efcus, king of Kent, Ella, king of Suffex, Cerdick, Porta, and those belonging to the northern Saxons.

§ Arthur had been detached with a strong party in quest of Baldulph and Colgrin, and coming to an engagement with their forces in Cornwall, he obtained a signal victory over them.

|| Chardford in Hampshire. \*\* Rapin. †† Gal. Mon. lib. vii. of



of this kingdom is generally brought down to the year 571.

During the eight years peace between Arthur and Cerdick, the king of Armorica sent to his uncle for aid against Frollon, one of his subjects, who had revolted against him. Arthur went over in person and revenged his nephew's quarrel by slaying Frollon with his own hand in the first battle they fought.

Arthur was in Armorica when the Angles arrived in Britain, which gave them an opportunity of making a greater progress than they could otherwise have done had he not been abroad. Cerdick also, taking the advantage of his absence, broke the peace, and by the valour and conduct of his son Cenrick, who always accompanied him, obtained a signal victory in Buckinghamshire, at a place called Cerdick's Lega, now Cherdsey. Arthur, upon his return, found himself not in a condition to maintain a war against his enemies, and therefore renewed the treaty of peace with Cerdick.

Arthur went again to Armorica, and left the affairs of his kingdom to the management of Modred; who behaved in a very treacherous manner, entering into an alliance with Cerdick, and yielding up to him the counties of Wiltshire, Berkshire, Devonshire, and Dorsetshire; by which means Cerdick's dominions became the most extensive of all the Saxon kingdoms which had been established. Cerdick sent again to Germany, promising great possessions to all those Saxons who would come to Britain; and shortly after eight hundred vessels, with Saxons and Jutes, were seen on his coasts, so that he quickly dispossessed the Britons, and gave their estates to his countrymen. Cerdick died in the year 534, thirty-nine years after his arrival in Britain, and sixteen after his coronation at Winchester. He was succeeded in his kingdom, and in the generalship of the Saxons and Angles, by his son Cenrick. The same year died Osta, king of Kent, who was succeeded by his son Hermenrick.

Arthur, having been absent four years, returned to Britain in 535, and found the affairs of his kingdom in a very dangerous situation. Modred was in possession of his throne, and in strict alliance with the Saxons; whose interest it was to support the usurper. Arthur, however, though borne down with age, and almost destitute of friends, resolved to undertake the regaining of his kingdom, as well as the revenging himself on the perfidious Modred. Upon this resolution several officers and soldiers enlisted under the banner of their lawful prince, and he, with his small army, engaged Modred, who had been reinforced with Saxons and Picts. In this battle, which happened in 537, Arthur lost Galvan and Angusel, two princes of his blood, who had faithfully adhered to him both in prosperity and in adversity. Notwithstanding this, Arthur gained a complete and signal victory. This war lasted seven years, during which Arthur was generally victorious, but could not entirely overcome his antagonist. The last battle was fought in 542, on the banks of the river Cambalone near Camelford in Cornwall; and in which the uncle and nephew rushed upon each other with impetuosity: Modred was slain on the spot, and Arthur, being mortally wounded, was carried to Glastonbury, where he died in the ninety-first year of his age, having been seventy-six years inured to arms\*.

As soon as the news of Arthur's death was known in Germany, Ida, an Angle, embarked on board forty vessels a vast quantity of his own countrymen, and landed at Flamborough in Yorkshire, then in possession of the Northumbrian Saxons, who received them as friends. Ida, upon his arrival, finding the inhabitants willing to obey him, was crowned king of Northumberland. This was the fifth kingdom founded by the Anglo-Saxons. Ida built the city Bebbanburgh in Northumberland, in honour of his queen, whose name was Bebba. This city was some years afterwards destroyed; and the castle of Bamborough only remains†.

In

\* This celebrated prince was born at Tindagol in Cornwall, in 452 or 453, and died, as above related in 542. He was buried in the monastery at Glastonbury, by the side of Gueniver his second wife. He had two others of the same name, the first died in the country of the Picts, and the third proved false to him. By this last he had a son called Noem, who died young. Arthur when expiring, sent his crown to Constantine his cousin the son of Cadur, and grandson of Ambrosius, declaring him, by that action, his successor, which must be understood only of Danmonium, for the monarchy of Britain was extinct by his death. It is affirmed, that his body was found whole and entire in Glastonbury monastery in the reign of Henry II. Whereon might plainly be distinguished ten wounds, one whereof only seemed mortal. We have the names of each of his arms in the ancient Romances. His shield was called *Pridwen*, his lance *Ron*, and his sword *Caliburn*. This last was presented in 1091 to Tancred king of Sicily by Richard I.

† As there are many privileges at this castle, arising from the munificence of the late Lord Crewe, we here insert the following account of them for the information of our readers:

An account of the *Signals* made use of at *Bamborough Castle*, in the county of *Northumberland*, in case ships or vessels are perceived in distress, and of the charitable institutions established there for their assistance and relief; first published by the direction of the trustees of *Nathaniel* late Lord *Crewe*, with the approbation of the master, pilots, and seamen, of the *Trinity-House*, in *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, 1771.

#### S I G N A L S.

I. A gun (a nine-pounder,) placed at the bottom of the tower, to be fired as a signal in case any ship or vessel be observed in distress, viz.

Once, when any ship or vessel is stranded or wrecked upon the islands, or any adjacent rock.

Twice, when any ship or vessel is stranded or wrecked behind the castle, or to the northward of it.

Thrice, when any ship or vessel is stranded or wrecked to the southward of the castle; in order that the custom-house officers, and the tenants, with their servants, may hasten to give all possible assistance,—as well as to prevent the wreck from being plundered.

II. In every great storm, two men on horseback are sent from the castle to patrol along the coast from sun-set to sunrise, that in case of an accident, one may remain by the ship,

and the other return to alarm the castle. Whoever brings the first notice of any ship or vessel being in distress, is entitled to a premium, in proportion to the distance from the castle; and if between twelve o'clock at night and three o'clock in the morning, the premium to be double.

III. A large flag is hoisted when there is any ship or vessel seen in distress upon the *Fern Islands*, or *Staples*, that the sufferers may have the satisfaction of knowing their distress is perceived from the shore, and that relief will be sent them as soon as possible. In case of bad weather, the flag will be kept up, a gun fired morning and evening, and a rocket thrown up every night from the north turret, till such time as relief can be sent. These are also signals to the *Holy Island* fishermen, who, by the advantage of their situation, can put off for the islands at times when no boat from the main land can get over the breakers. Premiums are given to the first boats that put off for the islands, to give their assistance to ships or vessels in distress, and provisions and liquors are sent in the boats.

IV. A bell on the south turret will be rung out in every thick fog, as a signal to the fishing boats; and a large swivel, fixed on the east turret, will be fired every fifteen minutes, as a signal to the ships without the islands.

V. A large weather-cock is fixed on the top of the flag-staff for the use of the pilots.

VI. A large speaking-trumpet is provided, to be used when ships are in distress near the shore, or are run aground.

VII. An observatory, or watch-tower, is made on the east turret of the castle, where a person is to attend every morning at day-break during the winter season, to look out if any ships be in distress.

VIII. Masters and commanders of ship or vessels in distress are desired to make such signals as are usually made by people in their melancholy situation.

Assistance, stores, and provisions, prepared at *Bamborough Castle* for seamen, ships, or vessels, wrecked or driven ashore on that coast or neighbourhood.

I. Rooms and beds are prepared for seamen, ship-wrecked, who will be maintained in the castle for a week (or longer, according to circumstances), and during that time be found with all manner of necessaries.

II. Cellars for wine and other liquors from ship-wrecked vessels, in which they are to be deposited for one year, in order to be claimed by the proper owners.

III. A store-house ready for the reception of wrecked goods, cables, rigging, and iron. A book is kept for entering all kinds



In the year 552 the Britons, notwithstanding their weak estate, made a noble effort to recover part of their lands from Cenrick, king of the West Saxons, but were repulsed with great loss near Salisbury in Wiltshire.

In 555 the two sons of Modred, with the assistance of the Saxons, attempted to dethrone Constantine, to whom Arthur had bequeathed his kingdom of Danmonium; but Constantine, who was well prepared against them, pursued them to Glastonbury, where he slew them in the arms of the abbot, who interceded for his guests in vain.

Ida, king of Northumberland, died in 559, after he had enjoyed a peaceful reign of twelve years\*. Northumberland was then divided into two kingdoms, but upon what account is unknown. Adda, the son of Ida, enjoyed the northern part, under the title of the king of Bernicia, while Deira, the southern part, was possessed by Alla, a descendant from Woden. The year following, 560, Cenrick, king of Wessex, and monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, died, after a reign of twenty-six years. Keaulin, his eldest son, succeeded to his kingdom, and to the monarchy of the Saxons.

In 564 died Hermerick, king of Kent, and was succeeded in his dominions by his son Ethelbert.

Uffa, the only survivor of the twelve chiefs of the Angles†, assumed in 571, the title of king of the East Angles: this was forty years after his arrival in Britain. Thus the sixth kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons was formed. Uffa died in 578, and left his crown to Titil, his son.

The deplorable condition of the Britons at this time, being pressed and surrounded on all sides by their enemies, compelled them to apply to the Scots, as they had done before to the Saxons, for assistance. The ambassadors who were sent to Aidan, king of Scotland, represented to him, "that their ruin would infallibly draw on his: that the Saxons had in view no less than the conquest of the whole island, great part whereof was already in their possession: that if the foreigners should at length over-run what remained in the hands of the Britons, the Scots were to expect no better quarter than the Picts, whom they had already dispossessed of part of their country. To this they added, that the Saxon monarch was an active and ambitious prince, capable of forming designs, the consequences of which all would have reason to dread, unless a timely stop were put to his proceedings."

Aidan, prevailed upon by the intreaties of the Britons, put himself at the head of a powerful army, and joined the Britons, in order to attack the common enemy. Keaulin, the Saxon, marched against them with all possible expedition; but as his forces were greatly inferior in number to those of the Britons and Scots, he was defeated with the loss of his son Cuthwin, and vast numbers of his soldiers. The Saxon princes now united their forces, and with their joint army marched, under Keaulin, against the Britons and Scots: an engagement quickly followed, in which the British and Scottish forces were entirely routed. Aidan, on account of the defeat, retired into his own country; and the Britons were obliged to rest satisfied with the scanty domains the Saxons had left them.

kinds of timber and other wrecked goods, giving the marks and description of each, with the date when they came on shore.

IV. Four pair of screws for raising ships that are stranded, in order to their being repaired.—Timber, blocks and tackles, handpikes, cables, ropes, pumps, and iron, ready for the use of ship-wrecked vessels.

A. B. But, if taken away, to be paid for at prime-cost.

V. A pair of chains, with large rings and swivels, made on purpose for weighing ships (of a thousand tons burthen) that are sunk upon rocks, or in deep water.

A. B. These chains are to be lent (*gratis*) to any person having occasion for them, within forty or fifty miles along the coast, on giving proper security to re-deliver them to the trustees.

VI. Two mooring chains, of different lengths, are provided,

The Britons, hardly recovered from their consternation, were alarmed in 584 by the arrival of the most considerable fleet that had ever come from Germany, on board of which were vast numbers of Angles under Crida, of the race of Woden. This powerful Saxon advanced towards the inland parts of the island, and drove the Britons before him wherever he came. In vain did they fly to their walled towns; for their want of provisions for such multitudes quickly compelled them to surrender at discretion. Being unable to defend themselves against these new invaders, the Britons took the resolution of leaving their country, and flying into Cambria‡, beyond the river Severn. Their flight left Crida in possession of all the country lying between the Humber, the Severn, and the Thames, by which his territories were bounded on the north, west, and south. Out of these conquests the kingdom of Mercia, the seventh Saxon kingdom, was founded: it was much larger and more considerable than any of the others. Crida was crowned the same year.

#### C H A P. IV.

*The State of Britain after the Conquest of England by the Saxons. A general Account of the various Kingdoms which composed the Saxon Heptarchy. A general View of the Heptarchy.*

IT may be readily imagined, that the revolution caused by the conquests of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, introduced a new appearance on the affairs of the island. The names of towns and provinces were changed; and the country itself divided in a different manner from what it had been by the Romans.

The whole island was now divided into several kingdoms, and shared among four different nations, viz. The Britons, or Welsh, the Scots, the Picts, and the Anglo-Saxons. The west and south-west parts were inhabited by the Britons; the north parts were in possession of the Picts and Scots, separated from the English by the rivers Esk and Tweed, and the mountains between those two rivers. The Picts were on the east, and the Scots on the west side; the mountain of Grantz-baine being their common boundary. The Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, comprehended under the general name of English, had conquered all the southern parts of Britain, and possessed that part of the island which was contained between the English Channel on the south, a little beyond Severus's wall on the north, Wales on the west, and the German Ocean on the east. This part was divided into seven kingdoms, of which the Saxons and Jutes had four, viz. Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Wessex; the Angles alone had two, viz. Mercia, and East Anglia; but in Northumberland the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, were mixed together.

We are now to begin with a new body of people, and with a new state and government of the land, which introduced a general change of name, of language, of customs, of laws, of arms, of discipline, of possession, of titles, of religion, and even of the whole face of nature throughout the nation. Upon which account we

which may occasionally be joined together, when a greater length is required.

VII. Whenever any dead bodies are cast on shore, coffins, &c. will be provided *gratis*, and also the funeral expences paid.

*Trinity-House, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Dec. 24, 1771.*

We, the Master, &c. of this House, desire the Trustees to make their humane intentions public.

*By Order, THOMAS AUBONE, Sec.*

\* He left issue twelve sons, half by wives, and half by concubines.

† Mentioned before, p. 30.

‡ The Saxons gave the name of *Gwallish*, or *Wallish*, to Cambria; hence *Wales*. Much about the same time the Saxons gave, with one consent, to the seven kingdoms in general, the name of *England*, i. e. the *Country of the Angles*.



may justly date the original of all those among us, as well as our kingdom itself, from these our Saxon ancestors: Britain, which was before a Roman province, was now a Saxon nation: the language, which was either Latin or British, was now grown wholly Saxon or English: the habits in peace, and arms in war, the titles of officers, and proprietors of lands, came to be all according to the Saxon forms and usage: the laws of this country, which before were Roman, were changed now into old Saxon customs and constitutions: the religion, which before was Christian, now became Pagan, introducing the worship of several gods, particularly Woden, Thor, and Frea, or Friga, whose memory are still preserved by the common names of three days in the week: and lastly, the land itself, which before had been divided into Roman provinces, was divided now into seven Saxon kingdoms, governed by their own proper kings. The foundation of these kingdoms have been already mentioned; but for the reader's ease, it will be necessary to give a general account of each till the time of Egbert, the first supreme monarch of this nation.

The first of the seven kingdoms was that of KENT, which was inhabited by Jutes, and consisted of the county of Kent, and probably some part of Hampshire, and had a succession of seventeen kings, four Pagans, and thirteen Christians, viz. Hengist, Escus, Oeta, Hermeric, Ethelbert, Eadbald, Ercombert, Egbert, Lothar, Edric, Withred, Edbert, Edibert, Alric, Edbert surnamed Pren, Cuthred, and Baldred. This kingdom was founded in the year 455, and ended in 823, continuing 368 years; its royal seat being Canterbury, and sometimes Reculver, near the sea-shore.

The second kingdom was that of the SOUTH-SAXONS, which consisted of the two counties of Sussex and Surrey; and this being mostly under the power of the kings of Kent and the West Saxons, we find but five kings, two Pagans, and three Christians, viz. Ella, Cissa, Ethelwolf, or Adelwalch, Berthun, and Athun. This kingdom was founded in the year 491, and about the year 600 it became subject to Keauling, king of Wessex; its royal seat being Cissancester, now Chichester.

The third kingdom was that of the WEST-SAXONS, consisting of six counties, viz. Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Berkshire, besides Cornwall, which was afterwards added to it, and had a succession of sixteen kings before Egbert, five Pagans, and eleven Christians, viz. Cerdic, Cenric, Keaulin, Ceolric, Ceolwulf, Cinigisil cum Quincelm, Kenewalch cum Sexburge, Eskwine, Kentwine, Cedwalla, Ina, Ethelheard, or Adelnard, Cuthred, Sigebert, Cenwulf, and Brithric. This kingdom was founded in the year 519, and continued till the time of Egbert; its royal seat being Ventceaster, now Winchester.

The fourth kingdom was that of the EAST-SAXONS, which consisted of the two counties of Essex and Middlesex, with the south part of Herefordshire, being generally tributary to Kent and Mercia, and had a succession of thirteen kings, two Pagans, and eleven Christians, viz. Erchenwin, Skedda, Sabert, Sexred cum Fratre, Sigebert the Little, Sigebert the Good, Swithelm, Sigher cum Sebba, Sighard cum Senofrid, Offa, Seolred, and Swithred. This kingdom was founded in the year 527, and ended in 747, continuing two hundred and twenty years; its royal seat being London.

The fifth kingdom was that of NORTHUMBERLAND, which consisted of Angles, and of six counties, viz. Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Northumberland, with part of Scotland as far as Edinburgh Frith. For above a hundred years this kingdom was divided into two, namely, Bernicia in the north, and Deira in the south, and had a succession of twenty-one kings, besides five in Deira, four Pagans, and seventeen Christians, viz. Ida, Alla, Edelric, Edelfrid, Edwin, Oswald, Oswy, Egfrid, Alfrid Osred, Kenred, Osric, Ceolwulf, Eadbald, Osulf, Ethelwald, Alured, Ethelred, Alfwold, Osrea, and Ethelred. This kingdom was founded in the year 547.

No. III.

and ended in 792, continuing two hundred and forty-five years, besides an interregnum of thirty-three years after; its royal seat being the city of York.

The sixth kingdom was that of the EAST-ANGLES, which consisted of the three counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, and Suffolk, and had a succession of fourteen kings, four Pagans, and ten Christians, viz. Uffa, Titil, Redwald, Eorpwald, Sigebert, Egric, Anna, Ethelherd, Ethelwald, Aldulf, Elfwald, Beorne, Ethelred, and Ethelbert. This kingdom was founded in the year 575, and ended in 702, continuing two hundred and eighteen years; its royal seat being Domoc or Dummoc, now Dunwich in Suffolk, and sometimes St. Edmund's-Bury.

The seventh and last kingdom was that of MERCIA, which consisted of Angles, and of sixteen counties, viz. Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Cheshire, besides part of Hertfordshire, and had a succession of fifteen kings before the reign of Egbert, and six after, four Pagans, and seventeen Christians, viz. Crida, Wibba, Ceorl, Penda, Peada, Wulfer, Ethelred, Kendred, Ceolred, Ethelbald, Beornred, Offa, Egfrid, Kenulf, Kenelm, Beornwulf, Ludecom, Withlaf, Bertulf, Bertred, and Ceolwulf. This kingdom was founded in the year 585, and ended 874, continuing two hundred and eighty-nine years; its royal seat being Lincoln. This establishment of the seven kingdoms is generally called by the name of the HEPTARCHY, of which we are now to treat.

By the Heptarchy is to be understood the government of the seven kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, as united into one body and one state. The bond of this union was their monarch, or rather commander in chief. He was chosen by the unanimous consent of the kings of the seven kingdoms, and invested with certain privileges, the nature and number of which we are altogether unacquainted with. Besides their monarch, they had also, as the center of the Heptarchal government, the Wittena-Gemot, or General Assembly, composed of the principal members of the seven kingdoms, or their deputies. In this assembly, the affairs relating to the nation in general were debated and regulated. Each kingdom likewise had its own peculiar convention, or parliament, similar to those of the United Provinces of Holland. Notwithstanding the conventions of each kingdom, every one was obliged to submit to the determinations of the general assembly. Such was the form of government in the Heptarchy, but as times and circumstances often cause alterations in the best formed constitutions, the ambition or restlessness of their kings, did not suffer the Anglo-Saxons to remain long in that union their mode of government would lead us to imagine. Those princes who were the most powerful, frequently took the advantage of their weak neighbours, to aggrandize themselves. Hence those frequent wars among them, that ended in the subversion of the Heptarchy, and their subjection under one.

Another source of their wars, was the ambition of their monarchs, who, not content with the privileges annexed to their dignity, were for stretching them higher. Had those historians who have treated of the Heptarchy, given us an exact account of the prerogatives of the monarch, we should have been able to form some judgment on the causes of the wars on this head. But as they have only marked the time and success, without transmitting to us the reasons or motives of them, the history, by this means, is rendered imperfect; since the Annals give us only the bare relation of facts, without any manner of connection. All we can gather from them is, that the Anglo-Saxon kings were naturally very restless and troublesome. But this character is not peculiar to them, for in the following ages there has been no greater union among the princes of Europe.

Besides these wars, to which the Annalists have chiefly

continued



confined themselves, there were no doubt, many other events, that would have embellished and enlivened their histories. But unluckily these writers were all monks, who paid no attention to any thing but the foundations of monasteries, and the privileges granted to the clergy. In doing this, they could not help informing posterity, that there were in England seven different kingdoms; whose kings founded particular monasteries, and endowed them with large revenues and immunities. By this means they were induced to write a kind of history of the Heptarchy, in order to make appear the foundation of their rights. But as this was their only aim, they have given us little else besides the succession of the kings in the several kingdoms. This is properly all the assistance we have towards an history of the Heptarchy, the main matter whereof relates to affairs of religion; of which it will be necessary to say a few words.

When the Saxons arrived in England, they were all Pagans. Their conversion began in 597, with the kingdom of Kent, by Austin, a Benedictine monk, and ended in 653 with the kingdom of Mercia, by the ministry of missionaries from Northumberland. During the fifty-six years which were taken up in propagating the Gospel, it happened that in some of the seven kingdoms, Christianity, after its first establishment, was so rooted out, that it was again to be replanted, as if it had never been known. This was the case in the kingdoms of Essex, Northumberland, and East-Anglia. So that there was in England all along till the whole was converted, a mixture of Christians and Idolaters; some of the kingdoms being converted to Christianity, whilst other remained in Paganism; neither were the inhabitants of every part of the same kingdom converted at the same time.

Austin preached to the Saxons in Kent, Mellitus to the East-Saxons, Paulinus to the Northumbrians, Birinus to the West-Saxons, Wilfred to the South-Saxons, Felix to the East-Angles, and the Northern Monks to the Mercians. These preached not all with the same success, because the circumstances of affairs were not alike in all places. However, about sixty years after the coming of Austin, all England was converted.

We may here observe, that the Monks took especial care to inspire the Anglo-Saxons with a reverence for monasteries, and the monastic life. They wrought much on the minds of the kings and grandees in this respect, so that in the course of two hundred years, from the conversion of the English to the subversion of the Heptarchy, the number of monasteries which were founded, and the immense riches which the Monks acquired, are altogether incredible. The religion inculcated by the monks, seemed to consist wholly in enriching themselves, and absolute perfection in embracing a monastic life. So bigoted were the Saxon converts, that even kings and queens, princes and princesses, stripped themselves of all their worldly glory, and passed the remainder of their days in a monastery; some to expiate their enormous crimes, others as believing it the readiest way to salvation. The monks, as may be readily imagined, suffered no opportunity to slip, in which the fervour of this sort of devotion might be kept up: they loaded with praises those who resolved to offer up such sacrifices to God, and sainted all that died in these pious dispositions.

#### C H A P. V.

*The Monarchy of the English Saxons, from the Establishment of King Egbert, to the Beginning of the Monarchy of the Danes in England, under King Canute.*

#### E G B E R T.

**H**AVING arrived at the end of the Saxon Heptarchy, we shall now get into some degree of order, and from the transactions of a many-headed government, to those of an united monarchy, founded and erected by the policy and power of king Egbert, who

began his reign over the West Saxons in the year 800, and finished his conquest of England in 827 or 828, from which period his title of King of England is to be dated.

The Picts and Scots being driven back to their country, and the Britons having betook themselves to the western parts of the island, seemed to promise a firm and lasting peace to England. This tranquillity, however, was but of short duration; for Egbert was scarcely seated on the throne, before he and his subjects were alarmed by the invasions of the Danes, who greatly infested the British coasts; but as their design was not to make conquests, they contented themselves with plundering the inhabitants of the towns near the shore, and then returning to their ships again.

In 833, the Danes made another descent upon the island, and landed at Charmouth in Dorsetshire, where they were vigorously encountered by king Egbert himself, who did not entirely defeat his enemies: they, however, embarked on board their ships, and left the island. In this battle Herefrid and Wigferth, two Saxon bishops, were slain, as also Dudda and Osmund, two Saxon commanders. Two years afterwards, in 835, these unwelcome guests returned again, with a very powerful army; and joined in league with the Cornish Britons. Egbert marched against them, and engaged them near Hengist-dun, (now Hengston-hill) in Cornwall, where he obtained a complete victory over them, and freed his kingdom at that time from these barbarous enemies.

At length, after a reign of thirty-six years and seven months, and in the year 838\*, Egbert resigned his soul into the hands of his Maker, and was buried at Winchester. He was succeeded by his only son

#### E T H E L W U L P H,

WHO ascended the throne on the 4th of February, 838. This prince received his education in the monastery of Winchester, which gave rise to the opinion, that he was a monk, or bishop of Winchester. Be this as it may, he began his reign by making a partition of his dominions, and delivering over to his eldest son, Athelstan, the new-conquered provinces of Essex, Kent, and Suffex. Soon after his ascension, a Danish fleet, consisting of thirty-three vessels, appeared on the English coast, and landed at Southampton; but they were beat back to their ships by Wolfhere, the governor of the neighbouring county. The same year Æthelhelm, governor of Dorsetshire, obtained a victory, after a very obstinate engagement, over another band of Danes. In the year 840, the Danes landed again on the coast of Wesssex. The two armies met at Charmouth, where a dreadful battle ensued, in which the English were defeated.

Ardred, king of Northumberland, died in 841, and was succeeded by his son Ethelred.

Roderic, surnamed Mawr, (*i. e.*) the Great, was then king of Wales. This prince attacked Berthulph, king of Mercia, with great success. Ethelwulph went in person into Mercia, to stop the progress of the Welsh prince. He saw the dangerous consequence of suffering the Welsh to retake any part of the country the English had conquered from them; and therefore joined his forces with those of the king of Mercia. When Roderic found Ethelwulph engaged in the quarrel, he desisted from his enterprize, and sued for peace; which it was no hard matter to obtain, both the sovereign and his vassal desiring only to live in ease and quiet. This same Roderic left three sons, among whom he shared his dominions, which by that means were divided into the three kingdoms of Venedotia, Demetia, and Powis.

In 845, the Danes having made another descent on the island, the earls Eadulph and Olric, with bishop Alstan, gave them battle near the river Parret, in Somersetshire, and gained so signal a victory over them, that England remained unmolested by these pirates for some years. They returned, however, in 851, and landed on the coast of Wesssex, where they ravaged the country.

\* Some place his death in 836.





*Saint Augustine a Benedictine Monk first preaching to the Saxons in Kent in the Year 597.*



country, and committed horrible cruelties. As they were returning to their ships with the booty, they were surprized by earl Ceorle, Ethelwulph's general, who defeated them near Wenbury, in Devonshire. King Athelstan also, having equipped a fleet, engaged that of the Danes, near Sandwich, in Kent, and took nine of their vessels. Notwithstanding these successes, another band wintered in the Isle of Sheepey. In the spring following they entered the Thames with three hundred sail, and landed near London, where they began their usual ravages. The two kings Ethelwulph and Athelstan encamped at Okeley in Surrey; and the Danes marched towards them, with an intent to engage them. The armies being met, a terrible battle ensued, in which so dreadful a slaughter was made among the Danes, that very few of them escaped to tell the mournful tale. Nothing concerning Athelstan is said, after the battle of Okeley, so that, it is presumed, he did not long survive that memorable victory.

Both by the disposition and education of Ethelwulph, he was extremely addicted to religion; insomuch, that he granted to the church the tithes of all his dominions\*. In the year 853, his religious zeal prompted him to send his youngest son Alfred to Rome, he being only five years of age. As he had a great veneration for this child, he imagined that the Pope's blessing would be ratified in Heaven, and procure him great happiness. Ethelwulph went to Rome himself in 855, merely for the sake of receiving the Pope's benediction. He extended the tax of Peter-pence all over his dominions; which till then had been levied only in Wessex. He also laid himself under an obligation of sending three hundred mancuses† yearly to Rome, two hundred whereof were to be expended in furnishing wax-tapers for the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the remaining hundred were for the Pope's private use. Having staid at Rome about a year, he returned home through France, where he married Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, a young princess not more than twelve years old.

During the absence of Ethelwulph, Ethelbald, the king's eldest son, at the instigation of Alstan, formerly the king's favourite, raised a conspiracy against his father, and openly declared his intention of dethroning him. Ethelwulph readily gave up to his son Ethelbald the kingdom of Wessex, and was contented himself with that of Kent, under which was comprized those of Essex and Sussex.

From this time Ethelwulph devoted his time to the service of his Maker, in doing acts of charity, and in dispensing justice to his subjects. His son Ethelbald, imagining he had many years to live, spent his days in licentiousness and debauchery. Ethelwulph, by will, disposed of his dominions to Ethelbert, his second son, and after his decease to Ethelred, his third son, and after him to Alfred, his youngest. He also ordered his heirs to maintain one poor person for ever tithing in his hereditary lands. He died in 857, after a reign of twenty years, leaving behind him four sons and one daughter, who was married to Buthred, king of Mercia, and died at Pavia in 888. Ethelbald, Ethelwulph's eldest son, being already in possession of the kingdom of Wessex, Ethelbert his brother had only for his share, Kent, Essex, and Sussex, comprized under the name of the Kingdom of Kent. As for Ethelred, and Alfred, his other sons, they were at first but ill provided for; but in the end

they were both seated on the throne. Ethelwulph was buried at Winchester, with his father Egbert.

#### ETHELBALD in WESSEX.

#### ETHELBERT in KENT.

ETHELBALD's reign was neither remarkable for any event of moment, nor for any action of his own worth recording. He was a person of an evil disposition, and married his father's widow. According to Matth. Westm. he was brought to a sense of his fault by Swithin, bishop of Winchester, who compelled him to do penance for it. After he had reigned two years in Wessex during his father's life, and about two years and a half after his death, he died in the year 860, and was buried at Sherborn.

#### ETHELBERT.

ETHELBALD being now dead, Ethelbert enjoyed the crown of England. In the beginning of his reign the Danes made a descent upon the island, and penetrated as far as Winchester, the metropolis of Wessex, which they reduced to ashes. They were, however, soon after repulsed by Osric and Ethelwulph, two Saxon earls, who obliged them to retire to their ships. Some time after they landed again; but Ethelbert not being in a condition to withstand them, offered a sum of money to their commander to depart. This proposal was readily agreed to; but as soon as the money was paid, they began to plunder as before. Ethelbert died in 866, having reigned six years, and was buried at Sherborn. He left behind him two sons, Adhelm and Ethelwald, who did not succeed their father; his younger brother Ethelred ascending the throne, by virtue of Ethelwulph's will.

#### ETHELRED I.

THIS prince's reign was short and troublesome. From the day of his coronation to that of his death, he had a continued conflict with the Danes. These barbarians began their operation in the attack of Northumberland, which in the end they became masters of. Their next step was the conquest of East Anglia. They then compelled the Mercians to purchase their ransom; and proceeded to Wessex. Notwithstanding Alfred's ill usage by his brother Ethelred, who deprived him of a large patrimony which had been left him by his father, he generously assisted and seconded his brother in all his enterprizes. The year 868 was remarkable for a great famine in England, and for the marriage of Alfred to the daughter of Ethelred, ealdorman of the Gani, inhabitants of the place now called Gainsborough.

The Danes having invaded Northumberland, seized the city of York, and defended it against two Northumbrian princes, Osbert and Ella, who perished in the assault‡. Elated by their successes, the Danes, under the conduct of Hinguar and Hubba, entered Mercia, and took up their winter quarters at Nottingham. The Mercians, now greatly distressed, applied to Ethelred for assistance; and that prince, with his brother Alfred, conducted, in the year 870, an army to Nottingham, where they engaged the Danes, obtained a victory over them, and obliged them to retreat to Northumberland. The Danes, being a very restless people, did not remain long in those quarters; but entered East-Anglia, defeated and took prisoner Edmund, the king of that country, whom they afterwards murdered in cool blood,

\* The charter runs thus: "I, Ethelwulph, by the grace of God, king of the West-Saxons, &c. with the advice of the bishops, earls, and all other persons of distinction in my dominions, have, for the health of my soul, the good of my people, and the prosperity of my kingdom, taken the prudent and serviceable resolution, of granting the tenth part of the lands throughout my whole kingdom, to the church and ministers of religion, to be enjoyed by them, with all the privileges of a free tenure, and discharged from all services due to the crown, and all other incumbrances incident to

" lay-fee. This grant has been made by us to the church, in honour of Jesus Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and All Saints; and out of regard to the Paschal Solemnity, and that Almighty God might vouchsafe his blessing to us and our posterity. Dated at the palace of Wilton, in the year 854. Indiction the second, at the Feast of Easter."

† A mancuse was about the weight of our present half-crown. See Spelman's Glossary, in verbo Mancus.

‡ Asser. p. 6. Chron. Sax. p. 79.



and committed the most barbarous ravages on the people, particularly on the monasteries \*. They next, in 871, encamped near Reading, and greatly infested the neighbouring country, by their frequent incursions. The Mercians, who had long entertained an idea of shaking off their dependence on Ethelred, now refused to join that prince with their forces; in consequence of which, Ethelred, attended by Alfred, marched against the enemy at the head of the West-Saxon troops, his hereditary subjects. The Danes being shortly after defeated, shut themselves up in their garrison; from whence they made an irruption, routed the West-Saxons, and obliged them to raise the siege. Not long after another battle was fought at Aston or Ashdown in Berkshire, in which Alfred's division was surrounded by the enemy; and Ethelred, who was at this time hearing mass, refused to march to his assistance, till prayers should be finished †. The English, however, obtained the victory; and the success of the day was, by the monks, ascribed to the piety of Ethelred. The same year a battle was fought at Basing, in which the Danes were more successful: being greatly reinforced from their own country, they became every day more dreaded by the English. Ethelred ‡ died soon after of a wound he received in an action with the Danes §; and was succeeded by his brother Alfred.

During the reign of Ethelred the Danes demolished the famous monasteries of Croyland, Ely, Peterborough, and Coldingham.

### ALFRED THE GREAT.

THIS prince, who ascended the throne in 872 ||, gave early marks of those great virtues and shining talents, by which, during a series of troubles, he preserved his country from utter ruin. Alfred being at Rome, on the propagation of a report of his father's death, received at the hands of pope Leo III. the royal unction \*\*. Though naturally of a strong genius and quick apprehension, he was unable to read at the age of twelve years. Encouraged by the queen his mother, and stimulated by his own inclination, he soon became able to read some Saxon poems; and was shortly after instructed in the knowledge of the Latin tongue. Being called to the throne at the age of twenty-two years, in preference to his brother's children, as well as in pursuance of the will of his father, a circumstance which the Anglo-Saxons paid great deference to ††, as by the vows of the principal men of the nation, and the urgency of public affairs, he laid aside his literary pursuits, and exerted himself in the defence of his country.

Alfred had scarcely buried his brother, when he was obliged to take the field, in order to oppose the Danes, who had seized Wilton, and were exercising their usual ravages on the countries around ‡‡. He marched against them with a small number of troops, they being all he could muster on the occasion, and gave them battle, in which he gained the advantage; but pursuing his victory without a sufficient force, the Danes returned to the charge, and put Alfred and his little army to the rout. The loss of the Danes was, however, considerable; and fearing a reinforcement should be sent to Alfred, they sued for peace, promising to depart from the kingdom.

To this end, they were conducted to London, where they were allowed to take up their winter quarters: but paying no regard to their engagements, they proceeded to ravage the neighbourhood of that great city. The king of Mercia, in whose dominions London was situated, made a new treaty with them, by which they were engaged to remove to Lindsey in Lincolnshire §§. They did not remain long in that part of the country; but being eager for plunder re-entered Mercia, fixing their station at Repton in Derbyshire, and laid waste the adjacent country by fire and sword. Buthred finding himself in danger, abandoned his kingdom, and retiring to Rome, took shelter in a cloister |||. He was the last king of Mercia.

The Danes were now become masters of almost all England, the kingdom of Wessex being the only remaining power. Notwithstanding the great courage and abilities of king Alfred, his forces were not strong enough to withstand those of the Danes, who poured in upon them on every side. In the year 875, a vast reinforcement arrived from Denmark, under the conduct of Guthrum, Oscital, and Amund. Part of this new supply, under the command of Haldene \*\*\*, fixed their station in Northumberland. The ensuing summer this band bent their course towards Dorsetshire, and seized on Wareham in that county near the center of Alfred's dominions. Alfred, finding the affairs of his kingdom in a declining posture, entered into a treaty with Haldene, obliging the Danes to swear upon the holy reliques †††, to the due observance of it ‡‡‡; not imagining that the perfidious wretches with whom he had to deal would pay any greater regard to the reliques than to their word; but hoping that, if they violated this oath, their horrid impiety would draw down the vengeance of the King of Heaven upon them. But the Danes, no way dreading the vengeance of Heaven on this occasion, immediately broke the treaty, attacked Alfred's army, put it to the rout, marching westward towards Exeter, and took possession of that city. Alfred now recruited his forces, and so vigorously exerted himself, that he fought in one year eight §§§ battles with the enemy, and greatly reduced them. He now made peace with the Danes again; and scarcely was the treaty settled, before he was acquainted, that a new body of Danes had landed, and taken possession of Cyppanham [Chippenham in Wiltshire,] one of the finest and strongest cities of the kingdom, and were exercising their usual ravages in its neighbourhood.

Alfred was now obliged to relinquish the ensigns of royalty, to dismiss his servants, and to seek shelter in the meanest disguises from the fury of his enemies. He took upon himself the habit of a peasant, and lived with a neatherd, who had formerly been entrusted with the care of some of his cows ||||. After Alfred had remained some time in this obscure situation, he observed, that the enemy were more remiss than usual in their researches after plunder. Hereupon he collected his retainer together, and retired with them to the center of a bog, which was formed by the stagnating water of the rivers Thone and Parret, in Somersetshire. Here, finding about two acres of firm ground, he built a habitation, and rendered it secure by raising fortifications about it.

\* The heroic behaviour of Abba, abbess of Coldingham, and her nuns, deserves particular notice, as the most exalted instance of virtue and magnanimity. In order to prevent herself, and the nuns under her charge, from exciting the lust of the brutish Danes, she persuaded them to cut off their noses and upper lips, herself setting the example, in which she was followed by all the rest of the sisterhood present. The Danish chiefs repairing thither the next day, and finding themselves disappointed of the pleasure they expected to taste in the arms of these maidens, became furious, and instantly ordered the monastery to be set on fire, and the abbess, together with her nuns, perished in the flames.

† Asser. p. 7. W. Malmesb. lib. 11. cap. 3. Sim. Dunelm. p. 125. Anglia Sacra, vol. 1. p. 205.

‡ He was buried at Winburn in Dorsetshire, where the following inscription was placed on the tomb: "In hoc loco

" *quiescit corpus S. Ethelredi regis West-Saxonum martyris, qui anno Domini DCCCLXXII. XXIII. die Aprilis per manus Danorum Paganorum occubuit.*" Camden.

§ Hume, chap. 2.

|| According to Hume's Hist. of Eng. ch. 2, 871.

\*\* Asser. p. 2. W. Malmesb. l. 11. c. 2. Ingulf. p. 869.

†† Asser. p. 22.

‡‡ This country had already been laid desolate by them.

§§ Hume, ch. 2.

|| Asser. p. 8. Chron. Sax. p. 82. Ethelward, l. 1v. cap. 4.

\*\*\* Chron. Sax. p. 83.

††† The most solemn manner of swearing among the Danes and other northern nations was by their arms or bracelets. Olaus Magnus, l. viii. c. 2. ‡‡‡ Asser. p. 8.

§§§ Hume, ch. 24. Chron. Sax. p. 82, says nine.

|||| Asser. p. 9.



The unknown and inaccessible roads which led to it, together with the forests and morasses by which it was environed on every side, rendered it a place of prodigious strength. To this place he gave the name of *Æthelingay* \*, now *Athelney*. Thence he frequently made unexpected sallies upon the Danes, whom he greatly harrassed. He subsisted himself and his followers in this place by the plunder which he acquired, and inspired them with hopes of succeeding against their enemies the Danes. In this manner they lived about twelve months, when the news reached his ear, that *Hubba*, the Dane, had landed in Devonshire from twenty-three vessels, and laid siege to the castle of *Kinwith*. *Oddune*, earl of Devonshire, with his followers, had taken shelter there, and Alfred, knowing they were not well supplied with provisions, resolved to make a vigorous effort to give them relief. Accordingly, he sallied forth on the Danes before sun-rise, and put them to the rout. In this battle *Hubba* was slain, and Alfred got possession of the famous *Reafen* †, or Enchanted Standard, in which the Danes placed the utmost confidence.

Alfred having met with success, now thought of examining into the strength of the Danes, before he hazarded a battle with them. To this end, he entered their camp under the disguise of a harper, and passed without the least suspicion through every quarter. The Danes were highly delighted with his music, and his facetious behaviour. *Guthrum*, their prince, was so well pleased with him, that he entertained him several days ‡. During his stay he gained the necessary information, and sent emissaries to the most considerable of his subjects, appointing a rendezvous at *Brixton*, on the borders of *Selwood Forest* in *Somersetshire* §. Upon this invitation, the nobles joyfully repaired to their sovereign, and offered their assistance and support. Without delay he conducted them to *Eddington*, where the Danes were encamped, and attacking the most unguarded part of their camp, soon put them to flight with great slaughter. The remainder of the army, with their prince, was besieged by Alfred in a fortified camp to which they had fled; but being reduced to the greatest extremity through the want of provisions, they had recourse to the clemency of the victor, and submitted to him on his own terms. The king, no less generous than brave, spared their lives, and formed a plan for their conversion from enemies to faithful subjects. To this end, he proposed that *Guthrum* and his followers should re-people *East Anglia* and *Northumberland*, which places had been almost laid desolate by the frequent inroads of the Danes. Before these conditions were ratified, he required that they should, as a pledge of their submission, renounce the errors of Paganism, and become converts to the Christian faith. *Guthrum*, and by far the greater part of his army, were not averse to the proposition of Alfred; and without much instruction they were admitted to baptism. Alfred himself was the godfather of *Guthrum*, and gave him the name of *Athelstan*, receiving him, at the same time, as his adopted son ||. The greater part retired peaceably to the quarters assigned for their habitation; but some of them being of a turbulent and unsatisfied disposition, embarked for France under the conduct of *Hastings* \*\*, and except a trifling incursion of Danes, who entered the *Thames*, sailed by *London*, and landed at *Fulham*;

but finding the English prepared for their reception, they speedily retreated to their ships; Alfred was not infested by the inroads of these barbarians for many years ††.

Alfred now set about the restoring of order to his lately convulsed kingdom, and put the Danes and the English on the same footing, making both amenable to the same laws; insomuch that the fine for the murder of a Dane, was the same with that for the murder of an Englishman. He then rebuilt the ruined cities, particularly *London*; and shortly after he established a regular militia for the defence of the kingdom. His next step was to build castles and fortresses at proper distances, in which he placed sufficient garrisons. The whole kingdom appeared like one great fortification; and as soon as the Danes made an inroad in one place, a sufficient quantity of forces, under able officers, were easily collected together to oppose them, without leaving the other part of the kingdom defenceless ‡‡.

Alfred rightly imagined, that the best method to defend the island from the incursions of the Danes, and other foreign invaders, would be by establishing a considerable naval force, which had hitherto been neglected by the English. He therefore stationed his armed vessels at proper distances round the island; so that by this wise and prudent action, the Danish fleet were sure to fall into the hands of the English. The English admiral cruising along the coast of *East Anglia*, surprised sixteen Danish ships in the port of *Harwich*, the greater part of which were either taken or destroyed. Having repaired their fleet, they attacked the English ships in the night, and gained a trifling advantage over them; notwithstanding which, the king's ships kept the rovers in awe, and freed England from their ravages.

In the year 893, *Hastings*, the Danish chieftain, having ravaged and laid desolate those parts of France which were situated along the sea-coast, the *Loire*, and the *Seine*, appeared off the coast of *Kent* with a fleet of three hundred and thirty sail §§. The whole force of Alfred was one hundred and twenty sail of ships; and these were stationed on different parts of the coast, so that *Hastings* had the superiority at sea. The greater part of the enemy disembarked in the *Rother*, and seized the fort of *Apuldore*, in *Kent*. *Hastings*, who commanded eighty sail, entered the *Thames*, and taking possession of *Middleton* |||, he fortified it, and began his usual ravages. Alfred, received intelligence of the descent, immediately repaired to the place, in order to defend his subjects against the enemy. The excessive love of plunder which was predominant in the Danes, prompted them to separate into different parties; many of which were cut off by the English \*\*\*, insomuch that they had not the least opportunity of plundering the country. The Danes at *Apuldore* not being well pleased with their situation, suddenly left the place, intending to pass into *Essex*. Herein they escaped not Alfred's vigilance; for he engaged them near *Farnham*, put them to the rout, seized their horses and baggage, and pursued them till they embarked on board their ships on the *Thames*, whence they sailed up the *Colne* to *Mersey* in *Essex*, where they raised entrenchments. *Hastings* made a similar movement about the same time, and took possession of *Bramflete*, near *Canvey Isle*, in the same county †††, where he speedily erected some fortifications.

\* That is, the Isle of Nobles. Chron. Sax. p. 85. Ingulf, p. 26.

† This standard contained the figure of a raven, as its name imports, which had been interwoven by the three sisters of *Hingwar* and *Hubba*, with many magical incantations; and before a battle, the Danes imagined they saw various movements in this raven: if its clapped its wings, they thought that their success would be inevitable; but if it hung down its head, it was a presage of their defeat. Vide Chron. Sax. p. 84. Asser. p. 10. Abbas Rieval, p. 395. Alfred Beverl. p. 105. Rapin, b. iv. Hume, ch. 11.

‡ W. Malmesb. l. ii. c. 4. § Chron. Sax. p. 85.

No. IV.

|| Chron. Sax. p. 90. Asser. p. 10. \*\* W. Malmesb. l. ii. c. 4. Ingulf. p. 26. †† Asser. p. 11.

‡‡ Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 147, edit. 1709.

§§ Rapin, b. iv. says three hundred sail.

||| Now *Milton* in *Kent*. The Danes built a castle here, part whereof is still remaining at *Kemsley-Downs*. They now call it *Castle-Ruff*. On the other side of the water, the ditches of Alfred's fortifications with some stone-work, remain also by the name of *Bavora-Castle*, near *Stittingburn*. Camd. Apd. to Kent.

\*\*\* Chron. Sax. p. 92. ††† Ibid. p. 93.



Guthrum, the prince of East Anglia, being dead; as was also Guthred, the governor of Northumberland; the restless tribes who had been their subjects, were now no longer to be restrained, and taking courage at the appearance of their countrymen, they shook off the dependence upon Alfred, embarked on board two hundred and forty vessels, and landed at Exeter, in the west of England. Leaving a sufficient force at London to oppose the ravages of Hastings, Alfred marched immediately to the west\*, where suddenly attacking the Danes, he pursued them to their ships with great slaughter. They next sailed to Sussex, and began their usual ravages about Chichester; but here they were also repulsed, and some of their ships were taken†. Hastings having advanced into the inland country on a foraging party during the absence of Alfred; the forces left at London, assisted by a party of the citizens, took the same advantage of Hastings's absence from Bramflete, to which place they bent their course; and having overcome the garrison, they carried off the wife, and two sons of Hastings‡. These captives were spared, and restored to Hastings, on condition that he should leave England, with his whole force.

After the departure of Hastings, great numbers of Danes seized and fortified Shobury, at the mouth of the Thames§; and having left a considerable garrison there, they marched along the banks of the river, till they arrived at Boddington, in Gloucester, where they were joined by some Welsh forces, who threw up some entrenchments, and prepared for their defence. Alfred surrounded them with the whole force of his dominions||, and resolved rather to master them by famine, than by assault. In this blockade, their necessities compelled them to eat their horses; and many having perished with hunger\*\*, the remainder made a very desperate sally upon the English, and though the greater part fell in the action, a considerable number made their escape. These attacked Leicester with success, defended themselves in Hartford, and then fled to Quatford, where they were finally broken and subdued††. The small remains of these bands, under the command of Sigefert, a Northumbrian, who was well acquainted with Alfred's naval force, put to sea, and committed their ravages in the west; Alfred captured twenty of their ships; and having tried all the prisoners at Winchester, he hanged them as pirates‡‡. Sigefert imagining the like disasters would overtake all who should fall into the hands of Alfred, judged it to be the more prudent step to leave the country, and settle elsewhere; accordingly, he set sail with the remainder of his fleet for some other shore.

The Danes who remained in England, had now no reason to expect any succours from their countrymen,

and therefore thought it high time, to endeavour to secure those possessions they already had; which they did by acknowledging the sovereignty of Alfred, and doing him homage. The inhabitants of South Wales also submitted to his authority; but the Ordovices, a people of North Wales, cannot be said to have been entirely subdued before the reign of Edward the First§§. It is further added, that Gregour, king of Scotland, obeyed him and served him in his wars; and that Donald, his successor, assisted him with five thousand horse, and died in his service|||.

Alfred, being at length freed from his Danish enemies, passed the remainder of his days in tranquillity and peace. We have hitherto considered this prince as a warrior only; we have viewed him in the most exalted situation of human life, and we have seen him in the most abject state. But whether we behold him in prosperity or adversity, we observe the most signal marks of magnanimity of mind, and the most unequivocal proofs of valour and military conduct\*\*\*. We shall henceforward consider him as a dispenser of justice, a learned and religious prince, a lover of his subjects, and an indefatigable promoter of arts, sciences, justice, and religion.

The first thing Alfred did after becoming an absolute monarch, was to make use of his power for the good and benefit of his subjects. As the laws, during the wars, had been very much trampled upon, and were become almost unknown to the people, he bestowed great pains in making a collection of the best laws he could find. He inserted several of the judicial laws of the Old Testament, with the Decalogue at their head; and a great many of those which Ina, king of Wessex, Offa, king of Mercia, and Ethelbert, king of Kent, had formerly enacted in their respective kingdoms. To these he added several of his own, adapted to the circumstances of affairs at that time. Throughout his laws may be observed an ardent zeal for justice, and a sincere desire of rooting out all oppression and violence†††. They were indeed mild, if compared to those of later ages, seeing they punished most offences by mulcts and fines‡‡‡. But the strictness wherewith Alfred caused them to be observed, counterbalanced their lenity. If with respect to private persons the rigour of the law was somewhat abated, it was not so with regard to corrupt magistrates: to such Alfred was ever inexorable. He was very sensible it would be in vain to oblige his subjects to an exact observance of the laws, if care was not taken, that the magistrates should set them a good example. It is said, that within the compass of one year, he executed four and forty judges for not doing justice§§§.

By these proceedings, sufficient care seemed to be taken

\* Chron. Sax. p. 93. † Ibid. p. 96.

‡ Chron. Sax. p. 94. Matt. West. p. 178.

§ Hume, ch. 11. || Chron. Sax. p. 94. \*\* Ibid. Matt. West. p. 179. Flor. Wigorn. 596. †† Hume, ch. 11.

‡‡ Ibid. §§ Spelman. ||| Spelman. Hollinghed, p. 121.

\*\*\* He is said to have fought fifty-six pitched battles with the Danes. W. Malmesb. lib. iv. c. 4. Tindal on Rapin, book iv.

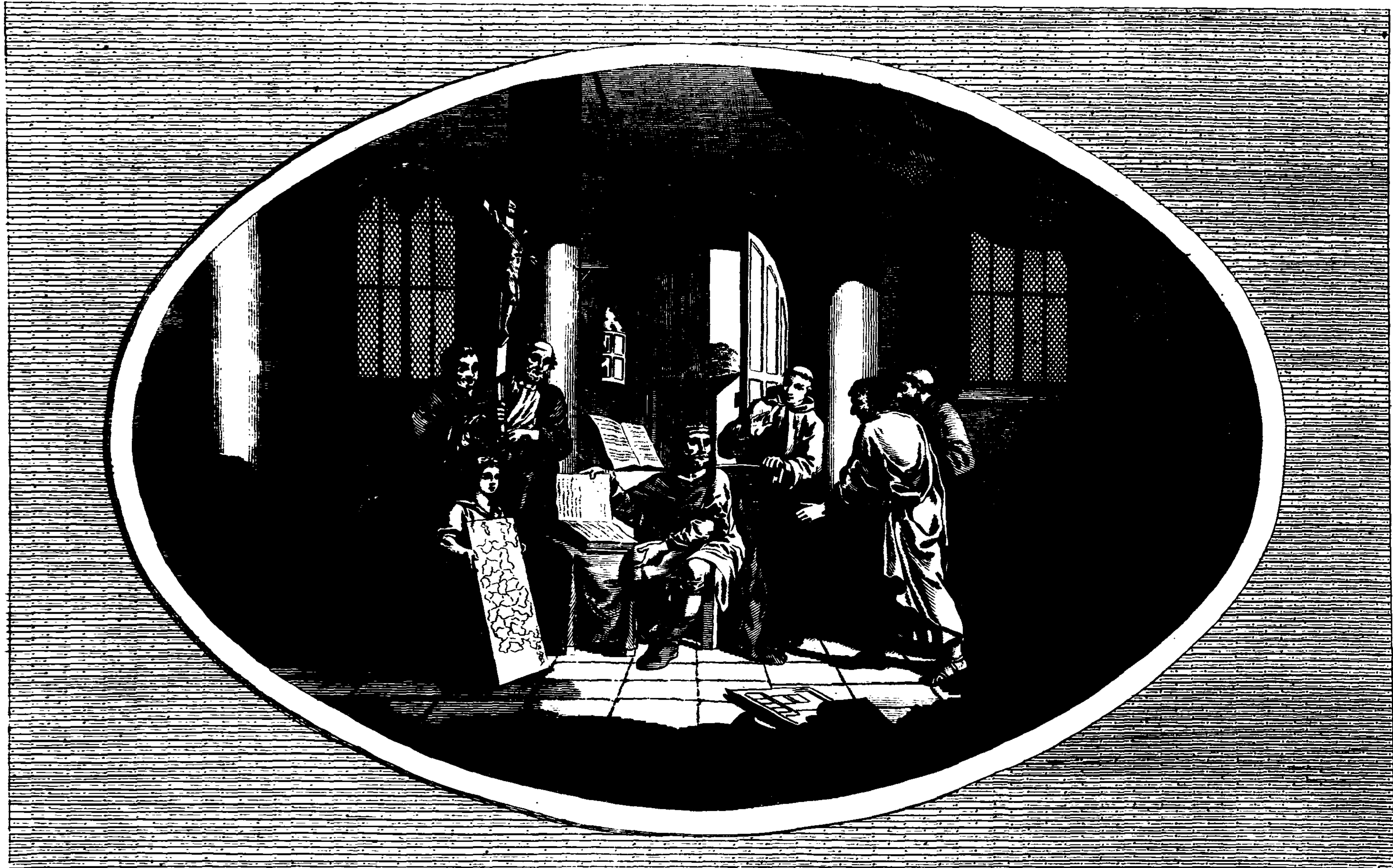
††† If king Alfred, as is supposed, drew up a complete body of law, it is now lost; for those lately published by Dr. Wilkins, (who has given us all the laws extant from Ethelbert, the first Christian law-giver in England, down to the *Magna Charta* of Henry III.) fall short of an entire system of law. Alfred's laws are ranked under two heads. 1. The laws of Alfred, forty in number. 2. The league between Alfred and Guthrum, which seems to be no more than articles of pacification, and conditions on which Guthrum was to hold East Anglia.—The ninth law ordains, what mulct or fine a man shall pay who kills a woman with child, which was to be according to the value of her head; and he was also to pay for the child in her womb half as much as for a living one, according to the quality of its father. The tenth settles the fines or amends which every man shall pay to a husband for committing adultery with his wife, which was to be increased according to the estate or quality of him against whom the offence was committed. The twenty-eighth law enacts, that all public defamers, or spreaders of false news, shall lose their tongues, unless they be redeemed by the payment of the value

of his head; and ever after he shall not be esteemed. The thirty-seventh law secures the entail of estates, and enacts, that those who have book-land (or estates in land) left them by their parents, should not alienate it from their heirs, provided there could be proof made, that he that first granted the estate, settled it upon condition of non-alienation. Another law forbids, the buying a man, a horse, or an ox, without a voucher to warrant the sale. The occasion of which law was this: when the Danes first settled in England, it was a common practice between the two nations, not only to steal horses and oxen, but also men and women, and sell them to one another. By which means owners not only lost their cattle, but men were wrongfully made slaves. To remedy which this law was enacted. Afterwards fairs and markets obtained the same privilege vouchers had. But as to horses, the frauds were so common, that the statute of 31 Eliz. 12, revived the express law of Alfred.

††† The fortieth law sets a certain value upon every limb and member, as well as upon every person, from a king to a bond-slave.

§§§ He used to re-examine the causes tried in his absence, and in case he found any injustice done out of favour or interest, he punished the judges severely. If they pleaded ignorance, he sharply reprimanded them, and asked, how they durst presume to take a commission to determine about life and property, when they knew themselves so wretchedly unqualified! and ordered them either to know better or quit their post. Thus the earls and great men, rather than be turned out of their





England first divided in Counties, Hundreds, and Tythings by Alfred the Great.



taken of hindering the great from oppressing the lower classes of people. As Alfred was sensible the spirit of oppression naturally grew upon men in authority, he sought out means to prevent its taking effect. To this end, he ordered that in all criminal actions, twelve men, chosen for that purpose, should determine the matter, and that the judge should give sentence according to their verdict. This privilege, which the English enjoy to this day, is doubtless the noblest and most valuable prerogative that any subjects can boast. An Englishman accused of any crime, is to be tried only by his peers, that is, by persons of his own rank and condition. By this means, he is out of all danger of being oppressed, how powerful soever his accusers may be. These twelve men, chosen with the approbation of the person accused, are called by the collective name of jury. These are they who determine about the life or death of the accused. Happy the people that enjoy so glorious a privilege!

The wars with the Danes had caused such disorders and licentiousness in the kingdom, that vagabonds and vagrants every where abounded, who committed all manner of crimes with impunity, their poor and mean condition screening them from justice. As they had no settled place of abode, upon having done any thing by which they were liable to be punished, they shifted from one part of the kingdom to another, so that it was a difficult matter to take them. Alfred, beholding with indignation honest men thus exposed to the insults of villains, was extremely desirous to put a stop to so great an evil. After having consulted those, whom he judged capable of giving him advice in this matter, he took this method to prevent any person from living in his dominions, without being obliged to give an account of his actions\*. He divided all England into shires† or counties‡, the counties into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings. This being done, all the inhabitants of the kingdom were obliged to belong to some tything; and those who did not, were looked upon as vagabonds, and, as such, were denied the protection of the law. Every householder was to answer for his wife, his children under fifteen years of age, and his domestics. If any one fell under a suspicion of doing ill, he was obliged to give security for his good behaviour: in case he could find none, the tything sent him to prison, to prevent their being liable to the punishment he should incur by his faults. Thus the householders being responsible for their families, the tything for the householders, the hundreds for the tythings, and the counties for the hundreds, every one was watchful over his neighbour's actions. If a stranger, guilty of any crime, made his escape, information was taken of the house where he lodged, and if he had been there three days, the master of the family was condemned to pay his fine. But in case he had not staid so long as three days, the householder was acquitted upon making oath he was not privy to his crime. These institutions produced such good order and tranquillity, as had never been before known in England.

Alfred having provided for the safety of the state, he endeavoured to make the people relish the fruits of peace, by introducing trade and commerce. He ordered a number of merchant-ships to be built, which he let out to the principal merchants, for the encouragement of traffic. So that by degrees the English

were in a condition to repair by this means the losses they had sustained by so long a war.

As morals and knowledge are almost inseparable, in every age, though not in every individual, the care of Alfred for the encouragement of learning among his subjects, may be considered as a means of reclaiming them from their former dissolute and ferocious manners. When he ascended the throne, the nation was sunk into the grossest ignorance and barbarism; which proceeded from the disorders of the government, and the ravages of the Danes. The monasteries were destroyed, the monks butchered or dispersed, their libraries burnt; and they, the only seats of erudition in those ages, were totally subverted. And now, for the encouragement of arts and sciences, he invited over, from foreign countries, learned men, to whom he gave pensions, and dispersed them in the several dioceses, to instruct the people. Not satisfied with this, and desirous of having in his own kingdom a seminary of learning, he founded four schools or colleges at Oxford, in 886 §. In the first, the abbot Neots and Grimbald read divinity. In the second, Asserius, a Benedictine monk, taught grammar and rhetoric. In the third, John, a monk of St. David's, set up a chair for logic, arithmetic, and music. In the fourth, Johannes Scotus ||, professed geometry and astronomy. We find among the learned men, encouraged by Alfred, Plegmund, a Mercian, who became archbishop of Canterbury.

Alfred himself complains, that on his accession he knew not one person, south of the Thames, who could interpret the Latin service; and very few in the northern parts. Hereupon he enjoined, by law, all freeholders, possessed of two hydes\*\* of land, or more, to send their children to school for instruction.

Though Alfred was capable himself of knowing the best means of putting his designs for the good of his people into execution, yet he consulted others that were eminent for their abilities, and paid great deference to their opinions. By his order, all resolutions relating to the public, were to pass through three several councils. The first was a secret council, to which none but those for whom the king had a particular esteem, were admitted. Here all affairs were first debated, afterwards they were laid before the second council, which consisted of bishops, earls, viscounts, judges, and some of the principal thanes, afterwards called barons. This resembled the present privy-council; none belonging to it but those whom the king chose to appoint. The third was a general council or assembly of the nation, called in Saxon, Wittena-Gemot, to which quality and offices gave a right to sit, independent of the king. This assembly, stiled at present the parliament, was composed of the two archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops, earls, viscounts, or high-sheriffs of the counties, and the thanes of the first rank, or barons. In these three councils we behold the original of the secret and privy-councils, as well as the antiquity of parliaments. These councils, and particularly the Wittena-Gemot, which was convened generally once a year, being for the most part held at London, it is easy to conceive this gave that city a greater air of splendor than it had before. The Danes, who had been masters of it for some time, had demolished it in such a manner that it was hardly to be known. Alfred took a pride in beautifying it and augmenting its privileges. The figure

their office with disgrace, applied themselves to study. See Mirror of Justices, c. 20. and Malm. l. 11. p. 25.

\* Ingulf. W. Malm. l. 11.

† From the Saxon word *scyre* (i. e.) to branch or divide.

‡ Spelman says, that Alfred was not the first that divided the kingdom into shires, but only fixed their number and limits.

§ Camden says, Alfred founded but three halls or schools; the first at the end of High-street for grammarians, was called Little-University-Hall; the second, in School-street for philosophy, was stiled Less-University-Hall; and the third in High-street more to the west than the first, for divinity, was named Great-University-Hall, now University-College.

|| He had the surname of Erigena, that is, the Irishman, from the word *Erin* or *Iren*, the true name of Ireland. He was called *Scotus*, no doubt upon the same account, the inhabitants of Ireland being then termed Scots. It is related of this Johannes Scotus, so famous in the republic of letters, that he was stabbed to death by his pupils with penknives. But some say, he taught in Malmesbury-Abbey, and not at Oxford.

\*\* A hyde contained as much land as was sufficient to employ one plough. Vide H. Huntingd. lib. vi. A. D. 1008. & Annal. Wavel. in A. D. 1083. Gervase of Tilbury says, it commonly contained about an hundred acres.



it made afterwards, and still continues to make, is in some measure owing to the care of that prince \*.

Alfred was one of those happy men, to whom every thing they do seems natural, and who are continually employed, without appearing to be so. He knew too well the value of time, to lose any part of it. So far indeed was he from imagining their high station in life gives them the privilege of spending all their time in trifling diversions, like some other princes, that he endeavoured to make the best of every moment. Whilst he lay hid in the isle of Athelney, he vowed to set apart for the service of his Maker, the third part of his time, as soon as he should be restored to a state of tranquillity. Accordingly he was punctual to his vow, by allotting eight hours every day to acts of devotion, eight hours to the public affairs of his country, and as many to sleep, study, and necessary refreshment. Clocks and hour-glasses were not as yet introduced into England; and to supply the want of those useful articles, he measured the time by means of wax-candles, which were marked with circular lines of various colours, which served as so many hour-lines †. And to prevent the wind from making them burn unsteadily, it is said he invented the expedient of enclosing them in lanterns ‡. By this regular distribution of his time, though he often laboured under great bodily infirmities §, this truly great prince, was enabled, during a life of no extraordinary length, to acquire more real knowledge, and even to compose more books, than most studious men, though blessed with the greatest leisure and application.

His charities were very extensive considering his revenues, and so much the more praise-worthy, as they were done in private, and without the least ostentation. He educated at Court, or at Oxford, a great many young noblemen, who were instructed in all things necessary to render them serviceable to their country. But this was not the only way he took to further the knowledge of the arts and sciences: His own example greatly contributed towards it, as his numerous works sufficiently testify. The progress he made in learning, notwithstanding his being so long taken up with wars and the administration of government, demonstrate how well he improved his intervals from public business. The author of his life || assures us, he was the best Saxon poet of his time, an excellent grammarian, orator, philosopher, architect, geometrician, and historian. He composed several works, which were much esteemed. Among others, he translated into Saxon, Gregory's Pastoral, Boëthius de Consolatione \*\*, and Bede's Ecclesiastical History ††. He also translated the elegant fables of Æsop from the Greek into Saxon, and gave a Saxon version of Orosius. He placed in the chairs at Oxford men that were famous for their learning, and allowed them handsome salaries. His aim was to stir up the emulation of the English, and provoke them to use their endeavours to emerge from

that state of gross ignorance they had hitherto been in. The fame of his great wisdom and piety having reached as far as Rome, the pope sent him a large quantity of relicks, and upon his account granted some new privileges to the English college at that place. Abel, patriarch of Jerusalem, willing to show him some marks of his esteem, sent him a present also of relicks, which the king received with great satisfaction.

With respect to the distribution of his revenues, his prudence is no less visible, than in his management of state affairs. He made three divisions of his attendants, who were to wait monthly by turns: a custom, though not practised then in other courts, was afterwards followed by other princes. His revenues he divided into two parts, one of which was wholly assigned to charitable uses, and subdivided into four portions. The first for alms to the poor; the second for the maintenance of the monasteries he had founded; the third for the subsistence of the professors and scholars at Oxford; and the fourth for poor monks, as well foreigners as English. The other half was thrown into three divisions; one of which was expended in his family; another in paying his architects and other curious workmen ‡‡; and the rest was bestowed in pensions upon strangers, whom he had invited to his court for the encouragement and instruction of his subjects. The revenues of Alfred were his own hereditary estate: for it was not customary, in those days, for princes to levy taxes upon the people, in order to squander the money in luxury and extravagance.

At length Alfred resigned his breath, in the vigour of his age, and the full strength of his faculties, on the 6th of October, in the year 900 §§, after a glorious reign of twenty-nine years and six months |||; in which he deservedly attained the appellation of Alfred the Great, and the title of Founder of the English Monarchy. The merit of this prince, says Hume \*\*\*, both in private and public life, may with advantage be set in opposition to that of any monarch or citizen which the annals of any age or any nation can present to us. He seems indeed to be the model of that perfect character, which, under the denomination of a sage or wise man, philosophers have been fond of delineating, rather as a fiction of their imagination, than in hopes of ever seeing it really existing: so happily were all his virtues tempered together; so justly were they blended; and so powerfully did each prevent the other from exceeding its proper boundaries! He knew how to reconcile the most enterprising spirit with the coolest moderation; the most obstinate perseverance with the easiest flexibility; the most severe justice with the gentlest lenity; the greatest vigour of commanding with the most perfect affability of deportment †††; the highest capacity and inclination for science; with the most shining talents for action. His civil and his military virtues are almost equally the objects of our admiration; excepting only, that the former, being

\* Rapin, book iv.

† He ordered a certain quantity of wax to be made into six candles, each twelve inches long, with the division of the inches marked out distinctly. These being lighted one after another, did orderly burn four hours a-piece, that is, every three inches an hour, so that the whole six candles lasted just twenty-four hours, the watching of which was committed to the keepers of his chapel, whose office it was to put him in mind how each hour passed.—Spelman.

‡ Glass was then a great rarity in England, so that the king was forced to order some fine white horn to be scraped so thin as to become transparent, and put into close frames of wood, which defended the candles from the injury of the wind. Thus lanterns, though of vulgar use and estimation, were the invention of a king.—Spelman. See also Asler. p. 20. W. Malmesb. lib. ii. Ingulf, p. 870. Hume, ch. ii.

§ Asler. p. 4, 12, 13, 17.

|| Spelman.

\*\* Published at Oxford, Anno. 1698, 8vo. by Christopher Rawlinson, gentleman-commoner of Queen's College. Some say it was translated by Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester; but Dr. Plot assures us Alfred did it at Woodstock. Alfred was

so delighted with this book, that he always carried it with him in his bosom.—Tindal.

†† Published by Mr. Whelock, who observes, it is rather a paraphrase than a translation. He is likewise said to have translated the Old and New Testament. However it is on all hands agreed he undertook a version of the Psalms, but died when it was about half finished.—See Spelman's Life of Alfred, l. iii. c. 100.

‡‡ He invited from different parts a vast number of industrious foreigners to re-people his country, which had been desolated by the ravages of the Danes. He introduced and encouraged manufacturers of all kinds; and no inventor or improver of any ingenious art did he suffer to go unrewarded. Asler. p. 13. Flor. Wrigorn. p. 588.

§§ He was born at Wanating, now Wantage in Berkshire, which was formerly a royal manor. His body was buried first at Winchester, next removed into the church of the New Monastery: and lastly, his body, monument, church, and monastery, were all removed (about two hundred years after) without the north-gate of the city, since called the Hide.

||| Asler. p. 21. Chron. Sax. p. 99.

\*\*\* Ch. ii. ††† Asler. p. 13.



more rare among princes, as well as more useful, seem chiefly to challenge our applause. Nature also, as if desirous that so bright a production of her skill should be set in the fairest light, had bestowed on him every bodily accomplishment, vigour of limbs, dignity of shape and air, with a pleasing, engaging, and open countenance\*.

Alfred had several children by Alswitha or Ethelwitha, his queen, daughter of a Mercian earl. Some of them, particularly Edmund his eldest son, whom he designed for his successor, died before him. Of those who survived him, Edward his second son, mounted the throne after him. Ethelward, his third son, who was bred a scholar at Oxford, was a very learned man, and died in the fortieth year of his age, in 922. Elfreda his eldest daughter, wife to Ethelred earl of Mercia, became very famous in her brother Edward's reign. Alswitha or Ethelwitha, called also Eltrude by the Flemish writers, married Baldwin earl of Flanders. Ethelgitha, who chose a religious life, was made abbess of Shaftsbury-nunnery, founded by the king her father †.

## EDWARD THE ELDER.

THE sorrow occasioned by the loss of king Alfred was much alleviated by the succession of prince Edward, a person highly promising in all his actions; who, though inferior to his father in erudition ‡, afterwards far exceeded him in power and grandeur, enjoying the benefit of those labours which his father had sustained. Edward was scarcely seated on the throne, before Ethelwald §, his cousin-german, asserted his right to the crown. Arming a few partizans, he seized upon Winburne, a fortified town of Dorsetshire, hoping that the Danes would raise disturbances in other places, and by that means he should obtain the crown: herein he was mistaken, not with regard to the insurrection of the Danes, but his success in gaining the throne; for Edward speedily marched against him, and drove him from his post. Ethelwald fled to the Danes for assistance, whom he found in arms. They espoused his cause ||, and proclaimed him king of England, pretending, as they were in possession of half the kingdom, they had as much right to erect a king as the West-Saxons.

Edward, immediately after retaking Winburne, marched towards Northumberland, at the head of his army, which daily increased. The Danes, greatly astonished at his expedition, and not being able to resist him, were constrained to abandon and banish from their country the prince they had resolved to protect \*\*. Edward, determining that his preparations for war should not be in vain, thought it necessary to seize a few of the strong holds belonging to the Danes. He therefore entered Mercia with that view, and took possession of several fortresses.

Ethelred, earl of Mercia, and the princess Elfreda, or Ethelfleda, his wife, were very serviceable to the king in this war, by making head against the Mercian Danes, and preventing the Welsh from advancing to their assistance. It is related of Elfreda, that having had a very hard labour with her first child, she formed a resolution never to be in the like case again, and was as good as her word ††. From thence-forward she wholly devoted herself to arms, and, like a true Amazon, gave proofs of her courage in all the wars her brother had with the Danes. She was generally stiled [not only lady and queen, but] king, in admiration of her masculine and kingly abilities.

In the mean time, Ethelwald, though absent, was no way idle: for upon his leaving England, he had applied to France, and obtained a powerful aid of Normans, with whom he landed in Essex, which kingdom he easily became master of. Edward, who had no idea that his enemy would have been able to make a fresh attempt upon the crown so suddenly, had taken care only to guard Mercia against the Northumbrian Danes, imagining Essex had not been in danger. The arrival of the Normans encouraged the Northumbrian and East-Anglian Danes to take up arms again in favour of Ethelwald, and rushing into Mercia, ravaged the country inhabited by the English in a merciless manner. Edward, not without extreme regret, was obliged to bear their insults, till he could draw his troops together, whom he had dismissed, not conceiving he should have so speedy an occasion for them. No sooner had he placed himself at the head of his army, than he made the Danes pay dear for the mischief they had done to the English. In this war, he gained so many victories, that the Danes lost all hopes of throwing off the English yoke, and his cousin, of ascending the throne. At length, Ethelwald being slain in battle ‡‡, in the year 905, and the Danish forces considerably diminished, they were not able to carry on the war with that vigour they had begun it. However, they continued the war two years after Ethelwald's death §§. But after having in vain endeavoured to repair their losses, they sued for peace; which Edward granted them in 907, on condition that they would acknowledge him for their sovereign, as they had done his father, and that the Normans should immediately return to France.

The war broke out afresh in 910 |||, and proved fatal to the Danes, who lost in a short time two battles. Edward, to improve his victories, took from them several towns in Mercia, and at length drove them quite out of that kingdom in the year 912 \*\*\*.

Elfreda having taken upon her the government of Mercia, after the death of Ethelred, followed the example of her father and brother, in fortifying towns, in order to take away from the Danes all hopes of settling in Mercia again. Among the places she repaired or

\* Affer. p. 5.

† Besides this nunnery, Alfred built two monasteries, one at Athelney, and another at Winchester.

‡ Will. Malmesb. lib. 11. c. 5. Hoveden, p. 24.

§ Ethelwald was the eldest son of king Ethelbert, Alfred's elder brother. Rapin, book 14. Hume, ch. 11.

|| Chron. Sax. p. 100. H. Hunting. lib. v. p. 252.

\*\* A. D. 902.

†† This circumstance, though related on the respectable authority of Rapin, appears to be a mistaken notion. Hume, ch. 11. positively asserts, that she "refused all commerce with her husband, not from any weak superstition, as was common in that age, but because she deemed all domestic occupations unworthy of her masculine and ambitious spirit." See also W. Malmesb. lib. 11. c. 5. Matth. West. p. 184. Ingulf, p. 28. Higden, p. 261.

‡‡ The Saxon Annals acquaint us, that this battle was obstinate and bloody on both sides; the king lost the earls Sigulf and Sigelm, with many more of his nobles. On the part of the Danes were slain Eolrick, their king, with a greater number than of the English, though they had the honour of keeping the field and burying their dead. Chron. Sax. p. 101. Brompton, p. 832.

§§ Pont. Hist. Dan.

No. IV.

||| The Annals say not by whom the treaty was broken; but Hoveden lays it to the charge of the Danes.

\*\*\* "Then it was that Ethelred, who had all along bravely seconded the king his brother-in-law, became in reality earl of Mercia; but he was not long so. He was taken out of the world by death, almost as soon as Mercia was united to his government. This earl was not barely governor or viceroy of Mercia: he had some particular power, the nature of which it is very difficult to learn from the historians that speak of it. Malmesbury says, he held the country as a fief of the crown, much in the same manner as the German princes hold their territories of the empire. Of this Elfreda, his widow, yielding up to the king her brother, the cities of London and Oxford, is a farther proof. If Ethelred had been only governor or viceroy, Elfreda would have had no right to resign up these two places, since they would not have belonged to her. Ethelred bore the title of *Subregulus Merciorum*. Selden affirms, *subregulus* is the same with colderman, or count. Du Cange says, it signifies sometimes earl, sometimes *semi-rex*, or demi-king. In this last sense it must be understood with respect to Ethelred, according to this passage of Malmesbury, *Edwardus duo regna Merciorum & West-Saxonum conjunxerat, Merciorum nomine nus, quippe commendatum duci Ethelredo.*" Rapin.



fortified, these are the chief, Warwick, Tamworth, Wednesbury, Charbury, Eadsbury, and Chester. This last had lain in ruins for some time \*, when Elfleda, having finished her fortifications, she entered Wales, and after gaining several victories, obliged the Welsh to become tributaries to her. She died in 918 †.

The Danes, in their wars with Edward in 921 and 922, daily lost ground, whilst the king followed them close, without giving them time to recruit their forces. By this means he compelled them to submit, and own him once more for their sovereign. The Mercian Danes were the first that threw down their arms. The East-Anglians quickly followed their example, without coming to terms. The Northumbrians, being the most powerful, were the last that came in. Northumberland was governed by three kings; Sithric, and Nigel his brother, reigned beyond the Tyne, and Reginald, who kept his court at York, ruled all the country lying between the Tyne and the Humber. Some time after, Sithric having slain his brother Nigel, became sole king of the north.

The welfare of the Welsh depended in some measure on the success of the Danes. As long as the Danes were in arms, the kings of England left the Welsh to the peaceable enjoyment of their liberty. But as soon as they had nothing to fear from the north, they seldom failed to attack them. Thus we find Elfleda, assisted by the troops of the king her brother, compelled them to become her tributaries. After the death of that princess, the Welsh endeavoured to free themselves from the tribute she had laid upon them; and in order to keep Edward employed, sent a powerful reinforcement to the Danes. Edward having concluded a peace with the Danes, marched against Rees ap Madoc ‡, king of Wales, who was assisted by Leoffreth, a Danish general. After several skirmishes, Edward obtained a signal victory, which reduced the Welsh king to a necessity of suing for peace, with a promise of paying the usual tribute. The Britons of Cumberland, who had put themselves under the protection of the Danes, submitted also to Edward. The king of Scotland following their example, did homage for his kingdom to the king of England.

Edward was enjoying the fruits of his victories, feared and respected by all that could give him any umbrage at home, and greatly esteemed by all princes abroad, when he died in 925, after a reign of twenty-four years §. He had gained as great a reputation by his arms, as the king his father, since, like him, he had given law to all England, and procured to the kingdom such peace and tranquillity, as it had scarce known since the Danes had begun their ravages. But if he equalled the Great Alfred in his military virtues, it must be owned, he was far behind his illustrious father in all other respects.

He had children by three wives; by the first, named Egwina ||, he had three children, of whom Athelstan, the eldest, succeeded him. Alfred, the second, died before his father. The third was a daughter, called by some, Editha, by others, Beatrix. By another wife, Edward had two sons and six daughters. Elfwald, the eldest son, died at Oxford a few days after his father; Edwin, the second, was deprived of his just rights, and came to a tragical end, as shall be related hereafter. Of the six daughters, some were married to powerful princes, by the care of their brother Athelstan, and others became nuns. Elfleda, the eldest, was abbess of Ramsey in Hampshire. Ogina was married to Charles

the Simple, king of France, and was mother to Lewis d'Outre Mer. Edilda passed her days in a monastery. The fourth, of the same name, was married to Hugh the Great, earl of Paris, father to Hugh Capet. Edgitha was married to Otho, emperor of Germany. Edgiva, the youngest, espoused Lewis the Blind, king of Provence, who had a son by her, named Constantine. By Edgiva his third wife, Edward had two sons and two daughters. Edmund and Edred, the two sons, were both kings of England. Edburga was a nun, and her sister Edgiva was married to Lewis, prince of Aquitaine \*\*.††

The Danish historians give to Edward another daughter named Thyra, who, as they assure us, was married to Gormon III. one of their kings. It is strange they should speak so positively of a princess of England, when not an English historian makes the least mention of her ††.

#### ATHELSTAN.

NOTWITHSTANDING the illegitimacy of the birth of this prince, he ascended the throne †† with the approbation of the clergy and nobility. He was preferred to Edward's younger children, who, though legitimate, were of too tender years to govern a nation so much exposed both to foreign invasions, and to domestic convulsions. This election, however, was not pleasing to all. Some of the principal nobility, disdaining to be governed by a bastard, plotted how to dethrone Athelstan, and set up Edwin in his room. Alfred, the chief of the conspirators, had even contrived a method to seize Athelstan at Winchester, with a design to put out his eyes. The plot being discovered, he was apprehended by the king's order; but would not confess any knowledge of the affair. He obstinately persisted in protesting his innocence, and requested that he might be permitted to purge himself by oath in the presence of the pope. Although this way of justifying himself was no proof of his innocence, yet Athelstan was satisfied with it, and sent him to Rome, to take his oath before Pope John. Perhaps he was unwilling to begin his reign with blood; or it may be, he was apprehensive, the treating too severely a person of the first rank, would draw upon him the ill-will of the nobles. Not long after, he had word sent him from Rome, that Alfred having sworn his innocence before the Pope, fell down suddenly in a fainting fit, which holding him three days, ended with his life; and that the Pope convinced by this accident, that Alfred had perjured himself, had ordered his body to remain in the English college, till the king's pleasure should be known. Athelstan contented with being thus rid of his enemy, without having directly any hand in his death, consented to his having Christian burial. However, his whole estate was confiscated, and given to Malmesbury-monastery. The king inserted in the grant, the particulars before related, that the world might see, he did not dedicate to God an estate gotten by any ill means.

In the mean time, the Danes who had settled in England, and had been subdued by force, thought it lawful to make use of the same means to shake off their yoke. The death of Edward, and the conspiracy of Alfred, affording them, as they imagined, a favourable opportunity to revolt, they had begun to take such measures as obliged Athelstan to march into Northumberland. But as they had not yet drawn their forces together, they were so surprized by the arrival of the king on their

\* It was first demolished by Ecfred, king of Northumberland, and afterwards by the Danes.

† Luff says, that in respect of the cities she built, the castles she fortified, and the armies she managed, it might have been thought she had changed her sex. She died at Tamworth in Staffordshire, and was buried in the porch of the monastery of St. Peter in Gloucester, which she and her husband had built.

‡ i.e. Rees, the son of Madoc.

§ His death happened at Farringdon in Berkshire, and he was buried at Winchester near his father.

|| She is said by some to have been a shepherd's daughter, and only the concubine of Edward.

\*\* It is very probable this Edgiva was confounded with her sister of the same name by the second wife, who was married to Lewis, king of Provence, because there was then no prince of Aquitaine taken notice of in history.—Rapin, book iv.

†† Rapin, book iv.

†† He was crowned at Kingston upon Thames by Athelin, archbishop of Canterbury. This ceremony of crowning and anointing the English kings, was, probably, first used in the reign of Alfred.



frontiers, that without endeavouring to defend themselves, they returned to their allegiance. Sithric, one of their kings, sued for peace, upon any terms the king might be pleased to impose. Athelstan, desirous to be at peace with the Danes, not only pardoned his revolt, but gave him his sister Editha in marriage, on condition of his being baptized\*.

Athelstan having appeased the troubles in the north, returned to Wessex; where he soon after heard of Sithric's death, who had left behind him two sons by a former marriage, Anlaf and Godfrid. Hereupon Athelstan marched at the head of his army, into Northumberland; where Anlaf and Godfrid, as well as Reginald, another Danish king, who resided at York, had scarce time to escape falling into his hands. Their hasty flight gave him an opportunity of becoming master of all Northumberland, except the castle of York.

Though he had taken care to secure his conquests, by placing strong garrisons in all the towns, the escape of the three Danish princes gave him great uneasiness; for his desire was to get them within his power, but this was not possible; as nobody knew what was become of Reginald, and Anlaf was fled to Ireland. Athelstan, therefore, was forced to be contented with requiring Constantine, king of Scotland, to deliver up Godfrid, who had retired into his dominions as to a place of safety. Constantine consenting to his request, promised to meet him at Dacor. Whilst he was preparing for his journey, Godfrid made his escape, either through the negligence or connivance of Constantine, who however, went to meet Athelstan, accompanied with Eugenius, king of Cumberland. Athelstan admitted Constantine's excuses for the Danish prince's escape†.

Before Athelstan quitted the north, Godfrid made an attempt upon York, by the means of the castle, where he had still some friends. But not succeeding, he put to sea, where for some time he exercised numerous acts of piracy. At length, tired with that way of life, he surrendered himself to the king of England, who received him kindly, and allowed him a handsome pension. Some time after, upon some disgust or ill-grounded suspicion, he withdrew again, and was never more heard of‡.

Anlaf being informed that the king of Scotland was displeased with Athelstan's behaviour, thought it a good opportunity to endeavour to persuade him to espouse his cause. He therefore went to Scotland, and informed Constantine, that he had reason to believe the king of England's intentions were to seize on part of his territories. He represented to him, that this prince having by surprise seized upon Northumberland, without alledging the least reason for his proceedings, might act in the same manner with Scotland, as he had Northumberland, and that it was absolutely necessary to prevent him from so doing. The scheme having pleased Constantine, they both retired to get their forces in readiness.

Athelstan, having secured his late conquests, returned into Wessex, where he remained but a short time before he was engaged in a war with Howel, king of Wales.

This was contrived by Constantine, in order to keep him employed against the Welsh, whilst he and Anlaf should invade Northumberland. Athelstan, by his expedition, broke all the measures of the king of Scotland. As soon as he was informed of the motions of the Welsh, and of the succours Constantine had sent them, he marched into Wales, gave Howel battle, obtained a complete victory, and augmented the tribute that prince paid to England. Having subdued the Welsh, he marched for Scotland, in order to make Constantine repent of his having assisted the Welsh. As soon as he had entered the Scotch territories, he took some of their towns, and gave them reason to dread more considerable losses. Anlaf had not yet arrived with the troops he was to furnish, Constantine was not powerful enough to undertake a war against so mighty an enemy, who was already in his dominions, and in a condition of pushing on his conquests. And therefore, in order to gain time, till Anlaf should join him, he sued for peace. Athelstan readily granted his request, lest upon his refusal, Constantine might foment the insurrection of the Northumbrians. Athelstan restored to him all the places he had taken, hoping by his generosity to gain him over to his interest. Some historians affirm, Athelstan obliged Constantine to do him homage for Scotland. But this is what the Scots do not agree to. Notwithstanding the generous proceedings of Athelstan, Constantine could not be diverted from pursuing his first design. On the contrary, he hastened on his preparations the more; and in the year 933 he renewed the war.

Anlaf found means to persuade the Irish, Welsh, and Northumbrian Danes, to enter into a league, well knowing that they desired to be governed by a king of their own nation. Anlaf appeared as head of this league, though Constantine was no less concerned in it, because he was to be the principal instrument in the war. They carried on their designs so secretly, that Anlaf entered the Humber with a fleet of six hundred sail, and invaded Northumberland, before Athelstan had any intelligence of the matter. With such a considerable force, increased by the addition of some Danes, who were settled in those parts, he easily became master of several small towns, that were but weakly defended. But the fortified places that were garrisoned by the English, stopped his progress, and gave Athelstan time to draw his army together. His expedition was so great, that he advanced against the two confederate princes before they were aware of it. The confederates had begun their march towards Bernicia, with a view to conquer that kingdom for the king of Scotland. Herein their hopes were frustrated; and they found themselves obliged to return back to oppose king Athelstan, who was very near them. The two armies met at Brunanburgh§, where a bloody battle was fought, in which Athelstan was victorious, and the allies lost Constantine, king of Scotland, six Irish or Welsh kings, and twelve earls and general officers. This victory was chiefly owing to the valour of Turketul||. Athelstan extended his conquests into Scotland, and chastised the Welsh

\* She was daughter to Edward and Egwina. After Sithric's death she became a nun at Polesworth in Warwickshire. Rapin, book iv.

† Rapin, book iv. but Hume, ch. ii. positively asserts on the authority of William of Malmesbury, lib. ii. cap. 6. "he gave Godfrid warning to make his escape."

‡ Such is the account given us by Rapin; but Hume, whose history is much esteemed, says, ch. ii. that Godfrid, "after subsisting by piracy some years, freed the king, by his death, from any farther anxiety."

§ Supposed to be Bromford, near Bromridge, in Northumberland; though some think it was somewhere nearer the Humber. In the description of this battle, the historians and poets of that age are extraordinary full of raptures and bombast. The Saxon Annalist, wont to be sober and succinct, launches out strangely upon this occasion. Sax. Ann. 938. Tindal.—Brunsbury, in Northumberland, according to Hume, ch. ii.

|| He was the king's cousin, and chancellor of England.—

The office of chancellor among the Anglo-Saxons, resembled more that of secretary of state, than that of our present chancellor. Vide Spelman in voce *Cancellarius*.—He was remarkable for preferring the recluseness of a cloister, to the splendor of a court, where he lived in great reputation. He became abbot of Croyland, and rebuilt the abbey in a magnificent manner, after it had been destroyed by the Danes. At his death he left the monastery in possession of many curious reliques: among the rest, Ingulf (Hist. Croyland. p. 51, edit. Gale) mentions the thumb of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, which was given him when chancellor by the emperor. He had so great a veneration for it, that he always carried it about him, and when in any danger, he crossed himself with it. The naming of bells, together with the benediction, as a defensive against thunder and lightning, being introduced in this age by Pope John XIV. Turketul cast a great bell, which he called Guthlac. His successor, taking the hint, added some more to it, and made the first tuneable ring of bells in England.



by raising their tribute to twenty pounds weight of gold, three hundred of silver, and twenty-five thousand head of cattle. Besides, he pent them up beyond the Wye, and took from them all the country lying between that river and the Severn. As for the Northumbrian Danes, who had openly acted with the allies, he increased their yoke, and exercised afterwards greater strictness over them. He then marched against the Cornish Britons, who had likewise assisted the confederates. He took Exeter, which had been formerly destroyed by the Danes, and caused it to be repaired and fortified. From that time forward, the Britons were forced to keep beyond the Tamar, which served as a boundary to the two nations. They were before mixed with the English in some of the western counties.

A few days before the battle of Brunanburgh, Anlaf wanting to know the posture of the enemy, went into the English camp, disguised like an harper, as Alfred the Great had formerly done. But notwithstanding his disguise, he was known by a soldier, who, however, suffered him to go off undiscovered\*. As soon as the soldier thought him safe, he made Athelstan acquainted with what had happened, and advised him to remove his tent, judging Anlaf had some design upon that quarter. He excused himself for not having discovered this secret sooner, by telling the king, that he had formerly given his military oath to Anlaf, and therefore could not resolve to betray him. Athelstan forgave him, and followed his advice, which he soon found to be of great consequence. The next night † the Danish prince, with a body of chosen troops, attacked the English camp, and penetrated to the very place where he had seen the king's tent. A bishop, who by accident had pitched his upon that very spot, was slain by that means ‡.

Athelstan outlived the victory of Brunanburgh but three years. He died a natural death in 941, in the 46th years of his age, and the 16th of his reign §. His merits made him to be equally feared by his neighbours, beloved by his subjects, and respected by the greatest princes in Europe ||. It appears from his laws, several whereof are still extant, that his intent was, all persons, ecclesiastical as well as civil, should be subject to them. He was no friend to those privileges and immunities the clergy have so much improved, and which very often serve only to authorize wickedness, and prove a sanctuary to criminals. For the encouragement of commerce he ordained, that a merchant, who had made three long voyages on his own account, should be admitted to the rank of a thane or gentleman. This greatly contributed to the advancement of commerce.

Among the various monuments of his piety, which for the most part consist in building and endowing monasteries, according to the custom of those days, the translation of the Scriptures into Saxon, the then vulgar-tongue, was one, the usefulness of which must be obvious to every body.

### E D M U N D.

ON the death of Athelstan, Edmund, the eldest of the legitimate sons of Edward the Elder, ascended the throne. His youth made the Northumbrians hope they should at length be able to have a king of their own

nation, and throw off the English yoke, and Anlaf resolved to recover the crown of Northumberland if possible. But as he was very sensible this could not be done without a foreign aid, he invited Olaus, king of Norway, to espouse his cause, who promised his assistance. With the troops this prince furnished him, he once more entered Northumberland, and arriving before York, the gates of that place were opened to him; for he always kept a good understanding with the principal inhabitants. The example of the metropolis was followed by the greatest part of the other towns, whose garrisons were either drove out, or destroyed by the citizens, who were for the most part of Danish race. Anlaf, not content with being master of Northumberland, marched into Mercia, where his countrymen received him with open arms, and assisted him in recovering several places which Edward the Elder had formerly taken from them.

Though Edmund was not above seventeen or eighteen years of age, the progress of the enemy was so far from abating his courage, that on the contrary it made him the more eager to come to a battle, that would decide, to whom a country, so often and so long contended for, should at last belong. As soon as he had drawn his forces together, he marched towards the north, though the enemy was greatly superior to him in numbers. On the other hand, Anlaf hearing Edmund was upon the march to give him battle, advanced towards him with the same resolution. The two armies, meeting near Chester, came to an engagement, wherein victory held the balance so even, that when night came on, neither side could boast of the least advantage. Both prepared to renew the fight as soon as day-light should make its appearance. But the archbishops of Canterbury and York \*\*, who were in the two armies laboured so earnestly to make peace, that a treaty was begun that very evening, and concluded by break of day. By this treaty, Edmund was obliged to deliver up to the Danes all the country lying north of the Roman high-way called Watling-Street, which divided England almost into two equal parts, running from North-Wales to the most southern part of Kent, quite to the sea. By this means, Anlaf became possessed of the kingdom of Northumberland, whose bounds were enlarged with several counties which his father Sithric had never been master of.

The Northumbrian Danes had not reason long to rejoice at the restoration of Anlaf, which they had so ardently desired. This prince having contracted a large debt with the king of Norway for the troops he had lent him, was willing to pay it speedily. To this end, he laid heavy taxes on the people, which made him lose their affection. The inhabitants of the ancient kingdom of Deira, were the first that revolted, and having sent for Reginald his brother Godfrid's son, they crowned him king at York. Reginald was no sooner on the throne, but he made preparations for the war against his uncle, who was preparing also to attack him. On the quarrel between these two kings, Edmund marched towards the north, at the head of his army, as well to lay hold of any opportunity that should offer itself, as to appease the troubles there, out of an apprehension they might be an occasion of the foreign

\* There is a romantic story told by Brompton and others relating to this reign. At a time Athelstan was in distress for a Champion to fight Colebrand a huge Danish giant that had defied all the English, Guy earl of Warwick returned from the Holy Land in the habit of a pilgrim, and being unknown to all but the king, accepted the challenge, fought and killed the giant near Winchester; upon which the Danes yielded, and Guy retired to a hermit's cell, and there ended his days. Tindal.

† Rapin, book iv.—This story is somewhat differently related by Hume; who says, that "Anlaf having played before that prince (Athelstan) and his nobles during their repast, was dismissed with a handsome reward. His prudence kept him from refusing the present; but his pride determined him, on his departure to bury it, while he fancied that he was unespied by all the world. But a soldier in Athelstan's

"camp, who had formerly served under Anlaf, had been struck with some suspicion on the first appearance of the minstrel; and was engaged by curiosity to observe all his motions," &c.—Ch. 11.

‡ "No sooner had darkness fallen," says Hume, and he cites William of Malmesbury, lib. 11. cap. 6, and Higden, p. 263, in favour of his opinion, "than Anlaf broke into the camp, and hastening directly to the place where he had left the king's tent, put the bishop to death, before he had time to prepare for his defence."

§ He died at Gloucester, and was buried with a great many trophies at Malmesbury. Chron. Sax. 114.

|| Malmesbury concludes king Athelstan's character with this sentence: "His life was little in time, but great in action." Lib. 11.

\*\* Odo and Wulfstan.



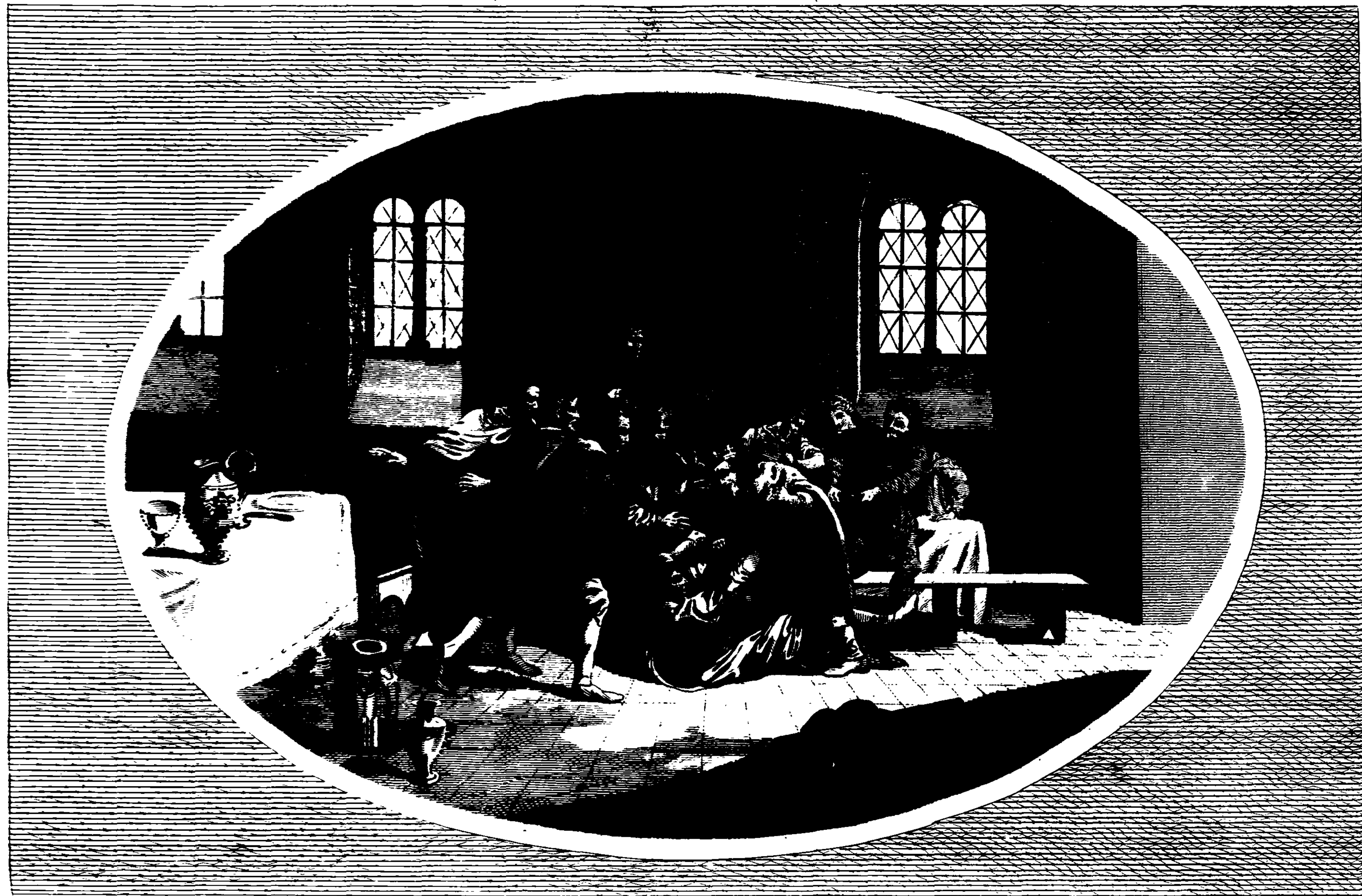


Brown sculp

*Athelstan ordering the Scriptures to be made public after having had them translated into the Saxon Language.*



*Engraved for Stubbs's History of England.*





Danes returning to England. He arrived upon the borders of Northumberland at a time the uncle and nephew, wholly intent upon their private quarrel, thought not of repulsing the English. In all probability he might have made himself master of that kingdom; however, he was satisfied with making peace between the two kings, in such a manner that Reginald was to keep the crown he had just before received. But at the same time, Edmund obliged them both to swear allegiance to him, and to be baptized, he himself standing god-father to them.

This peace, made by compulsion, lasted not long. Edmund was hardly returned into Wessex, when the two Danish princes took up arms with one consent in order to shake off his yoke, after having engaged the Mercian Danes, and the king of Cumberland to espouse their cause. Upon this, Edmund immediately marched into Mercia, and before the Danes there could be joined by the Northumbrians, he took from them Leicester, Stafford, Derby, Nottingham, and some other places of less note. Then advancing with the same expedition towards Northumberland, he surprized the two kings before they had drawn their forces together. This sudden attack put the Northumbrians into such disorder, that the two kings fearing to fall into the hands of Edmund, thought it most conducive to their safety to abandon the island, where they could not possibly remain. Their flight having bereaved the Danes of all hopes of withstanding Edmund, they threw down their arms and swore allegiance to him.

Edmund next subdued the kingdom of Cumberland, and presented it to the king of Scotland, in order to attach him to his interest, and prevent him from assisting the Northumbrians. However he reserved the sovereignty of it, and obliged that prince to do him homage for it, and to appear at the king of England's court, at the time of the solemn festival, if summoned.

Edmund was not wholly taken up with military affairs; some of his laws being still in existence, which demonstrate how much he had the well-being and happiness of his people at heart. As he had remarked, that pecuniary punishment were not available to put a stop to robberies, which were generally committed by people who had nothing to lose, he ordered, that in gangs of robbers, the oldest of them should be condemned to the gallows. This was the first law in England that made it death to rob or steal\*.

In all appearance, this prince would have made his people happy, had his reign been longer; but a fatal accident occasioned his death, when he had just begun to enjoy the fruits of his victories. As he was solemnizing a festival † at Pucklekirk ‡ in Gloucestershire, he spied one Leolf, a notorious robber, who, though banished the kingdom for his crimes, had the audacity to sit at one of the tables in the hall, where the king was at dinner. Enraged at his insolence, he commanded him to be apprehended. But perceiving he was drawing his dagger in order to defend himself, the king leapt up in a great fury, and catching hold of him by the hair, dragged him out of the hall. This imprudent action cost him his life. Whilst he was wholly taken up in venting his injurious passion, Leolf stabbed him in the breast with a dagger, upon which he fell down and expired on the body of his murderer §. This was the tragical end of king Edmund in 946, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the sixth of his reign. He was buried at Glastonbury, where Dunstan was abbot, and the town where he was killed was bestowed upon the same monastery to sing masses for his soul. By Elgiva his wife he had two sons, Edwy and Edgar, who did not succeed him by reason of their minority, Edred his brother was placed on the throne, by the consent of the clergy and nobility.

## E D R E D.

THE Northumbrian Danes very impatiently bore the English yoke; and whenever they thought they had a favourable opportunity to revolt, they seldom failed to embrace it. Though during Edmund's reign they had met but with indifferent success, yet upon his death, they again began to think of means to regain their liberty. To facilitate their designs, they prevailed upon Malcolm king of Scotland, who looked upon all obligations to be cancelled by the death of Edmund, to espouse their cause. This prince, as well as the Danes, was persuaded that Edred, by reason of his youth, would be so confounded at this unforeseen attack, that it would not be possible for him to make any resistance. But the event proved contrary to their expectations. Edred, who was not inferior to his predecessor, either in conduct or bravery, was very expeditious, and had penetrated into the heart of Northumberland, before the Danes were in readiness to oppose him. After he had chastised the Danes by fining some, and punishing others, Edred advanced towards Scotland, in order to be revenged on the ungrateful Malcolm. But he feared the power of Edred, and perceiving the Northumbrians had submitted, concluded a peace with the English monarch, paying him the homage due to him.

Edred returned to Wessex after this expedition: and the Danes finding he had left their country, again revolted, and recalled Anlaf, who made himself master of the most considerable towns before Edred could draw his army together, and pushed on his conquests so rapidly, that there was scarcely a possibility of recovering that kingdom out of his hands. But his turbulent and tyrannical temper would not suffer him to treat his subjects any better than slaves: and in a short time a strong party was formed against him, so that he was forced once more to betake himself to Ireland, and Eric was placed on the throne.

In the mean time a great many of the Northumbrians still adhering to Anlaf, Northumberland was divided into two factions, who endeavouring to destroy one another, gave Edred an opportunity to recover that country. Hereupon he marched his army into the north. Eric fled into Scotland at his approach, leaving his people to the mercy of Edred, who threatened their country with utter destruction. Though they had no room to hope for a second pardon, after having so openly abused the first, yet as there was no other course to take, they cast themselves upon Edred's mercy, and amused him with the strongest protestations and most solemn oaths. As he was naturally of a generous disposition, he was touched with their submissive behaviour, and replaced Eric on the throne, satisfied with imposing a tribute on him, and making him swear allegiance to him. When he had, as he thought, allayed these commotions, he marched back towards Wessex, not mistrusting any treachery from a people that had just received such marks of his clemency and favour. But the Danes, who had been rather compelled by his arms, than gained by his mildness, laid hold of the opportunity to fall upon him. They privately came together, and laying an ambush for him in the way, on a sudden fell upon his rear, and put them into disorder. Had it not been for the valour, conduct, and resolution of the king, his army would infallibly have been cut to pieces; and it was not without great difficulty that he extricated himself and his army from the danger they were in. Enraged at their perfidiousness, he returned to Northumberland, with a resolution to punish them without mercy. His return caused an universal consternation; and being sensible Edred would not be imposed upon any more by general protestations and oaths, they humbly implored his pardon upon any

\* Brompton.

† In memory of St. Augustin, who first preached the gospel to the Anglo-Saxons.

No. IV.

‡ Now Puckle-Church, a small village.

§ Gul. Malmes.



terms he should think fit to impose. And to convince him of their sincerity, they solemnly renounced their allegiance to Eric, and put Amac, the son of Anlaf, to death; charging them with being the principal authors of their treachery\*. Edred was appeased by these means; but, to prevent the like revolts in future, he secured all their towns, and garrisoned them with English soldiers. And having entirely divested it of its royalty, he reduced Northumberland to a province, and made earl Osulf, an Englishman, the first governor. The Northumbrians, kept in awe by strong garrisons, and the English earls as governors, gave England no farther disturbance, till the foreign Danes once more became masters of Northumberland, as we shall hereafter have occasion to observe.

After the Northumbrians were thus quelled, Edred lived in profound peace. Being absolute lord of all England, and dreaded by the kings of Scotland and Wales, his neighbours, he governed his dominions in perfect tranquillity. This great calm was the occasion of turning his thoughts entirely to religious affairs, wherein he was guided by the advice of Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, who had great influence over him. The abbot knew so well how to improve his credit with the king, that he became master of his conscience, and consequently of all state-matters. When once a prince suffers his conscience to be governed by his ghostly father, he will find it very difficult not to let him have the management of his temporal concerns, there being hardly any one thing but what may be made to relate to religion in some respect or other. The trust Edred placed in Dunstan was so great, that, not content with taking his directions in all things, and making him his treasurer,

he even submitted sometimes to receive discipline from his hands. He was persuaded that the blind submission wherein Dunstan took care to keep him, was the readiest way to Heaven. To gratify this favourite it was, that he undertook the re-building of Glastonbury church and monastery, in a very sumptuous and magnificent manner. He laid out immense sums upon this work, without having the satisfaction to see it finished. The monks made use also of Dunstan, their protector's interest, to get into the ecclesiastical benefices, which they could never have done without him. Though Dunstan's proceedings in this affair raised the clamours of the secular clergy against him, he never minded them, so long as he had his ends. However, his haughty manner of acting gained him abundance of enemies, who, in the following reign, made him feel the effects of their hatred, which they had taken care to stifle during Edred's life. If Dunstan favoured the monks, they in their turn were no less zealous upon all occasions to promote his glory. They every where proclaimed, that Dunstan was a great saint, that Heaven daily wrought miracles in his favour, and that he was frequently honoured with divine revelation. In their account, neither the saints of the first rank, nor the apostles themselves, were partakers of so many graces as he. Though all they said of this prelate was aggravated to the last degree, it failed not, however, to make an impression on the minds of the generality of the people, who were the more confirmed in their belief of what they were told, because they who knew better things, durst not contradict the monks, for fear of drawing on their heads the indignation of the king and his favourite†.

Edred died in the year 955, after having reigned  
nine

\* Wulfstan, archbishop of York, was taken into custody for abetting this rebellion. But after he had been in prison some time, Edred, in respect to his character, set him at liberty. However, he is said to take his disgrace so to heart, that it occasioned his death soon after.—W. Malm. l. II.

† Rapin, book iv.—“From the introduction of Christianity among the Saxons, there had been monasteries in England; and these establishments had extremely multiplied, by the donations of the princes and nobles: whose superstition, derived from their ignorance and precarious life, and increased by remorse for the crimes into which they were so frequently betrayed, knew no other expedient for appeasing the Deity than a profuse liberality towards the ecclesiastics. But the monks had hitherto been a species of secular priests, who lived after the manner of the present canons or prebendaries, and were both intermingled, in some degree, with the world, and endeavoured to render themselves useful to it. They were employed in the education of youth: they had the disposal of their own time and industry: they were not subjected to the rigid rules of an order: they had made no vows of implicit obedience to their superiors: and they still retained the choice, without quitting the convent, either of a married or a single life. But a mistaken piety had produced in Italy a new species of monks, called Benedictines; who, carrying farther the plausible principles of mortification, secluded themselves entirely from the world, renounced all claim to liberty, and made a merit of the most inviolate chastity. These practices and principles, which superstition at first engendered, were greedily embraced and promoted by the policy of the court of Rome. The Roman pontiff, who was making every day great advances towards an absolute sovereignty over the ecclesiastics, perceiving that the celibacy of the clergy alone could break off entirely their connexion with the civil power, and depriving them of every other object of ambition, engage them to promote, with unceasing industry, the grandeur of the own order. He was sensible, that so long as the monks were indulged in marriage, and were permitted to rear families, they never could be subjected to strict discipline, or reduced to that slavery under their superiors, which was requisite to procure to the mandates, issued from Rome, a ready and zealous obedience. Celibacy, therefore, began to be extolled, as the indispensable duty of priests; and the pope undertook to make all the clergy throughout the western world renounce at once the privilege of marriage: a fortunate policy; but at the same time an undertaking the most difficult of any, since he had the strongest propensities of human nature to encounter, and found, that the same connexions with the female sex, which generally encourage devotion, were here unfavourable to the success of

his project. It is no wonder, therefore, that this master-stroke of art should have met with violent contradiction, and that the interests of the hierarchy, and the inclinations of the priests, being now placed in this singular opposition, should, notwithstanding the continued efforts of Rome, have retarded the execution of that bold scheme during the course of near three centuries.

“As the bishops and parochial clergy lived apart with their families, and were more connected with the world, the hopes of success with them were fainter, and the pretence for making them renounce marriage was much less plausible. But the Pope, having cast his eye on the monks as the basis of his authority, was determined to reduce them under strict rules of obedience, to procure them the credit of sanctity by an appearance of the most rigid mortification, and to break off all their other ties which might interfere with his spiritual policy. Under pretence, therefore, of reforming abuses, which were, in some degree, unavoidable in the ancient establishments, he had already spread over the southern countries of Europe the severe laws of the monastic life, and began to form attempts towards a like innovation in England. The favourable opportunity offered itself (and it was greedily seized), arising from the weak superstition of Edred, and the violent impetuous character of Dunstan.

“Dunstan was born of noble parents in the west of England; and being educated under his uncle Aldheim, then archbishop of Canterbury, had betaken himself to the ecclesiastical life, and had acquired some character in the court of Edmund. He was, however, represented to that prince as a man of licentious manners; and finding his fortune blasted by these suspicions, his ardent ambition prompted him to repair his indiscretions, by running into an opposite extreme. He secluded himself entirely from the world; he framed a cell so small, that he could neither stand erect in it, nor stretch out his limbs during his repose; and he here employed himself perpetually either in devotion, or in manual labour. It is probable, that his brain became gradually crazed by these solitary occupations, and that his head was filled with chimeras, which, being believed by himself and his stupid votaries, procured him the general character of sanctity among the people. He fancied that the devil, among the frequent visits which he paid him, was one day more earnest than usual in his temptations; till Dunstan, provoked at his importunity, seized him by the nose with a pair of red-hot pincers, as he put his head into the cell; and he held him there, till that malignant spirit made the whole neighbourhood resound with his bellowings. This notable exploit was seriously credited and extolled by the public; it is transmitted to posterity by one who, considering the age in which he lived, may pass for a writer of some elegance; and it insured



nine years \*. His sons Elfrid and Bedfrid were infants; and his nephew Edwy, the son of his elder brother Edmund, was advanced to the throne.

Ingulf, in his History of Croyland Abbey †, asserted, that Edred confirmed to the monastery of Croyland their lands by charter, and granted many privileges to it, under the penalty of an hundred pounds to be paid to his treasury, and whatever damages and costs the monks should sustain by any infringer of them, to be taxed by the oaths of four or five honest men before the king's judge ‡. By one of Edred's charters it appears, that he took upon himself the title of Monarch of Albion; and in another, that he stiled himself King of Great-Britain, in which he was followed by his nephew Edgar. If these charters were not forgeries, it may be inferred from them, that Edred subdued Scotland. These titles, however, were disused by their successors, till the time of James I. at the end of the sixteenth century.

## E D W Y.

THIS prince ascended the throne at the age of sixteen or seventeen years §, with very different views from those of his predecessor, with regard to Dunstan. We cannot pretend to determine, whether his mind had been prejudiced by means of that prelate's enemies, or whether he had any particular reason for his hatred; but certain it is, that he was engaged in a controversy with the monks, which ended in the barbarous destruction of his queen, and the loss of his kingdom. Elgiva, a beautiful princess of the blood royal, had made great impression on the heart of the youthful Edwy; and, contrary to the advice of his gravest counsellors, and the remonstrances of the more dignified ecclesiastics ||, he ventured to espouse her \*\*. The affected austerity of the monks made them particularly clamorous on this occasion. It is probable, that on this account Edwy entertained a disregard for the monks, and determined not to assist in the prosecution of their favourite scheme, the expulsion of the seculars from all the convents, and of possessing themselves of those rich establishments. War was therefore declared between the king and the monks; and the former found reason to repent his provoking such dangerous enemies. On the day of his coronation, his nobles were assembled in a great hall, and were indulging themselves in riot and disorder, which had, in a great measure, become habitual to the English ††; when Edwy retired to the queen's apart-

ment, to congratulate her majesty on the business of the day. Dunstan, not being pleased at the king's absence; took with him Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, over whom he had gained an absolute ascendant, and bursting into the apartment, where also the queen's mother was sitting, he upbraided Edwy with lasciviousness, and bestowed on the queen the most opprobrious epithet that can be applied to her sex. Tearing the king from her presence, he pushed him back, in an exceedingly disgraceful manner, into the banquet of the nobles ††. Edwy, though young, and opposed by the prejudices of the people, found means to be revenged of Dunstan for this public insult. To this end, he commanded Dunstan to lay before him, an account of the expenditure of the various sums of money which his predecessor had entrusted him with §§. Dunstan, much enraged at the king's order, replied, "The money which passed through my hands, was laid out in pious uses, and therefore I am not liable to be called to an account for a matter which was purely of a religious nature." Hereupon the king banished the prelate from the kingdom. But Dunstan's cabal was not inactive during his absence: they filled the public with high panegyrics on his sanctity: they exclaimed against the impiety of the king and queen: and having poisoned the minds of the people by the declamations, they proceeded to still more outrageous acts of violence against the royal authority. Archbishop Odo sent into the palace a party of soldiers, who seized the queen; and having burned her face with a red-hot iron, in order to destroy that beauty which had seduced Edwy, they carried her by force into Ireland, there to remain in perpetual exile |||. Edwy, finding it in vain to resist, was obliged to consent to his divorce, which was pronounced by Odo \*\*\*; and a catastrophe, still more dismal, awaited the unhappy Elgiva. That amiable princess, being cured of her wounds, and having even obliterated the scars with which Odo had hoped to deface her beauty, returned into England, and was flying to the embraces of the king, whom she still regarded as her husband; when she fell into the hands of a party whom the primate had sent to intercept her. Nothing but her death could now give security to Odo and the monks; and these humble disciples of Christ, plotted, and caused to be put in execution, a most cruel death, in order to satiate their vengeance. By their order she was hamstrung †††; and expired a few days afterwards in the most excruciating torments †††. The English, blinded with superstition,

inspired to Dunstan a reputation which no real piety, much less virtue, could, even in the most enlightened period, have ever procured him with the people.

"Supported by the character obtained in his retreat, Dunstan appeared again in the world; and gained such an ascendant over Edred, who had succeeded to the crown, as made him, not only the director of that prince's conscience, but his counsellor in the most momentous affairs of government. He was placed at the head of the treasury, and being thus possessed both of power at court, and of credit with the populace, he was enabled attempt with success the most arduous enterprises. Finding that his advancement had been owing to the opinion of his austerity, he professed himself a partisan of the rigid monastic rules; and after introducing that reformation into the convents of Glastonbury and Abingdon, he endeavoured to render it universal in the kingdom.

"The minds of men were already well prepared for this innovation. The praises of an inviolable chastity had been carried to the highest extravagance by some of the first preachers of Christianity among the Saxons: the pleasures of love had been represented as incompatible with Christian perfection: and a total abstinence from all commerce with the sex was deemed such a meritorious penance, as was sufficient to atone for the greatest enormities. The consequence seemed natural, that those, at least, who officiated at the altar, should be clear of this pollution; and when the doctrine of transubstantiation, which was now creeping in, was once fully established, the reverence to the real body of Christ in the eucharist, bestowed on this argument an additional force and influence. The monks knew how to avail themselves of all these popular topics, and to set off their own character to the best advantage. They affected the greatest austerity of life and manners: they in-

dulged themselves in the highest strains of devotion: they inveighed bitterly against the vices and pretended luxury of the age: they were particularly vehement against the dissolute lives of the secular clergy, their rivals: every instance of libertinism in any individual of that order, was represented as a general corruption: and where other topics of defamation were wanting, their marriage became a sure subject of invective, and their wives received the name of concubine, or other more opprobrious appellation. The secular clergy, on the other hand, who were numerous and rich, and possessed of the ecclesiastical dignities, defended themselves with vigour, and endeavoured to retaliate upon their adversaries. The people were thrown into agitation; and few instances occur of more violent dissensions, excited by the most material differences in religion; or rather the most frivolous: since it is a just remark, that the more affinity there is between theological parties, the greater commonly is their animosity. Hume, ch. 11.

\* Chron. Sax. p. 115. † P. 498.

† See Brady, vol. ii. p. 120.

§ Hume, ch. 11.—According to Rapin, book iv. he was not above fourteen years of age at this time.

|| Will. Malmesb. lib. 11. c. 7.

\*\* She was within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the canon law.—W. Malmesb. lib. ii. cap. 7.

†† Wallingford, p. 542.

†† Will. Malmesb. lib. 11. cap. 7. Osberne, p. 83, 105. M. West. p. 195, 196.

§§ Wallingford, p. 542. Alur. Beverl. p. 112.

||| Osberne, p. 84. Gervase, p. 1644.

\*\*\* Hoveden, p. 425. ††† W. of Malmesbury.

††† Osberne, p. 84. Gervase, p. 1645, 1646.

instead



instead of being shocked with their inhumanity, and avenging the blood of the innocent upon the perpetrators of the horrid crime, exclaimed, that the misfortunes of Edwy and his consort were a just judgment for their dissolute contempt of the ecclesiastical statutes. So infatuated were the people of this age, and such implicit faith did they place in the ecclesiastics, that they raised a rebellion against their lawful sovereign, and placed his younger brother Edgar, a boy of thirteen years of age, at the head of affairs. Edgar was no doubt made to believe, by the designing monks, that he would do *God great service in deposing his wicked brother*. This, however, was the pretence he made use of for the dethroning of Edwy, and ascending the throne himself. Having become master of Mercia, he marched into Northumberland and East Anglia, where the Danes, ever ready to rebel, immediately joined him. Edwy, not being in a condition to withstand his numerous enemies, delivered up the kingdoms of Mercia, Northumberland, and East Anglia, and retired to his kingdom of Wessex, which continued faithful to him. The revolter, in the mean time, feared lest they should fall under the dominion of Edwy; and therefore formed the resolution of electing a king of their own, whose interest would oblige him to defend their cause. But as they were a mixture of English and Danes, each nation was desirous that the choice should fall on one of their countrymen. The Danes, in order to attain their ends, endeavoured to have it believed, that the only way to be safe from Edwy's attacks, was to call in the assistance of Denmark. But in truth, their aim by it was only to carry the election. The English, on the contrary, perceiving their design, did all they could to hasten on the election, by representing how fatal their present state of anarchy might prove to them. But the more forward the English appeared to be, the more full of delays were the Danes, and daily raised fresh obstacles, in hopes they would in the end, be obliged to send for succours from Denmark. At length, after they had debated a year on the matter, Edwy making no efforts for the recovery of his dominions, and consequently the Danish succours becoming unnecessary, prince Edgar was chosen with the title of King of Mercia, under which was comprehended all the country lying north of the Thames, except the ancient kingdom of Essex. To enhance the merit of the new king, it was given out, that whilst the great men were deliberating on the choice of a king, a voice was heard from Heaven, commanding them to elect Edgar. This revelation was easily swallowed by the people, at a time, when it was the general opinion, the least remarkable event came not to pass without being attended by some miracle.

That it might be no ways doubtful at whose instigation the above revolt was undertaken, Dunstan returned to England, and undertook the government of Edgar and his partizans. He was first made bishop of Worcester, then he was installed in that of London\*; and, on Odo's † death, and the violent expulsion of Brihtelm, his successor, in that of Canterbury ‡; of all which benefices he kept long possession.

The partition of England did not last long; for Edwy, being deprived of the kingdom of Mercia, laid his misfortunes so to heart, that he fell into an excess of melan-

choly, which soon brought him to his grave, after a reign of between four and five years. He died without issue, and was buried at Winchester.

### EDGAR.

THIS prince, who succeeded his brother, united the two kingdoms of Wessex and Mercia, under one head. He was not above sixteen years of age when he became sole monarch of England; and his genius and judgement rendered him more capable of governing a people, than many other princes who were further advanced in years. He knew how to make himself obeyed by his subjects, and feared by his enemies, two things essentially requisite in a crowned head.

Edgar showed not the least aversion to war; but in order to preserve peace, made great preparations for the defence of his country. By this proceeding he was enabled, without any danger of suffering insults, to indulge his inclination towards peace, and to employ himself in supporting and improving the internal government of his kingdom. He maintained a body of disciplined troops; which he quartered in the north, in order to keep the mutinous Northumbrians in subjection, and to repel the inroads of the Scots. He built and supported a powerful navy §; and that he might retain the seamen in the practice of their duty, and always present a formidable armament to his enemies, he stationed three squadrons off the coast, and ordered them to make, from time to time, the circuit of his dominions ||. The foreign Danes dared not to approach a country which appeared in such a posture of defence: the domestic Danes saw inevitable destruction to be the consequence of their tumults and insurrections: the neighbouring sovereigns, the king of Scotland, the princes of Wales, of the isle of Man, of the Orkneys, and even of Ireland \*\*, were reduced to pay submission to so formidable a monarch. He carried his superiority to a great height, and might have excited an universal combination against him, had not his power been so well established, as to deprive his enemies of all hopes of shaking it. It is said, that residing once at Chester, and having purposed to go by water to the abbey of St. John the Baptist, he obliged eight of his tributary princes to row him in a barge upon the Dee ††, he himself sitting at the helm ‡‡.

Edgar, not content with having secured England from all foreign assaults, thought it necessary, for the further quiet of his subjects, to free them from two domestic plagues which infested them. The first was, a vast quantity of wolves, which coming down in droves from the mountains in Wales, made such terrible havoc among the flocks and herds, that the country was in a continual alarm. Hitherto no remedy could be found out, whereby this evil might be overcome; but Edgar bethought himself of an expedient, which quickly cleared the country of them. To this end, he converted, in 961, the Welsh annual tribute of gold, silver, and cattle, into three hundred heads of Wolves §§. In the next place, he published throughout all England, a general pardon for all past offences, on condition each criminal brought him by a certain time, a number of wolves tongues, in proportion to his crime. Upon publishing this act of grace, the wolves were hunted and

\* Chron. Sax. p. 117. Flor. Wigorn. p. 605. Wallingford, p. 544.

† "Odo is transmitted to the by us monks under the character of a man of piety: Dunstan was even canonized; and is one of those numerous saints of the same stamp who disgrace the Roman calendar."—Hume, ch. 11.

‡ Hoveden, p. 425. Osberne, p. 105.

§ Higden, p. 263.

|| By several English historians, the fleet of Edgar has been made to amount to an almost incredible number, to three thousand, or three thousand six hundred ships: see Hoveden, p. 426. Flor. Wigorn. p. 607.—Abbas Rieval, p. 360.—Brompton, p. 869, say, that Edgar had four thousand vessels. But these accounts cannot easily be reconciled to probability, and to the

state of the navy in Alfred's time. W. Thorne, with great appearance of truth, makes the whole number amount to three hundred. The fleet of Ethelred, Edgar's son, must have been short of a thousand ships; yet the Saxon Chronicle, p. 137, says, it was the greatest navy that had ever been seen in England.

\*\* Spell. Conc. p. 432.

†† W. Malmesb. lib. 11. cap. 8. Hoveden, p. 406. H. Huntingdon, lib. v. p. 356.

‡‡ The English historians mention the name of Kenneth III. king of Scotland, as one employed in this excursion, who was vassal to Edgar for Cumberland.

§§ W. Malmesb. lib. 11. cap. 6.—Brompton, p. 838.



destroyed in such a manner, that in three years there was not one left in the kingdom.

Besides the above-mentioned plague, England was infested with one which was much more pernicious: there were another sort of wolves, who, not satisfied with eating up flocks and herds, devoured houses and families, which were the magistrates appointed in the cities and provinces to administer justice to the people. These mercenary judges, abusing the exorbitant power Edgar's predecessors had suffered them to usurp during the wars, were become intolerable to the nation. Without any regard to law or justice, they consulted only their own interest; and those who made them the largest presents, were sure to gain their cause; and though by that means the poor were the most oppressed, the rich were not entirely screened from their partial proceedings. Alfred the Great had endeavoured, by an extraordinary act of severity, to put a stop to this evil: but the wars that ensued had prevented his successors from putting his laws in execution. Edgar, having taken upon him to reform this abuse, laboured hard to accomplish his design. To this end, he took a progress every year through some part of his dominions, on purpose to hear the complaints that were made against those judges who abused their authority. He was not satisfied with examining into their misdemeanors, but made a law, by which every judge convicted of having given sentence contrary to the laws, was to be fined twenty-six shillings, if he did it ignorantly, but if knowingly, was to be cashiered for ever.

Edgar's noble qualities, and the tranquillity England enjoyed during his reign, render him, no doubt, very praise-worthy. But perhaps they would have been buried in eternal oblivion, had not his being a sure friend to the monks, engaged them to proclaim his praises even to an extravagant degree. His bigotry to them, which passed then for the most sublime virtue, was the principal reason for the commendations given him by historians, and of his being honoured with the title of Saint after his death. He is said to have founded forty monasteries, and to have repaired and beautified many more, particularly that at Glastonbury built by his uncle Edred. In short, he was so very liberal to the monks, that it was hardly in his power to do more for them than he did. Ingulf, in his History of the Abbey of Croyland\*, says, that in the reign of Edgar, the treasure of that monastery amounted to ten thousand pounds, besides holy vessels, shrines, and the like. This was a very great sum, considering that religious house had not been re-built thirty years. Hence may be

\* He observes, that in 974, in Edgar's reign, one Swarling, a monk of Croyland, died in the hundred and forty-second year of his age, and another in the hundred and fifteenth, which is the more remarkable, because that abbey was situated in a fenny part of Lincolnshire.

† As Dunstan made a considerable figure not only in this, but in the following reign, we shall here lay before our readers some account of his life, which will serve to illustrate several circumstances of English history.

Dunstan, the son of Herstan, and nephew of Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Glastonbury in 925. He spent the early part of his life with his uncle the archbishop, who took care that he should be instructed in all the learning of the age. He excelled particularly in music, painting, and engraving, in which sciences he took great delight all his life. As soon as he had finished his studies, the archbishop recommended him to king Athelstan, who sent for him to court, but gave him no preferment. The author of his life pretends, that the courtiers, envying his virtue and learning, maliciously represented him to the king as a dissolute and scandalous liver. The king, giving credit to the report, forbade him the court, without examining the truth of the matter. Some time after, the archbishop finding the means to undeceive the king, Dunstan was restored to favour, and had some lands near Glastonbury assigned him. Here he lived in retirement several years, with certain religious men, whom he had drawn thither, leading a sort of a monastic life. Glaston, or Glattonbury, was anciently a small church, founded, according to the vulgar opinion, by Joseph of Armathea. This church having been

guessed the immense riches of the monasteries in those days.

Edgar, not contented with being thus liberal to the monks, undertook to put them in possession of the ecclesiastical benefices again, which he actually performed: Dunstan, whom he had made archbishop of Canterbury, being the principal agent in the affair†. The secular priests were first ejected from their benefices in the diocese of Winchester, by Ethelwold, the bishop of that diocese. His example was followed by Dunstan and Oswald; and the other bishops quickly followed the precedent those ecclesiastics had set. So that in a short time the monks were in possession of all the religious houses in the kingdom.

After Dunstan had been some time at Glastonbury, Edmund, successor to Athelstan, having taken a great liking to him, built there a monastery‡, and made him abbot. Dunstan being a person of great address, gained the favour of this prince, which his dexterity took care to keep during his reign. His interest at court still increased under Edred, to whom he was prime-minister, favourite, and father-confessor. His vast fondness for a monastic life, made him use without any caution, all his interest to eject the secular priests, (whom he heartily despised, and at length mortally hated,) out of their benefices, and to put the monks in their room. This attachment to the monks, added to his haughty carriage, procured him abundance of enemies, and drew upon him the displeasure of Edwy, successor to Edmund. The haste Edgar was in to recall this abbot from Flanders, is a clear evidence he was indebted to him for the crown of Mercia. Upon Dunstan's return to England, Edgar promoted him to the see of Worcester. Some time after, the bishoprick of London being vacant, he was advanced to that dignity. Edgar never ceased to give him fresh marks of his esteem; and the high conceit he had of him was the more confirmed by the miracles attributed to him. The monks took all imaginable care to spread the fame of them every where, and were so very particular in their circumstances, that one must have been much freer from prejudice than they generally were in those days, not to have believed them. It is, however, very unlikely that Edgar himself, who was not of the number of those weak people that suffer themselves to be so easily deceived, was thoroughly convinced of the truth of all those miracles. But perhaps he was of opinion, those pious frauds were no detriment to religion. Be this as it will, he had a very great opinion of Dunstan's sanctity. After Athelm's death, Odo, by birth a Dane, was made archbishop of Canterbury,

destroyed, Devy, or David, bishop of St. David's, built another in the same place. This being also gone to ruin, was repaired by twelve devout persons, who coming from Armorica, settled in this place. Ina, king of Wessex, having pulled it down to the ground, built a stately church, and dedicated it to Christ, St. Peter, and St. Paul. Several persons famous for their piety, most of them Irish, retired to this church, where they were maintained by Edgar's bounty. From that time there were always devout persons, who made choice of this place for their retreat. They are said to have taught here the liberal sciences, music, engraving, and the like.

‡ Mr. Camden says, Dunstan introduced a new order of monks, viz. Benedictines, who by the bounty of princes got so much wealth as exceeded that of kings. After they had, as it were, reigned here for above six hundred years (for all their neighbours were at their beck) they were driven out by Henry VIII. and the monastery, which was environed with a wall of a mile in compass, and replenished with stately buildings, was by degrees entirely demolished. In his time there was a wall-nut-tree in the church-yard (but it is now gone, and a young one in its place) that was said never to bud before Barnabas day, (11th of June) and always to shoot out its leaves on that very day. And also a hawthorn tree, (in Wirral-park hard by) that budded on Christmas-day, as if it were in May. This tree has been cut down many years; but there are some still growing in the county, from branches of the old tree; particularly one in the garden of William Stroud, Esq. possessor of the ground where the other stood, and another in the garden of the White-Hart Inn in Glastonbury.—Tindal.



but lived not long after his installation. To him succeeded Eln, who died as he was going to Rome for his pall\*. This happening in the beginning of Edgar's reign, Brithelm, bishop of Bath, was elected to the vacant see. But Edgar being desirous of having Dunstan made archbishop, convened a council, wherein he represented Brithelm as unqualified for so great a post; whereupon he was ordered to return to his old diocese, and Dunstan was chosen in his room. This election not being exactly canonical, it was thought fit Dunstan should go to Rome, on pretence of receiving his pall, that he might, at the same time, justify these proceedings. The Pope, who was not ignorant how great a sway Dunstan bore at the court of England, and with what zeal he had espoused the interest of the church of Rome and of the monks, readily confirmed his election, constituting him moreover his legate for England, with a very extensive authority. At his return, he got Oswald his relation made bishop of Worcester, and Ethelwold his intimate friend, of Winchester. These three prelates, by holding together, entirely governed the church during this reign. Edgar having committed to them the management of all ecclesiastical affairs, was not contented with granting all they desired, but even took a pleasure in doing them favours unasked.

Dunstan perceiving his credit was firmly established, returned to his grand scheme in favour of the monks, which he had been forced to drop during the reign of Edwy. This affair was not without its difficulties; the great men of the nation looked upon it as a great misfortune, that the guidance of the churches should be wrested out of the hands of the ancient and lawful governors. They were still less pleased with the monks having it, who, by the rules of their order, and according to the custom hitherto observed, were excluded from the pastoral functions, in order to employ themselves wholly in prayer to God within the walls of their monasteries. Besides, they were of opinion, that instead of encouraging and enriching the monks, it would be much better to put a stop to the people's zeal, who were continually bequeathing to them considerable legacies, by which means estates were passed away in mortmain, to the great prejudice of the nation. It was easy therefore, to see this project would meet with great opposition from the nobility. But on the other hand, the people, who considered not things so thoroughly, were entirely in the interest of the monks, and extremely offended at the scandalous lives of the secular clergy, who applied the revenues of the church, to uses directly contrary to the intent of the donors†. It must be confessed, that the clergy at that time were very ill-livers, and that pride, avarice, gluttony, drunkenness, and luxury, openly reigned among them. Dunstan and his party did all in their power to expose these irregularities, in order to irritate the people against their pastors. They succeeded so well in their design, that multitudes espoused the cause of the monks, purely out of contempt to the secular clergy. But what did the monks most service, was the king's being so vigorous a champion for them. His good opinion of them was still increased by his comparing them with the seculars, who indeed observed no measures in their excesses. And therefore this prince thought he had done the church a signal service in putting it under the government of the monks, whom he looked upon as so many saints. The case standing thus, Dunstan found no difficulty to persuade Edgar to countenance a reformation he believed so advantageous to the church. He convened a council, in hopes that their authority, together with the king's, would surmount all obstacles. Edgar was present in person, and made a speech which plainly showed how greatly he was prejudiced in their favour. As this harangue manifestly dis-

covers the disposition of the king, of Dunstan, and of the other directors of the affairs of the church, with regard to the secular clergy, it will not perhaps be amiss to give it at length, and the rather, as it relates to one of the principal events of this reign.

"Almighty God having vouchsafed of his infinite mercy, to shew his goodness to us in a remarkable manner, it is most reasonable, reverend father, we should exert our endeavours to make a suitable return. That we are in possession of this plentiful country, is not owing to the strength of our own, but to the help of his all-powerful arm, who has been pleased to manifest his loving-kindness towards us. It is but just therefore, we should bring ourselves, our souls and bodies, in subjection to him, who has subdued all things for us, and should take care that all who are under us, should be obedient to his laws. It is my office, reverend fathers, to administer justice, without respect of persons; to repress the rebellious; to punish the sacrilegious; to protect the poor and weak from the hand of the oppressor. It is my business also, to take care that the church and her ministers, the holy fraternities of the religious, have all things necessary to their subsistence and well-being. But it is your duty to examine into the life and conversion of the clergy. To you it belongs to see, that they live agreeably to their profession: that they are sober, temperate, chaste, hospitable to the poor and the stranger: that they are careful in the administration of their office; constant in their instructions to the people. In a word, that they are worthy of the glorious character of the ministers of Jesus Christ. With submission be it spoken, reverend fathers, had you taken due care of these things, I should not have had the dissatisfaction of hearing from all hands the enormous crimes, daily committed by the clergy of this land. I insist not on the smallness of their tonsure, contrary to the canons of the church, on their effeminacy in their habits, on their haughtiness in their gestures, on their immodest discourses, which plainly show all is not right within. I omit their negligence with regard to divine service: hardly will they vouchsafe their company at the public prayers; and when they come to church to celebrate the holy mysteries, one would think they are going to act a play. But the chief subject of my complaint, I speak it with extreme regret, is what ministers occasion of grief to the good, and of joy to the prophane; I mean the lewd and scandalous lives of the clergy. They spend their days in diversions, entertainments, drunkenness, and debauchery. Their houses may be said to be so many sinks of lewdness, public stages, and receptacles of libertines. There they have gaming, dancing, and obscene singing; there they pass the night in rioting and drunkenness. It is thus, reverend fathers, it is thus the bounty of my predecessors to the church, and their charities for the maintenance of the poor; and what is more, the adorable blood of our Saviour, are consumed. Was it for this that our ancestors exhausted their treasures? Was it for this they were so liberal of their estates? Was it to deck the concubines of the priests, to provide for them splendid entertainments, to furnish them with dogs and hawks, that our forefathers displayed their munificence to the church? These are the crimes which the people complain of in private, and the soldiers in public, which are sung in the streets, and acted on the stage; and yet they are forgiven, they are overlooked, they are connived at by you! Where is now the sword of Levi, and the zeal of Simeon? Where is the wrath of Moses against the worshippers of the golden calf? Where is the indignation of St. Peter against Simon the magician? Imitate, reverend fathers, imitate the zeal of these holy persons, and follow the way of righteousness, shown you by the Lord. It is high time for you to

\* He was frozen to death on the Alps, which the monkish historians interpret as a judgement for his disrespect to Odo's grave.—Malin. l. i. de Gest. Pont. Angl. Others, for his simony.—M. West.

† After the demolishing of the abbies in Alfred's time, the

secular clergy repaired some of the monasteries, took possession of them, were incorporated under certain regulations, performed divine service in their respective churches, lived single or married as they thought fit, and stood in the same condition with our present prebendaries.—Tindal.





*King Edgar laying aside the Crown on being reproached by Archbishop Dunstan for having seduced a. 974.*



draw the sword of St. Peter, whilst I make use of the great Constantine's. Let us join our forces to expel the lepers out of the temple, to cleanse the sanctuary, and to cause the Lord to be served by the true sons of Levi, *who said to his father, and to his mother, I know you not, and to his brethren, I know not who you are.*—Deut. xxxiii. 9. Let the disrespect to the relics of the saints, and the daily prophaning of the holy altars, rouse you up. Be moved at the great abuse of the piety of our forefathers. One of my ancestors, you all know, dedicated to the church the tithes of the kingdom: the glorious Alfred, my great-grand-father, laid out his revenues in religious uses. You are not ignorant of the great benefactions of my father and uncle, which it would be highly dishonourable so soon to forget, seeing the altars are still adorned with them. You, O Dunstan, father of fathers, raise your imagination a little I pray you, and fancy you behold my father looking down from Heaven, and expostulating with you in this manner: It was you that advised me to the building of so many churches and monasteries; it was you I made choice of for my spiritual guide, and the inspector of my behaviour. Did not I always obey your voice? Did I not always prefer your advice before wealth? How frankly did I lay out my treasures, when you said the word? My charities were always ready when you called for them. Whatever was desired for the church was immediately granted. If you complained the monks were short in their conveniencies, they were forthwith supplied. You used to tell me, such liberalities brought forth immortal fruit, and were highly meritorious, since they were expended in supporting the servants of God, and maintaining the poor. And is it not an intolerable shame, they should be laid out in adorning and decking a pack of prostitutes? Are these the fruits of my benefactions? Are these the effects of your glorious promises? These, O Dunstan, are the complaints of the king my father. What can you answer to this charge? I am convinced that you have hitherto been unblameable; when you saw a thief you consented not to him, neither have you been partaker with the adulterers. No, you have endeavoured to correct these abuses. You have argued, exhorted, threatened. But since these means have proved in vain, it is time to apply more effectual remedies. You have here ready to assist you, the reverend father Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, and the venerable Oswald, bishop of Worcester. To you three I refer the management of this important affair. Exert the episcopal in conjunction with the regal authority, to expel from the church of God the disorderly clergy, and put in such as live regularly in their room \*.

Collier observes, this speech is raised and polished in the original, much above the elocution of the tenth century; and therefore says, he should have supposed Josselin, (archbishop Parker's secretary) might have worked the matter he found into a brighter form, had he not met with this harangue in Rievallensis, an ancient historian †.

Edgar had no doubt many good qualities, which the monkish writers have not failed to give us very extravagant accounts of; but his bad actions seem to overbalance his good ones. Edwy was blamed for a trifle; but Edgar, whose unruly lust and murders knew no bounds, was extolled to the skies. History, however, has preserved some instances of his amours; from which, as from a specimen, we may form an idea of the rest.

The first affair of this kind respecting Edgar, that we meet with is, his breaking open a convent, and taking by force from its sacred walls Editha ‡, a nun, and committing violence on her person §. Dunstan inveighed

against this sacrilege, and even reprimanded the king on account of it, but could not prevail upon him to send her back again. For this heinous crime Edgar sufficiently atoned, according to the idea of the monks, not by separating from his mistress, but by not wearing his crown during seven years ||. A punishment very unequal to that which had been inflicted on his unfortunate brother Edwy, who, for a marriage which in the strictest sense could only deserve the name of irregular, was expelled his kingdom, saw his queen treated with singular barbarity, was loaded with calumnies, and has been represented to us under the most odious colours. Such is the ascendant which may be attained by hypocrisy and cabal over mankind!

There was another mistress of Edgar's, with whom he became accidentally acquainted. Passing one day by Andover, he lodged in the house of a nobleman, whose daughter, being endowed with all the graces of person and behaviour, enflamed him at first sight with the highest desire; and he resolved to gratify it without delay. As he had not leisure to employ courtship or address for attaining his purpose, he went directly to her mother, declared the violence of his passion, and desired that the young lady might be allowed to pass that night in his chamber. The mother being a woman of virtue, was determined not to dishonour her daughter and her family by compliance; but as she was well acquainted with the impetuosity of the king's temper, she thought it would be easier, as well as safer, to deceive than refuse him. She feigned therefore a submission to his will; but privately prevailed on one of her waiting-maids, who was a woman of an agreeable figure, to go secretly into the king's bed, after all the company should be retired to rest. In the morning, before day-break, the damsel, agreeably to the injunctions of her mistress, offered to retire; but Edgar, who had no reserve in his pleasures, and whose love to his bed-fellow was rather enflamed by enjoyment, refused his consent, and employed force and entreaties to detain her. Elfrida, (for that was the name of the maid), trusting to her own charms, and to the love with which, she hoped, she had now inspired the king, made probably but a faint resistance; and the return of light discovered the deceit to Edgar. He had passed a night so much to his satisfaction, that he expressed no displeasure with the old lady on account of her fraud. His love was therefore transferred to Elfrida, and she became his favourite mistress; maintaining an ascendant over the monarch till his marriage with Elfrida \*\*.

His marriage with Elfrida was attended with circumstances, which were more singular and more criminal than any of his former amours. Elfrida was the daughter and heir of Olgar, earl of Devonshire. Edgar, having received information of her exquisite beauty and polite accomplishments, resolved to make her his wife. He communicated his intention to earl Athelwold, his favourite, whom he desired to examine into the matter, and see whether she was as beautiful and as accomplished as fame had reported, and to transmit him a faithful account thereof. Athelwold, therefore, made a journey to the earl of Devonshire's seat, upon a frivolous pretence. No sooner did he cast his eyes on the young lady, than he became passionately in love with her. Forgetting the king his master, he entertained the idea of possessing her himself. Having returned to court, he told the king, that he could neither perceive any beauty in her person, nor accomplishment in her mind; and that the report of her beauty was perhaps more owing to her father's riches than any thing else. This account made the king lay aside all thoughts of the marriage. Athelwold perceiving that the king was grown perfectly

\* See Rapin, book iv. † Abbas Rieval. p. 360, 361.

‡ According to Tindal's edition of Rapin, the name of this nun was Wilfrida; and Edgar is said to have had a daughter by her named Editha, who was greatly celebrated for her sanctity.

§ This is confirmed by the testimony of several authors,

particularly Will. Malmesb. lib. ii. cap. 8. Osberne, p. 3. Diceto, p. 457.—Higden, p. 265, 267, 268.—Spell. Conc. p. 481. || Osberne, p. 111.

\*\* Will. Malmesb. lib. ii. cap. 8.—Higden, p. 268.—Hume, ch. 14.



cool upon the matter, took occasion some time afterwards to represent to Edgar, that though the fortune of the earl of Devonshire was not worth a king's notice, yet it would greatly assist any subject; and therefore humbly asked his master's leave to make his addresses to her, she being the richest heiress in the kingdom. Edgar, pleased with this expedient for establishing his favourite's fortune, not only exhorted him to execute his purpose, but forwarded his success by his recommendations to the parents of Elfrida; and Athelwold was soon made happy in the possession of his mistress. Dreading, however, the detection of the artifice, he employed every pretence for detaining Elfrida in the country, and for keeping her at a distance from Edgar. How cautious soever Athelwold went to work, it was not possible his treachery should long remain a secret. Favourites at court are seldom without some private enemies, who earnestly desire an opportunity of ruining them. Edgar at length was informed of the truth, but dissembling the matter, he was willing, before he showed his resentment, to be satisfied with his own eyes, of the veracity of what had been told him. With this view, he took an occasion to go into those parts where Athelwold's seat was: when he was near the place, he told him he had a mind to see his lady, of whom he had formerly heard so much. Athelwold was thunder-struck at this, and did all he could to divert the king from his purpose: but his artifices were all in vain, and served only to confirm the king the more in his resolution. All he could obtain, was leave to go before on pretence of preparing for the king's reception. As soon as he entered his house, he threw himself at his wife's feet, and confessing what he had done for the sake of possessing her, conjured her to use all her endeavours to conceal her charms from the king, who was but too susceptible of love's flames. Elfrida promised to do as he desired, but was determined not to keep her word. No sooner was he gone to meet the king, but she set off her natural beauty with all the art she was mistress of. The event answered her expectations. The moment Edgar cast his eyes on her, he became passionately in love, and from that instant was resolved to obtain her as a wife. The better to effect his design, he pretended he did not perceive any extraordinary beauty in the lady; and this made the husband have no suspicion of treachery. According he took his leave of her with a seeming indifference, but at the same time in his heart raged love and revenge; which of all the passions raise the most violent emotion in the human breast. Quickly after, he ordered Athelwold to depart for Northumberland, on pretence of some urgent affairs. But the unfortunate earl never performed his journey. He was found dead in a wood, where it was thought at first he had been murdered by robbers; but people soon saw through the delusion, when they beheld the king, instead of making enquiry after the murderers, was married to the widow. Some say that Edgar slew Athelwold with his own hand at a hunting-match\*.

We have before made some observations on the character of Edgar, and before we can conclude our account of his reign, it may not be improper to lay before our readers the opinions of different historians concerning the virtues of this prince. A monk, writing in his praise, makes no scruple to assert, that Edgar was to the English what Romulus was to the Romans, Cyrus to the Persians, Alexander to the Macedonians, Arsaces to the Parthians, and Charlemagne to the

French. Such was the strained encomium of those who received advantages from his villainy: but after-ages, less prepossessed in his favour, have ranked him among more suitable company in a much lower class. Very judicious historians have taken him from the list of saints, whither the monks, his flatterers, had placed him, and have not hesitated to reckon him among the number of the vilest of princes. Thus Burnet†, an author of good repute and credit, places him in the same class with Brunichild and Irene. When the almost unparalleled sanctity of Editha, the daughter of Edgar, was mentioned to Canute the Great, he said, he could never believe it was possible for the daughter of so wicked a father to be a saint. These accounts make us suspect, that the monkish historians have passed over in silence the faults of their monarch, and that they have only related his virtues.

Edgar reigned sixteen years from the death of his brother Edwy, and died in 975, at the age of thirty-two years. He left two sons and a daughter. Edward, his eldest son, was born of a concubine, or at least of a very doubtful marriage‡, who succeeded him. Etheldred, his youngest, was the son of the beautiful Elfrida. Editha, his daughter by his first mistress, passed her days in a nunnery, and after her death, was honoured with the title of saint§. Edgar is said, by Ingulf, to have founded forty-eight monasteries; which is supposed to have given great occasion to the Danes to conquer England: for, by founding so many religious houses, he exhausted the public funds, and gave great portions of land for the maintenance of the monks, who refused his son Etheldred assistance according to his necessity. He was buried near the high altar of Glastonbury church, where he is said to have wrought many miracles after his death.

#### EDWARD THE MARTYR.

THIS prince was only fifteen years old at the time of his father's decease; and his succession to the throne did not take place without much difficulty and great opposition. Many of the principal nobility were of opinion, that the crown should devolve to Ethelred||, pretending there was a flaw in Edward's birth, and that his mother was never lawfully married to Edgar. But Dunstan, together with the bishops, adhered to Edward, pleading his being named as successor by Edgar in his last will and testament\*\*. To this was added another and no less powerful motive, to induce them to espouse his interest, which was, that they expected to have the management of all public transactions under Edward, which they had no room to hope under his brother, seeing his mother Elfrida did not seem much inclined to be guided by their counsels.

In the mean time, Ethelred's party being by far the most numerous, Edward was in danger of being excluded, if Dunstan could not devise some method whereby their measures might be broke up. Finding that the people had a high conceit of his sanctity, he made use of their good inclinations to bring about his designs. In the midst of the public debates concerning the succession, Dunstan rose up on a sudden, and taking prince Edward by the hand, he led him towards the church, attended by the other bishops and a great crowd of people. As soon as he had entered the holy place, he anointed the young prince King††, without regarding the oppositions of the other party. The nobles bemoaned their falling once more under the

\* Malmesbury, lib. 11. De Gest. Reg. Angl. says, that he took Athelwold into a wood (Harewood Forest) upon pretence of hunting, and killed him there with his lance. The natural son of this nobleman happening to come in at this accident, and viewing the dead body of his father, the king sternly asked him, *how he liked the game?* The youth replied calmly, that whatsoever pleased the king, ought not to be displeasing to him. This courtly answer, on so moving an occasion, surprized the king, and gave him a strong affection for the young man ever after. Elfrida built a nunnery in the place where her husband was slain.

† Preface to his History of the Reformation.

‡ "He was succeeded by Edward, whom he had by his first marriage with the daughter of earl Ordmer."—Hume, ch. 2.

§ Rapin, book 14.

|| Ethelred was, at this time, only seven years of age.

\*\* See Hoveden, p. 427.—Eadmer, p. 3.—Rapin, book 14. And Hume, ch. 2.

†† Edward the Martyr was crowned at Kingston.—Hume, ch. 2.







administration of that imperious prelate. But as they saw the people appeared in his favour, they were compelled to submit.

Edward was but fifteen years \* old when he began to reign under the guardianship of Dunstan, who immediately took all the power into his own hands. As soon as he was fixed in the regency, he laboured with all his might to keep the monks in possession of the benefices they had been put into in the last reign, and made use of the king's authority to that end: but he met with greater opposition than he expected. As the king was a minor, the orders given in his name, were not so readily complied with. Dunstan convened several councils about this affair. But perhaps his endeavours would have proved abortive, if by the means of several miracles, which were never wanting upon occasion, he had not brought the people to believe, that Heaven interposed in their behalf.

In one of these councils, assembled at Winchester, the majority being against the monks, they would have infallibly lost their cause, if, on a sudden, a crucifix that hung aloft in the room, had not pronounced these words with an audible voice: "It shall not be done, it shall not be done: you have decided the matter well hitherto, and would be to blame to change †." Astonished at this oracle, the most obstinate came in and voted for the monks. Another time, at an assembly in the same place, Dunstan used all his endeavours to procure friends to elect one Elphegus, a monk, dean of that church: but the people were for having that dignity conferred on a secular priest. The contest ran so high, that there was like to be a sedition, which would have been of dangerous consequence. But St. Andrew the apostle on a sudden revealing to St. Dunstan in the audience of all the people, that the monk ought to be chosen, he was immediately installed. These and several other miracles, too many to be inserted here, not having been able to remove all obstacles in the way of the monks, there was one at last that stopped the mouths of their most strenuous opposers. Dunstan had convened a council at Calne in Wiltshire, in 978, to determine the controversy about the monks keeping possession of their benefices. This was a mixed convention, where the king and all the nobility were present, as well as the bishops and abbots. The affair would, in all probability, have been decided against the monks, considering the great number of their opposers there present. But whilst they were warmly disputing on the subject, the floor of the room broke under the company, and crushed several to death. The beam on which Dunstan's chair was placed, was the only one that did not give way; by which means he remained unhurt, whilst scarce a man besides himself in this numerous assembly escaped being either killed or bruised. This convinced the people, that the monks were the favourites of Heaven, since their head and protector was so wonderfully preserved. After this seasonable accident, the monks were left unmolested, either because the miraculous preservation of Dunstan had made an impression upon the minds of his enemies, or because their most potent opposers perished in their fall.

Besides these ecclesiastical matters, we find nothing remarkable in the reign of Edward, but his tragical death in 979, four years after he ascended the throne. The story is thus related by the greatest part of historians. Edward passing one day, as he was returning

from hunting, near Corfe-Castle ‡ in the isle of Purbeck, Dorsetshire, where his mother-in-law Elfrida resided with her son Ethelred, rode off from his company in order to pay her a visit. Elfrida being told the king was at the gate, ran to receive him, and urged him very earnestly to alight and come in to refresh himself. But as the king's design was only to pay his respects to his mother-in-law as he went by her castle, he only desired a glass of wine to drink her health. Whether Elfrida had already formed a design of destroying the king, in order to make way for her son to the crown, or whether that favourable opportunity had put the thought in her head, the young king had no sooner lifted the glass to his mouth, but a ruffian stabbed him in the back with a dagger. Perceiving himself wounded, he set spurs to his horse, which soon carried him out of sight. But not being able to keep his saddle by reason of loss of blood, he fell from his horse. To compleat his misfortune, his foot hung in the stirrup; and by that means he was dragged a great way before his horse stopped, just by a poor blind woman's house that stood in the road. To this house they that had been sent after him by Elfrida, traced him by his blood, found him dead, and his body sadly torn. Elfrida imagining she could conceal this horrid deed, it being known only to her domestics, ordered the corps to be thrown into a well. But it was found there a few days after, and carried to Warham in the same county, from whence it was removed to Shaftsbury, and laid in a monastery founded by king Alfred. They pretend it worked many miracles there; that a blind man was restored to his sight, and a cripple to his limbs, by only touching the body. The poor woman, in whose house his body lay one night, is said to have been cured by his intercession; and that the well, into which he had been thrown, was endowed with the virtue of healing several sorts of distempers. In fine, it is reported that Elfrida, having a mind to know the truth of these miracles, was resolved to go to the place herself, but her horse, in spite of all her endeavours, would not advance on the way. With such prodigies as these do the histories of those times abound. Thus far is certain, Elfrida, willing to atone for her crime, founded two nunneries, one at Ambresbury §, and another at Whorwel near Andover. In this last she shut herself up in order to do penance during the residue of her days. She is said to have frequently covered her body all over with little crosses, to keep off the devil, whom she had but too much reason to fear.

We do not pretend to declare, upon what grounds Edward was made both a saint and a martyr, unless it be alledged that he was murdered for his great affection to Dunstan and the monks. Indeed that was sufficient then to procure him these glorious appellations. It is certain, that in those days, all the favourers of the monks passed for as many saints, and their enemies for the fit objects of God's wrath. Be this as it may, this prince is generally known by the name of Edward the Martyr ||.

## ETHELRED II.

UPON the murder of Edward, no kind of pretence could be urged against his brother Ethelred's succeeding to the throne, he being the last of the royal family, and of too tender an age to be accused of partaking in his mother's crime. Accordingly, he was crowned at Kingston

\* Rapin says fourteen. † Eadmer.

‡ This castle is a considerable piece of antiquity; the foundation whereof is not cleared up by history. After the strength and safety of the realm began to consist in castles, this was one of the most principal belonging to the crown. It was repaired by Henry VII. and in the civil wars was a garrison for the king, defended by the owner, lord chief justice Banks.—Camd. Add. to Dorset.

§ In Wiltshire, so called from Ambrosius, who built here a monastery for three hundred monks, to pray for the souls of the British Noblemen slain by Hengist. The tomb of Quinever, Arthur's wife, was found here within this last No. V.

century, and this inscription on the wall in massy gold letters, R. G. A. C. 600. The antiquity of which is very suspicious, since she must have outlived Arthur fifty years: and besides, she is said by historians of credit to have been buried at Glastonbury. Queen Elfrida's nunnery is famous for Queen Eleanor's being a nun there; and also Mary daughter to Edward I. with thirteen noblemen's daughters were veiled here on Assumption-day, 1285. Camd. Add. to Wiltsh.

|| King Edward's martyrdom is kept on three several days; on the day he was murdered, and at the two removes of his body. See Martyr. Angl. 18th of March, and Feb. and June 20. He has likewise the honour of standing in the Roman martyrology,



Kingston upon Thames \* by Dunstan, he being then about twelve years of age, though that prelate plainly foresaw it would prove fatal to his party. The first act of king Ethelred was the ordering the body of his murdered brother to be removed to Shaftsbury Church. Scarcely had he performed this friendly office, before he was informed that the Danes had made a descent on the island; and these foreign invaders would not permit the English to enjoy any peace during the remainder of the reign.

These piratical rovers first landed at Southampton, from seven ships, in the year 981; and after having plundered the town, and ravaged the adjacent country, they spread their devastations into Cornwall. The same year another band of Danes landed at Portland, pillaged and sacked the country round about, and afterwards proceeded to other parts, with a view to increase their spoils. As the first ten years of this king's reign were spent in marching backwards and forwards against the invaders, it would be needless to enter into an elaborate detail of the various ravages which were committed by the Danes in different parts of the country. It may, however, be easily imagined, that murders, conflagrations, plunderings, and other devastations, were to be seen throughout the kingdom.

During these troubles, Elfric duke of Mercia, one of the best supports of his country, died in 983. The little esteem he had for the monks, after Edgar's death, was in all probability the reason of their noising abroad, among their votaries, that he was eaten up of lice. Alric his son succeeded him.

The next year, Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, one of St. Dunstan's confidants, and a great friend to the monks, departed this life. He is said to have founded a dozen monasteries. If that be true, he was, no doubt, assisted by the liberality of the two former kings, with whom he was greatly in favour.

The interest of the monks entirely vanished in the reign of Ethelred, by reason of the frequent invasions of the Danes, and because the people's minds were wholly taken up about their misfortunes. They even began to call in question the sanctity of the monks, not being able to forbear wondering, that men who had obtained from Heaven so many miracles on their own private account, could not by their merits and prayers secure the kingdom from the calamities it lay under. Thus were the vulgar led to believe, that the pretended miracles of the monks, were so many artifices of priestcraft, meant to deceive the people and enrich themselves. On the other hand, as their credit with the preceding kings had gained them a great reputation, so this king's being no friend to their cause, was very prejudicial to them. Ethelred, whose thoughts were not turned to religion, put the monks and other ecclesiastics upon the same level with the rest of his subjects. He gave a convincing proof how little he regarded the clergy, in a difference between him and the bishop of Rochester. The bishop having haughtily refused to comply with some demand the king had made, he ordered the soldiers to lay waste the lands belonging to the cathedral of that see, dedicated to St. Andrew. In vain did the bishop threaten him with vengeance from the apostle, and to as little purpose did he get archbishop Dunstan to interpose in the matter;

Ethelred paid no regard to either of them; nor would he desist till a sum of money was offered him. Dunstan, displeased to the highest degree at these proceedings, denounced against the king and his council the terrible judgements of God, that were hanging over their heads for presuming to lay sacrilegious hands on the church's property; but he was lightly esteemed. He died soon after, in the year 990, through grief. Oswald, archbishop of York, quickly followed him. He was his particular friend, and one of the three prelates who had the management of all ecclesiastical affairs during the reign of Edgar. The death of these patrons of the monks, a contagious distemper, which carried off abundance of people, and the continual invasions of the Danes, put an end to the quarrel between the secular and regular clergy.

The Danes having pillaged the coasts of England for ten years together, gave over their ravages for about two years. This intermission made the English imagine, that their enemies had turned their thoughts to some other country; but their hopes soon vanished: for in 991, Justin and Guthmund, two Danish captains, landed a great body of troops at Gipswick † [Ipswich in Suffolk.] Whilst they were taken up with plundering Brihnoth, duke of East-Anglia, advanced towards them, with a view to surprize them, but he found them too well prepared to receive him. He was overthrown, and his defeat exposed the adjacent country to the greatest devastations. The victorious Danes having nothing more to fear, penetrated farther into the country, where they committed terrible ravages. Ethelred being without an army, and in no condition to stop their progress, was persuaded by Syric, archbishop of Canterbury, to get rid of them by giving them a sum of money ‡.

Two years after, in 993, another of their fleets sailing up the Humber, the pirates landed on the north-side, and ravaged in a merciless manner all that belonged to the English in those quarters. Ethelred sent an army against them, under the command of three earls, Froena, Frithegist, and Godwin §. But the generals, after they had led their troops quite up to the enemy, were the first that turned their backs, and by their shameful flight were the cause of the loss of the army.

Sweyn king of Denmark, and Olaf ¶ king of Norway, allured by the success of their subjects in England, had an inclination also to have a share of the booty they every year carried from Britain. To this end, having fitted out a numerous fleet, they entered the Thames in ninety-four vessels, and landed their troops near London. They made several attempts to obtain the mastery of the city, but meeting with a braver resistance than they expected, and their attempt being frustrated, they retired. To make themselves amends for the time they had lost before London, they entered Kent, Hampshire, and Sussex, and committed the most dreadful ravages, threatening to lay the whole kingdom waste. Ethelred, who had no more conduct than courage, not knowing how to stop their plunderings, had recourse to his former expedient; and obliged himself to pay a certain pecuniary fine \*\* within a limited time, on condition they would leave his subjects unmolested, and depart from the kingdom. Matters

martyrology, March 18. Where Baronius takes notice of a letter in Pope Innocent IV's Register, for the keeping St. Edward's Festival. Coll. l. 3. See also Rapin, book iv.

\* The following prophecy is said to have been delivered by Dunstan at the coronation of this prince: "Because," said he, "thou hast aspired to the crown by the death of thy brother, whom thy mother hath murdered, therefore hear the word of the Lord: The sword shall not depart from thy house, but shall furiously rage all the day of thy life; killing of thy seed, till such time as thy kingdom shall be given to a people whose customs and language the nation thou now governest know not. Neither shall thy sin, the sin of thy mother, and the sin of those men who were partakers of her counsels, and executors of her wicked designs,

"be expiated but by a long and most severe vengeance."

† We find no mention of this place before the Danish invasion.

‡ Ten thousand pounds. Chron. Sax.

§ These three lords, being of Danish extraction, were suspected of treachery.

¶ Some pretend Olaf or Olaf, was the same with Anlaf, mentioned in the reigns of Edmund and Edred. But besides that the one was king of Norway, which cannot be said of the other, Anlaf must have been exceeding old, since seventy years before he was a general. Historians not carefully distinguishing the princes that were called Anlaf or Olaf, made Selden say, it was a name that bred great confusion in the English history. Rapin.

\*\* Sixteen thousand pounds. Chron. Sax. Ann. 991.

being



being thus accommodated, the two foreign kings caused all hostilities to cease, and retired to Southampton. A little while after, the king of Norway paid a visit to Ethelred, at Andover, where he then resided, who persuaded him to be baptized, and stood godfather to him. At his going off, Olaf obliged himself by oath never to infect England again, and inviolably kept it\*.

It would have been happy for the English, if Sweyn, who departed at the same time, would have followed his example; they would, by that means, have escaped all those miseries he afterwards brought on the land. When he sailed for Denmark he left a fleet at Southampton, to keep the English in awe, and oblige them to perform the articles of the treaty. After his departure, his admiral pressed the payment of the money with great earnestness. But as the English were not over-hasty to comply with his demands, he took their delay for a refusal, and resolved to renew the war. In the mean time, [997] to take the English by surprize, he set sail, as if for Denmark, and on a sudden he entered the Severn in 998; and after destroying the country of the Welsh with fire and sword, he crossed over the river and penetrated into Dorsetshire, where he committed the same ravages. All the forces that could be brought against them were defeated as soon as levied. They sacked whole counties, it being impossible to make head against them. In short, finding no more booty to be got in these parts, they put to sea again and landed in Kent. The inhabitants, by endeavouring to resist them, only increased the fury of their enemies, who treated them with the utmost barbarity. To complete their misfortunes, a fleet Ethelred had manned out to engage the Danes at sea, was rendered useless by the dissensions and unskillfulness of the commanders. In this melancholy posture of affairs, England would infallibly have gone to ruin, if the Danes, by a lucky and unexpected accident, had not been called off to the assistance of Richard II. duke of Normandy, in 999, whom the king of France designed to dispossess of his dominions. Ethelred took this opportunity to ravage Cumberland, in the year 1000, but for what reason is not known†. After this transaction, he returned to London, where he kept his usual residence. The quiet Ethelred enjoyed was of no long continuance; the Danes being detained in Normandy no longer than was absolutely necessary to put the young duke out of danger, returned into England. Cornwall felt the first effects of their fury; then entering Wessex, they became masters of Exeter. The consternation of the English was so great, that they made but a very faint resistance. Ethelred himself was seized with such a dread, that he durst not venture to be present in the battles, for fear of falling into the hands of the Danes, who in all appearance would have shown him no favour. In fine, the Danes, ever victorious, got possession of the Isle of Wight, Hampshire, and Dorsetshire, where they had their magazines. Hence they made continual incur-

sions into the neighbouring counties, without any one's daring to oppose them. England was then in a deplorable condition, the southern counties were perpetually ravaged by the foreign Danes, and the northern parts peopled by the same nation, whom the English looked upon as their enemies. They had not only refused to fight against the foreigners, whom they considered as their countrymen, but by joining with them, they helped to destroy a country they ought to have defended to the utmost of their power, since it was become their own. In this extremity Ethelred, who had no resolution, was far from imitating the firmness of his ancestors, who in the like circumstances never suffered their courage to be cast down by misfortunes. This timorous prince, not seeing any other way to avoid the still greater miseries the nation was threatened with, yielded to pay the Danes twenty-four thousand pounds‡. This sum, which in those days was a very considerable one, was levied by way of tax, to which was given the name of Danegeld; that is, Danish money, or money for the Danes§. This was the original of that famous tax which afterwards became so exceeding burdensome to the nation, even for a long time after the Danes had quitted England. But the clergy and monks found means to get the yoke from their necks.

The Danes, satisfied with these terms, ceased their ravages, and returned home. But many of them staid behind, and lived among the English. Their number indeed was not so great as to render them very formidable, as they were dispersed about the country; but they were backed by their countrymen in Northumberland and East Anglia. Besides, the English dreaded the renewing the war, which made the Danes behave in a very insolent and haughty manner. They did what they pleased, without any one's daring to controul them. The English, dispirited by their past calamities, were afraid of giving the least occasion of drawing on the kingdom fresh invasions. Thus whilst the Danes, abounding in wealth and ease, passed their time agreeably, the English were forced to labour and toil incessantly, in order to satisfy the avarice of their new masters. They so much dreaded the Danes in all parts of the kingdom, that they gave them the appellation of Lord-Danes||.

Elgiva, Ethelred's queen, dying whilst the Danes were thus domineering in England, the king demanded Emma\*\*, the sister of Richard II. duke of Normandy, in marriage. His request being granted, and the marriage consummated, he was highly elated upon it, depending upon the assistance of the duke his brother-in-law, whenever there should be occasion. The thoughts of this new alliance made him resolve upon the barbarous and violent expedient of getting rid of the Danes by a general massacre. To this end, he sent orders to privately †† throughout the kingdom, that in one day all the Danes were slain with such implacable fury and

\* "This prince receives the appellation of St. Olave from the church of Rome; and notwithstanding the general presumption which lies either against the understanding or morals of every one who in those ignorant ages was dignified with that title, he seems to have been a man of merit and of virtue. Sweyn, though less scrupulous than Olave, was constrained, upon the departure of the Norwegian prince, to evacuate also the kingdom with all his followers."—Hume, c. lvi.

† Hunter says, one of our English historians have mentioned on what day, or for what, this war was made, John Fordon in his Scotch History gives this account of it: Ethelred having paid large sums to the Danes, sent to Malcolm, prince of Cumberland under Gryme, king of Scotland, to pay his share; which he refusing to do, and asserting he was only bound to make war with the rest of the kingdom when required, Ethelred invaded his country, on pretence he favoured the Danes; but soon after peace was made between the two princes, and they became friends.

‡ Hume, ch. lvi. Rapin, book v. says thirty thousand pounds.

§ For the payment of this money, every hyde of land was taxed yearly twelve pence. The distribution of England by hydres of land is very ancient, mention being made of it in the

laws of Ina. Danegeld was the first land-tax in England. It was afterwards called *heregeld* which name remained afterwards upon all taxes and subsidies imposed on lands. The Normans called these sometimes taxes, sometimes tallages, and *auxilia & subsidia*. The Saxon kings before this had their levies of money and personal services, toward the building and repairing cities, castles, bridges, military expeditions, &c. which from the word *bote*, that is, *repair*, were termed Burgh-bote, Brigbote, Heregeld, &c. See note in p. 39.

|| The word itself, as well as the meaning of it, was altered a little after. At this day, in some parts of England, a rich idle man, that usurps authority over his poor neighbour, is, by way of derision, called a *Lurdane*. But notwithstanding this alteration, the traces of its original signification are still visible in the word.

\*\* She was called, from her extraordinary beauty, the pearl of Normandy. Ran. Higd. l. vi.

†† Huntingdon says, that he himself, when a child, heard it from certain old men, that by the king's command, letters were privately dispatched all over England, to destroy the Danes in one night. The Saxon Annals add, it was because the king was told the Danes designed to deprive him and his nobles of their lives, and to seize the kingdom. Anno 1002.



crucity, that the particulars cannot be read without horror\*. Sweyn's sister †, who was married to an English lord, having at first been spared, Ethelred was so barbarous as to command her to be beheaded, after he had ordered her children to be slain before her face. The cruel treatment of this princess, who met her death with an heroic constancy, was severely revenged shortly after. This bloody tragedy, which was acted on the Feast of St. Bricius ‡, the 13th of November, 1002, was very like the massacre of the Romans by the Britons under Boadicea; not only the same barbarities, but the same consequences also attended both.

Sweyn received an account of this massacre by some Danes, who escaped by getting on board a vessel ready to sail for Denmark. The relation they gave of the cruelties of the English towards the Danes was sufficient to excite him to revenge. When he heard of his sister's death, and the barbarous manner of it, he was seized with horror, and raged with despair. He solemnly swore, he would never rest till he had revenged himself on the perfidious Englishmen. It was not therefore with a design to plunder that he made a second expedition into England, but to destroy the whole country with fire and sword. In the mean time, as he did not doubt but Ethelred had taken all necessary measures for his defence, he did not think fit to set sail, without having fixed on a place where he might safely land his forces. Cornwall was then governed by earl Hugh, a Norman, whom the queen had placed in that post, as a man the king might confide in. To this governor Sweyn dispatched a faithful messenger, to endeavour to bring him over to his interest, by the offer of a great reward. Hugh yielded to the temptation, promised to admit the Danish fleet into his ports, and to suffer the troops to land without molestation. Hereupon Sweyn, having equipped a fleet of three hundred sail, landed in Cornwall with a numerous army, and meeting with no opposition, marched directly towards Exeter, which he easily became master of, and after he had put the inhabitants to the sword §, reduced it to ashes. This first exploit was followed by several others, no less fatal to England. Wherever Sweyn carried his arms, revenge, and not conquest, being his chief aim, he destroyed all with fire and sword. Towards the end of the summer, being informed Alfric, duke of Mercia, was advancing with a powerful army, in order to give him battle, he resolved to march towards him. Ethelred acted very imprudently in giving the command of his army to this nobleman, whom he had formerly banished the kingdom for perfidy, and whose son's eyes he had ordered to be put out. The remembrance of this injury being still fresh in the duke's mind, he was pleased to find he had an opportunity in his hands to revenge it. Being within sight of the enemy, he feigned himself suddenly sick, and pretending he was not in a condition to fight, ordered the army to retreat, but took care that it should be done in such disorder, that the Danes found no great difficulty to put them to the rout. After which Sweyn took several towns, from whence he carried off a prodigious booty. But as he had no design to keep them, he reduced them to ashes, and retired to Denmark, where he passed the winter.

The calm England enjoyed upon Sweyn's departure, lasted not long; for in the spring following he landed in East Anglia, and taking Norwich, burnt the whole town to the ground. Ulfsketel, governor of East Anglia, not

being in a condition to resist him, gave him a great sum of money, to prevent his doing any farther mischief. But upon receipt of the money Sweyn broke the treaty, and took Thetford by surprize, a town then of great note, and served it in the same manner as he had done Norwich. Incensed at this breach of faith, Ulfsketel levied some troops with great expedition, and posted himself between the Danish army and their fleet. Sweyn perceiving he had a design of cutting off his retreat to his ships, marched forward to give him battle, before a reinforcement of troops could arrive to his assistance. He found the English encamped in an advantageous manner, resolutely bent to stand their ground, and do their utmost in defence of their goods and chattels, which their enemies were carrying off before their face. The Danes obtained a signal victory, though not without great loss on their side. They even owned they were never in more danger of being defeated ||. This happened in 1004. Ulfsketel, though of Danish race, was the most faithful as well as bravest of all Ethelred's subjects, and did him the best service. But the other lords were very different from him. All historians agree, that Ethelred was betrayed by those about him. Sweyn had his spies not only in his court, but in his very council. The great men, for the most part, were bribed, or, at least, there was scarce one that served the king heartily, on account of the little regard they had for him. Whatever councils were held to consider of the way and means of withstanding the Danes, the dissensions between the nobles, too common in the courts of princes so little respected, prevented them from coming to any resolution, or from putting what was concluded upon in execution. The avarice of the clergy, particularly of the monks, very much promoted the general confusion. Notwithstanding their great riches, they refused to contribute their *quota* in defence of the kingdom, pleading their privileges and immunities, as if they were not at all concerned in the danger. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Danes obtained so many victories in a country so ill defended by them, who were so much concerned in its preservation. The famine that happened shortly after, in the year 1005, would have completed the misfortunes of the English, had it not unexpectedly proved the occasion of Sweyn's returning to Denmark for want of necessary subsistence.

Upon the retreat of the Danes, and ceasing of the famine, the English began to entertain hopes of enjoying some tranquillity, when another Danish fleet arrived at Sandwich in Kent. Ethelred immediately raised an army to give the new invaders battle: but after having committed some ravages, they retired to the Isle of Thanet, where it was not possible to attack them. They knew that the English army, consisting only of volunteers, who served at their own expence, would soon disband themselves. Winter coming on, the English returned to their homes, it not being in the power of the king to keep them any longer together. Then the Danes issuing from their retreat, began their ravages in Kent and the neighbouring counties, well assured that they should meet with no opposition. Ethelred had now [1007] no other course to take to put a stop to the ruin the whole kingdom was threatened with, than to buy them off with a large pecuniary mulct; and accordingly the sum of thirty thousand pounds, with which they were very well satisfied, was paid into the hands of the Danes.

\* Among other cruelties, the Danish women were placed in holes in the earth, as deep as their waists, and then had their breasts torn off by mastiff dogs.—See Joh. Walling. p. 547.—edit. Gale.

† Her name was Gunilda; she is said to have been married to a noble Dane of great power and wealth, who had been settled for some time in England; his name was Paleng. She was a Christian, and had been a great instrument in making peace between the English and Danes. Tindal.—In the agonies of despair this princess is said to have foretold, that her murder would soon be avenged by the total ruin of the English

nation. Never was prophecy better fulfilled; and never did barbarous policy prove more fatal to the authors.—Hume, ch. 111.

‡ This happened on a Sunday, the day on which the Danes usually bathed themselves. Hume, ch. 111.

§ Rapin, book v.

|| The Saxon Annals tell us, the fight was very sharp, and ended in a great slaughter on both sides, wherein abundance of the English nobility were killed. But if all the English forces had been there, the Danes had never reached their ships.—Anno 1004.



Being thus rid of the Danes, the king celebrated the wedding of one of his daughters with Edric, surnamed Streon, a very powerful lord, whom he had just advanced to the dukedom of Mercia. If hitherto Ethelred had lived in continual fears and troubles, it was nothing in comparison of the misfortunes he drew on himself by this fatal marriage. He had inconsiderately taken into his family a traitor sold to the Danes, who never failed, on all occasions, to betray the king and kingdom to foreigners.

In 1008 the Danes demanded the same sum again, pretending it was a yearly tribute Ethelred had obliged himself to pay. This demand was accompanied with threats of destroying the whole kingdom with fire and sword, if the money was not immediately paid. These proceedings of the Danes having convinced the king and his council, that there was no possibility of contenting their insatiable avarice, it was resolved upon, that the best way would be to expend the money in fitting out a good fleet to defend the kingdom from their incursions. Necessity made them put this resolution so speedily in practice, that quickly after, a fleet well-manned and victualled was got ready, the command of which was given by the king to Brithric, brother to Edric Streon. These measures obliged the Danes to retire, for fear of being compelled to a sea engagement, which their ships were not so fit for as the English ones\*. The first thing Brithric did, after his being made admiral, was, to use all his interest to ruin Wolfnoth†, a lord of distinguished quality, but his enemy. He accused him to the king of treason, which Wolfnoth did not think fit to purge himself of by a public trial, being well acquainted that a party was formed against him. He resolved therefore upon a voluntary banishment, in order to screen himself from the persecution of his enemy, and in going off persuaded nine captains to follow him with their ships. After which he infested the English coasts, and did as much mischief as the Danes. Brithric, enraged at his escape, and at his daring to brave him thus, put to sea with eighty sail to give him chase, and endeavour to seize him alive or dead. But he met with so violent a storm, that the greatest part of his ships were lost, or fell into the hands of Wolfnoth. Thus this great fleet, which could not be fitted out without a prodigious expence, came to nothing, by the private quarrel of the admiral. The loss became still more irretrievable, by the dissensions among the officers, several of whom went and joined Wolfnoth‡.

In the year 1009, the Danes took advantage of these intestine broils; and two of their fleets arrived in England, one in East Anglia, under Turkil, another in the Isle of Thanet, under Heming and Anlaf. These leaders joining their forces in Kent, after they had plundered the country, laid siege to Canterbury. The city would infallibly have fallen into the hands of the Danes, if the inhabitants had not bought a peace with a large sum of money§.

Whilst the Danes were taken up in ravaging Kent, Ethelred drew an army together to make head against them. As soon as he was in a condition to do it, he

posted himself between them and their ships, to prevent their embarking and carrying off their booty. In all appearance, he would have succeeded, and perhaps have had some further considerable advantage over them, seeing he was superior to them in numbers, if Edric had not found the means to bring off the Danes at this pinch. The traitor perceiving the danger they were in, represented to the king, his father-in-law, that it would be much better to let them retire than hazard a battle, which might prove fatal to him. This pernicious advice made such an impression on the mind of the king, that he suffered them to march by with all their plunder unmolested. But instead of sailing for Denmark, as it was hoped, they entered the Isle of Thanet; from whence, during the whole winter, they made incursions into the neighbouring counties. They even made several attempts upon London; but were always repulsed. In the mean time, Ulfbetel, duke of East Anglia, having an inclination to hazard a battle once more in defence of his government, had the ill-luck to be overthrown, and by that means he lost his country, and left the Danes in possession of his territories.

Hitherto the Danes had wanted cavalry, by reason of the difficulty of transporting horses from Denmark. But as soon as they were in possession of East Anglia, a country abounding with horses, they mounted part of their troops, by whose means they extended their conquests. Shortly after they subdued Essex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire||, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Devonshire, whilst Ethelred, who had scarce any thing left, kept himself shut up in London, without daring to take the field in order to stop their progress. In all the above-named counties, London and Canterbury were the only places not in the power of the Danes. But at length, in the year 1012, they attacked the last of these so vigorously, that they took, plundered, and reduced it to ashes. Elphegus, the archbishop, being taken prisoner, was afterwards murdered by these barbarians\*\*. They proceeded with the same cruelty against the monks of St. Augustin's, whom they put under a decimation, destroying nine parts in ten††. England being reduced to this deplorable state, all the great men of the kingdom assembled at London, with the king, to consult what was to be done in the present case. The best expedient they could think of, was to bribe them with a sum of money to leave the kingdom. The sum agreed upon amounted to forty-eight thousand pounds; upon the receipt of which they went off with their booty.

Peace had not been long established, before Sweyn‡‡ entered the Humber with a powerful fleet, threatening the whole kingdom with ruin and destruction. As this prince found the country unprovided with an army, and in no condition to defend itself, he quickly became master of Northumberland, East Anglia, and all the counties which were to the north of Watling-street§§. Not contented with this, he took hostages of all the principal

of their ships, they had brought him prisoner. And therefore in the present church of Greenwich, on the top of the partition wall, between the nave of the church and the chancel, is this inscription: "This church was erected and dedicated to the glory of God, and the memory of St. Alphage, archbishop of Canterbury, here slain by the Danes; because he would not ransom his life by an unreasonable sum of money.—" Ann. 1012." He was first buried at St. Paul's, in London, and afterwards removed to Canterbury. He was honoured as a martyr, and stands in the Roman martyrology on the 19th of April.—Tindal.

†† Florence of Worcester says, the burghers were served in the same manner; so that only four monks, and about eight hundred laymen were left alive.

‡‡ The English historians have not told us the reason why Sweyn staid away so long, as from 1003 to 1013, eight years.

§§ This street, called by the Romans *Via Watlingiana*, and by the Saxons *Wetlinga-streote*, passed from Dover, through London, to Westchester.

P

towns,

\* The Saxon Annals tell us, this was the largest and best fleet England had ever seen. It was built after this manner, all over England; every three hundred and ten hydes of land were obliged to find one ship, and every eight hydes a helmet and breast-plate, An. 1008, 1009. It must be observed, that the Annals mention, the several sums paid to the Danes, as well as this tax for building a fleet, were all levied with the joint consent of the king and his great council, or Wittena-Geinot. Tindal.—There were two hundred and forty-three thousand, six hundred hydes in England; and consequently the number of the ships equipped must have amounted to seven hundred and eighty-five.—Hume, ch. III.

† Wolfnoth was governor of Sussex. He was the father of the famous earl Godwin, of whom hereafter.

‡ See Rapin, book v.

§ Three thousand pounds. Sax. Ann. 1009.

|| Oxford being burnt that year by the Danes, all studies ceased there till the year 1183.—Tho. Redburn.

\*\* He was killed at Greenwich, to which place, the station

No. V.



towns; and leaving his son Canute to take care of the conquered counties, he advanced southward, and on a sudden laid siege to London, where Ethelred had shut himself up. Though he was but ill provided to besiege in form a place of that importance, he imagined the citizens would be terrified at his menaces. Finding they were not to be intimidated by those means, he desisted from his enterprize, and ravaged the south parts of Wessex, where there were none to oppose him. As he could not rest satisfied whilst London was in the possession of Ethelred, he resolved to besiege it again: but whilst he was making preparations for the siege, he had information of Ethelred's being gone from that important place. This unfortunate prince dreading to fall into the hands of an enemy whom he had so grievously injured, and perceiving he was not safe in London, retired into Normandy with all his family. Whereupon the Londoners being left to take care of themselves, judged it would be a rash undertaking to maintain alone the rights of a prince who had deserted them. They came therefore to a resolution of submitting to the king of Denmark, to whom all the rest of the kingdom was already subject. Shortly after the surrender of London, Sweyn was proclaimed king of England in the year 1013, without any opposition, no one daring to dispute his right to the throne.

#### SWEYN, *also* KING OF DENMARK.

THE first act of sovereignty of the new king, was the levying an immense tax on the kingdom for the payment of the Danish forces, who had assisted him in his conquests. No historian mentions the coronation of this prince. Perhaps he omitted that solemnity, as believing it of little moment, or it may be, was wholly taken up with matters of greater importance, during his short reign, which lasted not quite a year. Some say he died a natural death, being choaked with rheum. Others say he was poisoned: whatever was the cause, it is certain he died suddenly\*, February the 3d, 1014. This gave occasion to the legend-writers to say, he was killed with a club or lance by St. Edmund, formerly king of East Anglia. It is pretended, this saint did it to save St. Edmundsbury, the town where his body lay buried, from being plundered for refusing to pay the tax imposed by the new king. The shortness of his reign, and perhaps his not being crowned, are the reasons historians, for the most part, have not reckoned this prince in the number of the kings of England.

#### ETHELRED II. RESTORED.

UPON the death of Sweyn, the Danes proclaimed Canute his son, king of England. But the English recalled Ethelred, promising to support him on the throne, against all the attempts of the Danes, whose government was become insupportable. Ethelred did not know how to act in this case, being apprehensive of their having a

design to deliver him up into the hands of his enemies. But the good reception his sons met with, whom he had sent before to examine the people's inclinations, giving him encouragement, he returned to England. He was received with great demonstrations of joy; and his subjects swore allegiance to him afresh, as though he had but just began to reign, his flight having been looked upon as a kind of abdication of the crown. For his part, he promised to reform his irregular proceedings in the administration of his affairs. The eagerness of the English to throw off a foreign yoke, made them flock to the king with such zeal and haste, that he soon found himself at the head of a very powerful army. His first expedition plainly showed his misfortunes had made no alteration in him. Instead of marching against the Danes, he led his forces against the men of Lindsey †, who had given him some cause of disgust. After he had taken his revenge of them, he turned his army against the Danes, who little expected so sudden a revolution. Though Canute had on his side all the Danes, and the same forces his father Sweyn had conquered England with, yet he did not deem it prudent to hazard a battle with Ethelred. Accordingly, before Ethelred had advanced near enough to oblige him to come to an engagement, he led his troops to the sea-side, and embarking on board his fleet, set sail for Denmark. But before he went off, he ordered the hands and feet of the hostages he had in his power, to be cut off, leaving them thus mangled on the shore ‡.

As soon as Ethelred found his country freed from the Danes, he forgot the promise he had made to his subjects; and instead of inviolably keeping his word, as a king and a Christian he ought to have done, he, on the contrary, took to his old courses, and imposed, on several pretences, very heavy taxes, which raised great murmurings both among the nobles and people. To these occasions of public complaint, he added others of a more private nature, which destroyed all the ideas which the people had entertained of his amendment. Morcar and Sigefert, lords of Danish extraction, who had all along firmly adhered to the interest of the king and their new country, were made a sacrifice to his avarice. To draw them into the snare laid for them, the king convened a general council at Oxford, where he caused them to be murdered; upon which he seized upon their estates, as if they had been condemned by the common forms of justice §. Alghitha, widow to Sigefert, who was a woman of singular beauty and merit, was shut up in a monastery, to which confinement she was indebted for her after-greatness. Edmund, the king's eldest son, passing by that way some time after, had an inclination to see a lady so renowned for her beauty: but he who went to the convent merely to gratify his curiosity, was so overcome by her engaging conversation, her pleasing and unaffected manner, together with her exquisite beauty, that he departed from the

\* Ethelred had not been in Normandy above six weeks, before the news of Sweyn's death was carried to him.

† One of the three divisions of Lincolnshire, viz. Holland, Kesteven, and Lindsey. The Saxon Annals tell us, the men of Lindsey had provided the Danes with horses, and designed to join with them in their ravages. Ann. 1014.

‡ "The retreat of this prince cannot but seem strange, since he had never been worsted, and besides, had many strong places still in his hands. It is no less to be wondered at, that the English historians should have given us no reason for this his sudden going off. But what the English history omits, is supplied by the Danish. We are informed that Canute had a younger brother, named Harold, who having been made regent in the absence of his father Sweyn, seized upon the kingdom for himself. It was this that obliged Canute to leave England in so hasty a manner, as seemed rather to proceed from his fears, than to be founded, as it was, upon sound politics. He could not think it his best way to abandon the kingdom of his ancestors, in order to endeavour to keep his footing in a strange country newly conquered, and disposed to a general revolt. The truth is, had the falling off of the English engaged him in a long war,

"what hopes of succours could he have expected from Denmark, whilst the kingdom was in the hands of his brother? He made it but too visible afterwards, when having settled his affairs in the north, he returned with his victorious troops to England, that he was incapable of the fears that were laid to his charge."—Rapin, book v.

§ Florence of Worcester, and Matthew of Westminster relate, that these two earls were privately accused by Edric, who gaped after their estates, of treasonable practices against Ethelred, by whose order Edric invited them to a feast, where he caused them to be treacherously murdered. Their dependents, who went about to revenge their deaths, were forced to fly into St. Frideswide's church in Oxford, which being set on fire, they perished in the flames. But the king, repenting of his cruelty, caused the church to be rebuilt. In this, and several other particulars, it is plain, that Ethelred was spurred on by the treacherous Edric, to make him odious to the people; and that he was not so bad as is represented, appears from the good laws he made, which are still extant. He was so particularly careful of the due execution of justice, that having found one Walgeatus, a judge, whom he loved, guilty of injustice, he deposed him from his office.—Tindal.



place with reluctance, became deeply enamoured of her, in a few days released her from her confinement, and married her even against the consent of his father.

The calm England enjoyed upon the departure of the Danes, lasted but one year; for Canute having got possession of the throne of Denmark, set sail for England, and landed a numerous army at Sandwich in Kent, in the year 1018. Ethelred being then indisposed, Edmund his son, and Streon, duke of Mercia, his son-in-law, had the command of the army against the Danes. Edmund soon perceived his brother-in-law was a friend to Canute. This discovery put him upon inventing some pretence to divide the army into two bodies, that he might be separated from him, not daring to punish the traitor, for fear of exciting a revolt in Mercia, where Streon's power was exceedingly great. Besides, he dreaded his father's displeasure, who would never be persuaded that his son-in-law held intelligence with the Danes. Canute taking advantage of the division of the army, made large conquests immediately; and the perfidious Edric, who had joined Edmund with no other view but to betray him, finding he had lost his aim, openly declared for Canute. This would have been rather an advantage than a detriment to the king's affairs, if the traitor had not carried off with him a considerable body of troops, together with forty ships of war. This desertion, which proved of great moment to Canute, was a mortal wound to Ethelred. The people in shoals went over to the Danes, in proportion as the king's affairs went to decay. Even Wessex itself was not out of danger.

Canute's expectations being daily raised by these successes, he turned his arms against those of the Mercians, who continued in their allegiance to the king, and at length, with the assistance of Streon, entirely subdued them; after which he resolved upon attacking Ethelred in Wessex. He had the more reason to hope for success in this enterprize, because Edric had sily instilled into the Mercians that were in the English army, the notion, that it was a sin to bear arms against a prince that was in possession of their country. Edmund could bring them to no other terms, than those of following the king when he should command them in person; but they absolutely refused to fight under any other general. In this extremity, Edmund endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, to persuade the king his father, who feigned himself sick at London, to take upon him the command of the army. But the more Ethelred was pressed to this, the more he was confirmed in his suspicion of their having a design to deliver him up to the Danes, being persuaded that the English had no other way to make their peace with them. As he durst not quit London, where he imagined himself safe, he refused to go to the army; and the prince, his son, had the mortification to see his troops disperse, without having it in his power to oblige them to stand a battle. In the mean time, Canute taking the advantage of these disorders, enlarged his conquests with great rapidity. In these wretched circumstances, Edmund saw there was nothing to be done but to go himself to London, and endeavour to persuade the king to head the army. He with great difficulty at last prevailed; and by his extraordinary care, raised another army much more numerous than the former. His design was to give Canute battle, persuaded as he was, that one fortunate blow would restore the English to their former glory. Ethelred, according to his declaration, joined the army; but he was no sooner among the soldiers, than his old fears began to be visible. Whether he had any grounds for his suspicion, or whether it was instilled into him by the traitors that were always about his person, he made a very short stay, returning to London with all possible expedition. After his departure, the army being much

weakened by the retreat of the Mercians, who obstinate refused to fight without the king at their head, Edmund was obliged to keep at a distance from the Danes, through fear of engaging upon unequal terms. Then Canute finding no one able to oppose him, became master of several counties in Wessex, and soon perceived that he was in a condition to complete the conquest of the whole kingdom. Edmund perceiving it was not in his power to stop the progress of the enemy, resolved upon going to join Uthred, earl of Northumberland, who had levied some troops in the north. They ravaged together those parts of the country whose inhabitants favoured the Danes, whilst Canute, and the duke of Mercia, laid waste the southern counties that persisted in their obedience to Ethelred. Canute did not suffer his friends to be exposed long to the ravages of the English. The moment he was informed of the devastations in the north, he marched thither with the utmost expedition, and compelled Edmund and Uthred to retreat into Lancashire; where they were not very secure. Uthred, finding he was no match for Canute, thought it his best way to submit to the Danish king, who continued him in his government, though but for a little while. As he plainly saw the earl had changed sides merely by compulsion, and that he had reason to fear he would not long remain faithful, he caused him to be put to death, and placed a Danish lord, named Eric, in his room. Edmund being at a loss what to do, retired to his father at London, and earnestly pressed him to exert himself on the present important occasion; but it was to no purpose. Ethelred, who till then had feigned himself sick, now fell dangerously ill in reality, and died soon after, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign, anno 1016.

Never was England in a more deplorable state, than in the reign of this prince. He had by his first wife Elgiva, Edmund, who succeeded him, Athelstan, who died young, another son called Edwy, and three daughters. Edgiva, the eldest, was married to an English earl, who was slain in battle. Edgith his second, had the misfortune to fall to the lot of the traitor Edric, duke of Mercia. Edgina, the youngest, was wife to Uthred, earl of Northumberland. By Emma of Normandy, his second wife, he had Alfred and Edward, and a daughter named Goda, who was first married to Walter, earl of Mantes, and afterwards to Eustachius, earl of Boulogne.

Ethelred had the surname of the Unready given him by historians, either because he was often surprized by the Danes, or because he was never ready when he was required to go to the wars. At his coming to the crown, he found the kingdom in a rich and flourishing condition, but left it at his death, in extreme poverty and desolation.

In the year 1009, Spelman thinks Ethelred called a council of all his great and wise men at Enham, at the instance of Elfgus, archbishop of Canterbury, and Wulfstan, archbishop of York, wherein many ecclesiastical and secular laws were either made or confirmed, among which these were remarkable: "That priests should not marry \*." "That none should be sold out of their country, especially to Pagans †." "That widows should remain so twelve months after their husband's decease." Several other laws were made for the preservation of the peace, the correction of false money, and the bringing of weights and measures to a just standard.

#### EDMUND IRONSIDE.

THIS prince, who received the name of Ironside from his exceedingly great valour, was by the English proclaimed king of England; but the Danes declared Canute king of the realm. Among the misfortunes of

children and kindred to their Irish neighbours for slaves, although they were not urged to it by want or necessity; and the Northumbrians, for the sake of a trifling sum, would frequently sell their children.

\* It was the custom at that time for ecclesiastics to have two or three wives.

† Giraldus Cambrensis records, that it was the custom and common vice of the English, in time of peace, to sell their



the English, treachery and disaffection were not the least; for the nobles and prelates were equally tainted with them. Edmund found no better expedient, in his then disagreeable situation, for stopping the progress of these fatal evils, than to lead his whole force into the field without the least delay, and to employ it against his common enemy. Canute being well pleased at the disaffection of the English towards their sovereign, hastened to London, with his fleet, and being arrived on the Surrey side of the Thames, he caused a great ditch to be made, and drew up his ships westward of London Bridge. Having done this, he surrounded the city with a vast intrenchment, and made several attacks; but finding the citizens bravely defended themselves, he raised the siege; therefore leaving a guard for his ships, he hastened into the west to meet with king Edmund, before all his forces were gathered together. He found him very ill provided to receive an enemy; but notwithstanding that, Edmund ventured to give him battle near Gillingham in Dorsetshire, with such success, that Canute and his army retreated. Encouraged with this success, he made greater preparations, after Midsummer, resolved to engage with Canute a second time; and meeting him near a town called Sceafton\*, in Gloucestershire, he gave him battle, which must have proved fatal to the Danes, had not the traitor Edric, together with Almar and Algar, the chief of the nobility, who commanded the Hampshire and Wiltshire soldiers, joined with them. So that it proved a drawn battle, notwithstanding Edmund performed all the offices of an expert general, which being parted by the night, was renewed with great vigour the next morning, and Edmund would again have won the victory, but when he was near obtaining it, the perfidious Edric cut off the head of one Olmer, whose countenance much resembled the king's, and lifting it up on a pole, cried exultingly, "Fly, fly, ye scoundrels; behold the head of your king, in whom ye confide." This much startled and discouraged them, until Edmund, sensible of the cheat, from a hill made himself known to his soldiers, and tossed a spear against Edric, which missing him killed two other persons who were next him; and recovering courage, his soldiers pressed bravely upon the Danes, but were parted by the night as before.

Canute finding in all probability he would receive but small advantage from a pitched battle, decamped in the night, and returning to London, where he left his ships, again invested the city. Hereupon king Edmund with speed marched into Wessex to recruit his forces; and now the perfidious Edric, having sufficient experience both of his valour and conduct, thought it the most effectual method to be reconciled to him, that he might reveal his councils, and by his treacherous insinuations stem the current of his good fortune. He made application to him, and obtained pardon for his past transgressions against his sovereign. Being sufficiently recruited, Edmund directed his march to London, began the siege, and compelled the Danes to retire with dishonour to their ships. After two days he passed the Thames at Brentford, where many of his men were lost in the water; yet coming suddenly upon the backs of his enemies; he put them to flight. By his loss sustained in passing the water, and his several engagements, the number of his men were so diminished, that he found himself obliged to retire again into Wessex for recruits; which the Danes perceiving, they returned and besieged London a third time, using all possible means to become masters of it. Yet still the industry and courage of the inhabitants frustrated all Canute's attempts; so that despairing of success he drew off his army, and with his fleet entered a river then called Arenal, where landing in Mercia, he proceeded after his usual way to lay waste the country with fire and

sword; then he caused his foot to pass by ships to the Medway, and the horse by land with the captives and cattle. In the mean time king Edmund having with great diligence levied a strong army a fourth time, crossed the Thames again at Brentford, and marched into Kent; where at a place called Otford, he bravely engaged the Danes, who, not able to sustain the force of his arms, fled in great numbers into the isle of Sheppey. And here he might have obtained a complete victory, had not Edric, still as treacherous as ever, by his specious allegations, obstructed and detained his pursuit of the enemy at Eaglesford. And Edmund, who never wanted courage, here wanted prudence to be so misled, and from this time began to be forsaken by his wonted good fortune.

King Edmund finding the West Saxons most firm and loyal to him, returned for a while into their country for new recruits, the opportunity of whose absence Canute took to vent his malice and revenge upon a naked people; for, marching into Essex, he from thence invaded Mercia, where he shewed more cruelty than ever, commanding his men to omit no punishment that could be inflicted upon enemies. Edmund with an army gathered out of all counties overtook and engaged them in their retreat at Assaundun† in Essex, where a battle was fought with great resolution and bravery on both sides; and Edmund had a fair prospect of gaining the victory, which the impious Edric perceiving, as he had formerly engaged to Canute, fled over to him with all the troops under his command, and so leaving the English over-numbered and disappointed, by his villainy procured their defeat and ruin. For they never received a greater blow, almost all their nobility here falling, particularly Alfric, Godwin, Ulfketel, and Ethelward, all dukes; Eadworth also, bishop of Dorchester, and Wolk an abbot, who came to the place to pray for the army's success, among the rest lost their lives. Speed tells us, that the remembrance of this field was retained to his time, by certain small hills there remaining, from whence have been dug the bones of men, armour, and the water-chains of horse's-bridles.

Yet this great disaster did not so far discourage king Edmund, but by his diligence in a short time he raised another army, and put himself in a condition to make another trial of his fortune in the field, and both armies met in Gloucestershire. Upon which, as Huntingdon assures us, the noblemen dreading the courage of Edmund, and the power of Canute, began to murmur among themselves, and to declare "How foolish it was for them so often to venture their lives for the ambition of others, who alone ought to fight for the crowns they wore." Some of our ancient historians have endeavoured to make us believe, that the two kings, to prevent the effusion of human blood, had a meeting with an intent to decide the dispute concerning the crown with their own swords. Matthew of Westminster agrees with Huntingdon as to the combat, but Malmesbury says that Canute declined the combat, and agreed to a division of the land, according to the proposition of the nobles. But Simeon, Hoveden, and Florent. of Worcester, all mention the division, but say nothing about any combat proposed. So great is the uncertainty of the affairs of these times. Be this as it may, all our historians agree, that the Danes retired to London after this division, and were peaceably received by the inhabitants, and permitted to take up their winter-quarters in the city.

King Edmund did not long survive this division, but died suddenly on the feast of St. Andrew, after a very short but honourable reign of seven months, three weeks and five days, and was buried near his grandfather king Edgar at Glastonbury. Our authors speak as uncertainly about the death of this worthy prince, as about his combat: Sim. Dunelm. Flor. Wigorn. and

Worcester, and Warwick.

† Now Alldown, near Billericay. Canute built a church here in memory of this battle.

\* Camden supposes this place to be Sherston in Wiltshire; and others think it to be the place where four stones, called Aire-stones, part the counties of Oxford, Gloucester,



Hoveden, mention no cause of it; Malmesbury confesses it was uncertain of what disease or casualty he died, but adds, that same charged Edric with hiring two of his chamberlains, in whose fidelity he confided, to murder him with a sharp iron thrust into his body as he sat to ease nature\*. Huntindon acquaints us, that this transaction happened at Oxford, and that the horrid deed was perpetrated by one of the sons of Edric, as the king sat in a privy-house; with whom agrees Matthew of Westminster. Radulphus de Diceto names neither place nor person, but says it was done with an iron spit, by the procurement of the traitor Edric. Thus Edmund in the same year both began and ended his reign. He left issue by Algitha his wife, two sons, Edmund and Edward. He had also a natural son named Edwy, whom Canute put to death some time after. With Edmund fell the glory of the Anglo-Saxons, and the aged body of their oppressed monarchy seemed to be buried with him in the same sepulchre: for however it might seem to recover itself in the same age, yet it proved like a new set plant, after it had been long out of the ground, which while there remains any sap in the root will shoot out fresh branches, but those so weak and tender, that the least storm blasts and destroys them.

## C H A P. VI.

*From the Beginning of the Monarchy of the Danes in England under Canute, to the Death of Hardinute, the last Danish King, and the Restoration of the Saxons in Edward the Confessor.*

## CANUTE THE GREAT.

THE Danes had formerly, in some parts of England, as in East Anglia and Northumberland, set up their petty kingdoms; but now, after two hundred years struggle, they obtained the entire monarchy of the kingdom. They were formerly strangers, fierce invaders, and barbarous destroyers; but now they were become the principal inhabitants, and chief proprietors, and Canute, one of their kings, lord of the whole country. This prince upon the death of Edmund, finding that he had several relations left, who were dear to the English nation, summoned all the bishops and nobility to meet at London, and archly demanded of those who had been present at the agreement between him and Edmund, "What provision was made by that agreement for the sons and brothers of Edmund; and whether in case Edmund died before him, any of them was to succeed in the kingdom of the West Saxons?" The nobles being struck with amazement and overcome with fear, made answer, "That to their knowledge Edmund, neither living nor dying, had made any provision for his relations; but that he designed that Canute should be the protector and guardian of his sons till they should arrive at the age of manhood." By this false testimony they hoped for favour and rewards from Canute; but the scene was soon changed, and some of them received a just recompence for their perjury, by being not long after put to death, under one pretence or other. Canute did not in the least find fault with what the nobles had asserted, but made the best use of the circumstance he was able: he exacted oaths of fidelity from all the nobility, who readily chose him for their king, and at the same time abjured the two sons of Edmund from ever enjoying the crown of this realm. Thus baseness and fear caused the English nobles servilely to submit; and Canute found that there was nothing wanting to effect

his purposes, but his bare commands: and these he was often prevented from giving, by reason of the readiness of the English to comply with his inclinations. To make the king imagine they were strongly attached to his interest, they voted Edwy, the brother of king Edmund, a young prince of excellent endowments, to banishment. This resolution, though pregnant with injustice and flattery, gave occasion to Canute to consult with the traitor Edric, concerning the readiest mode to deprive the prince of life. The putting this wicked design into execution was entrusted to the care of one Ethelward; but as he seemed not to have a heart depraved enough to murder the innocent for the sake of pleasing a traitor and a monster, Edwy was recalled from banishment under the specious pretence of a reconciliation. Before he was recalled the treacherous Edric had provided a number of miscreants to put the murder in execution; and shortly after the arrival of Edwy, the horrid deed was perpetrated. Edric's thirst for blood was not yet satiated, and therefore he advised Canute to put to death Edward and Edmund, the two sons of Edmund; but Canute thought the dispatching of them in this country would exasperate the English; and to prevent suspicion, he gave orders for their being carried to Denmark, under a pretence of sending them abroad to travel; but it was in reality only to have it in his power to dispatch them the more easily, when the affection of the people should be abated by the absence of their princes. The person entrusted with the care of the princes, being conscious of the king's design, was touched with compassion for the fate of the innocent children; and, instead of conducting them to Denmark, according to the injunctions of Canute, he accompanied them to the king of Sweden, discovering at the same time his master's intentions. The king of Sweden gave the English princes a very civil reception; and sent them to the court of Solomon king of Hungary, his relation, who was willing to superintend their education. Solomon gave one of his daughters in marriage to Edmund; and to Edward he gave his sister-in-law Agatha, the daughter of the emperor Henry II. Edmund died soon after his marriage, but Edward had five children, of whom two died in Hungary; the rest were Edgar Atheling, Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland, and Christina, who retired to a convent.

Canute, though he had reached the great point of his ambition, in obtaining possession of the crown of England, was obliged at first to make great sacrifices to it. To this end, he divided his kingdom into four parts, or governments, viz. Mercia, Northumberland, East Anglia, and Wessex. And to gratify the ambition of the chief of the nobility, he created Edric Streon duke of Mercia, Turkill he made duke of East Anglia, and Northumberland he gave to Yric; reserving only to himself the administration of Wessex.

Canute also found himself obliged, in the beginning of his reign, to load the people with heavy taxes, in order to reward his Danish followers: he exacted from them in the year 1018, the sum of seventy-two thousand pounds; besides eleven thousand pounds which he levied on London alone. He was probably willing from political motives, to fine that city severely, on account of the affection which it had borne to Edmund, and the resistance which it had made to the Danish power in two obstinate sieges†. But these rigours were imputed to necessity; and Canute, like a wise prince, was determined that the English, now deprived of all their dangerous leaders, should be reconciled to the Danish yoke, by the justice and impartiality of his administration. He sent back to Denmark as many

\* "The duke of Mercia, who was mightily pleased with having done Canute so great a piece of service, halted with all speed to bring the first news of it to him; but Canute detected so barbarous a deed. However he concealed his sentiments of the matter, because he thought he might have farther occasion for the traitor, and promised to advance him No. VI.

"above all the peers of the realm. He kept his word with him; but it was in a very different manner from what the villain expected." Rapin, book v.

† W. Malm. p. 72. In one of these sieges, Canute diverted the course of the Thames, and by that means brought his ships above London bridge.



of his followers as he could safely spare: he restored the Saxon customs in a general assembly of the states: he made no distinction between Danes and English in the distribution of justice: and he took care, by a strict execution of law, to protect the lives and properties of all his people. The Danes were gradually incorporated with his new subjects; and both were glad to obtain a little respite from those multiplied calamities from which the one, no less than the other, had, in their fierce contest for power, experienced such fatal consequences.

But there was still an obstacle to his enjoying the crown of England in peace; and he would have been glad to have got rid, with the same ease, of the troubles Alfred and Edward, Edmund's brothers, who were retired into Normandy with their mother, gave him. But he knew not how to get them out of the hands of Richard II. their uncle, the duke of Normandy. He was even apprehensive that this prince, whose forces were not to be despised, would one day espouse their cause; and to prevent this, he bethought himself of bringing him over to his interests by demanding in marriage his sister Emma, widow of Ethelred II. and by offering him at the same time one of his own sisters, named Estrith. These proposals being accepted, the two marriage solemnities were celebrated in a magnificent manner. If Emma was pleased with being once more made queen of England, it was not so with Alfred and Edward, her sons, who openly shewed their dislike of the matter. Edward especially, never forgave her for thus scandalously espousing the mortal foe of her first husband. Both of them were also extremely incensed against her for consenting that the succession to the crown should be settled by the marriage articles, on the heirs of her body by Canute. This was cutting off, as far as lay in her power, from the family of Ethelred, all hopes of ever ascending the throne of England.

After Canute had thus secured himself from all danger from the Saxon princes, he thought it high time to get rid of some lords whose fidelity he suspected, or whose power made him uneasy. The three principal ones were, the duke of Mercia, the duke of East Anglia, and the earl of Northumberland. These lords had done him signal services; but this was the very thing that rendered them noxious to him, because he was sensible how much it lay in their power to do him a prejudice, if their inclination led them to it. He knew Edric Streon was a villain, and as he could not depend on his fidelity, since he had so often betrayed the two preceding kings, from whom he received so many favours, he resolved to begin with him. He quickly found an opportunity to execute his design, by even doing an act of justice very acceptable to the English. This lord having had one day the insolence to upbraid him publicly, for not having rewarded him for his past services, particularly for ridding him of so formidable a rival as Edmund, afforded him the opportunity he had some time been waiting for. Edric had no sooner dropped these words, but the king answered in a rage, that since he had been so audacious as openly to avow so black a treason, of which he had hitherto been only suspected, he should receive his due punishment. At the same instant, without giving him time to reply, he commanded him to be beheaded upon the spot, and his body to be thrown into the Thames. It is said he ordered his head to be fixed on the highest part of the Tower of London, that he might keep his word with him, when he promised the traitor, to raise

him above all the peers of the realm. Thus Edric received at last the just reward of his various treacheries. Yric, earl of Northumberland, was banished the kingdom shortly after, under some pretence. Turkill, duke of East Anglia, intimidated by these examples, and perhaps by the king's emissaries, voluntarily withdrew into banishment, for fear something worse might befall him. Several other lords of less note falling a sacrifice to the king's jealousy or suspicions, their posts were filled with those he could place a greater confidence in. From this time the English began to enjoy a state of tranquillity, which appeared the sweeter to them, as they had been many years without it, and as they had no room to expect it.

Canute finding the kingdom settled in profound tranquillity, and that he had no reason to fear the revolting of the English, resolved to make a voyage to Denmark. His presence was absolutely necessary there, on account of the Danes and Vandals \* being at war. He took with him such of the English lords he was jealous of, lest his absence should be the cause of their exciting troubles in the kingdom. For this reason also he carried along with him the flower of the English troops, under the command of earl Godwin, the son of Wolfnoth, mentioned in the reign of Ethelred II. Godwin, who was a man of great abilities and experience, signalized himself in this war, by a very bold, though successful action. The two armies of Danes and Vandals being near one another, Canute designed to attack the enemy next morning at day-break. Whilst his troops were refreshing themselves a little, in expectation of the battle, Godwin privately withdrawing from the camp, with a body of troops under his command, went and fell upon the Vandals during the night, and putting them in disorder by this sudden attack, made a great slaughter among them, and put the whole army to rout. At break of day, Canute preparing for the battle, and not finding the English at their station, did not question but they were revolted to the enemy. While he was perplexed in his thoughts at this unexpected accident, he saw the English general arrive, who was himself come to bring the welcome news of his victory. Though this action was of a dangerous consequence, the king was very willing upon so joyful an occasion, to dispense with the discipline of war, which required, that Godwin should be punished for having dared to fight without orders. He received him with abundance of caresses, and as a reward for so signal a service, created him earl of Kent. We shall have frequent occasion hereafter to speak of this earl, who became the greatest nobleman of the realm.

This war being happily ended, Canute returned into England, where immediately upon his arrival he convened the great council, in order to have the Danish laws enforced, which, for some time, had been observed in part of the kingdom, and particularly in Northumberland. There were then in England three sorts of laws, namely, the West-Saxon, Mercian, and Danish laws †. But these last had not the sanction of public authority, till Canute, at his return from Denmark, put them on the same footing with the ancient laws of England.

Canute, in 1025, returned into England, and lived in profound tranquillity, causing justice to be done, and promoting the happiness of his subjects. But some time after he was obliged to break off these pacific employments, in order to take a second voyage to Denmark, then invaded by the Swedes. He came off but very lamely in this expedition. The English troops he carried with him suffered very much, and he had the mor-

\* Polydore Vergil informs us, that these Vandals were the Norwegians, who, he says, under the command of their king Olaf had invaded Denmark.

† West-Saxenlaga, Merchenlaga, and Denalaga. Bishop Nicholson, in his letter to Dr. Wilkins, prefixed to his edition of the Saxon Laws, makes it appear, that this threefold division of the English laws is imaginary, and proceeded from the Norman interpreters mistaking the meaning of the word *laga*,

which they thought was the same with *ley*, or law. Whereas *laga* signifies region, territory, or province, as is plain from several places in the Saxon laws, where *on Denalaga* means the same as among the Danes, or in the territories of the Danes. See p. 53, and 125, of Dr. Wilkins's *Anglo-Saxon Laws*. The author of the dialogue de Scaccario, was the first that led the way in this error, l. 1. c. 16.



tification to meet with a more rugged treatment than he had been accustomed to. Two years after, in 1027, having forgot his ill success against the Swedes, he entered into another war, which made ample amends for his former losses. He took a resolution to revive some old pretensions to Norway, which had never been fully cleared up. Olaf, who then sat on the Norwegian throne, was an easy and a weak prince; and Canute thought he could not meet with a more favourable opportunity to assert his claim, than during his reign. He began his design with privately forming a strong party among the Norwegian lords; and as soon as matters were ripe, he sailed for Denmark, with a considerable body of English troops, and suddenly landed them in Norway. Olaf, who had no intelligence of his secret practices, being surprized at this unexpected attack, and more so at seeing the major part of his subjects in alliance with the enemy, found he had no other course to take but to abandon his kingdom, and save himself by flight. Upon his departure, Canute was crowned king of Norway, never troubling himself about the right, so long as he had the power in his hands. Two years after, the deposed prince making an attempt to recover his dominions, was slain by his own subjects, and Canute remained in peaceable possession of the kingdom. Olaf, after his death, was ranked among the saints, and honoured with the glorious title of martyr.

The conquest of Norway fully satisfied Canute's ambition. From that time, laying aside all thoughts of warlike affairs, he gave himself up to acts of piety and devotion: that is to say, he made it his principal business to enrich the churches and monasteries; as if the usurpation of two kingdoms, and all the consequent evils were to be compounded for by so slight a satisfaction. Among other things, he took particular care to give public marks of his respect to St. Edmund, formerly king of East Anglia, who was slain by the Danes.

Perhaps he gave some credit to the story of his father Sweyn's having been killed by that saint, or rather, he was willing by this means to stifle the noise that was made about it. Be this as it may, he built a stately church over St. Edmund's grave, and very much enlarged the town where his body lay buried, which from him had the name of St. Edmundsbury. The monastery, which was in the same place, and called Bredicworth, had been endowed by Edward the Elder. Canute having enlarged the building, and augmented the revenues, this religious house became one of the finest and richest in the kingdom\*.

Having, in this idea, shewn some visible marks of his devotion, he resolved upon a journey to Rome, which he performed in 1031. During his stay at that place, he made many large presents to the churches, confirmed all his predecessors had done both for the church of Rome, and the English college. He obtained also certain privileges for the English churches, and some advantages for those who came to visit the tombs of the Apostles. But the most material privilege he procured for the English, was an exemption from paying any toll as they pass through Italy†. The emperor Conrad I. who was then at Rome, and with whom he had contracted a strict friendship, granted him the same privilege in his dominions, as did also the king of France in his. By this means the English pilgrims, and other travellers, were eased of a great expence, and freed from many insults and oppressions they were before liable to in France, Italy, and Germany. We have a large account of these matters in a letter this monarch wrote from Rome, to the assembly general of the English nation, wherein he informs them of what he had done in favour of his subjects. In this letter he professes a great deal of piety, and a fixed resolution to govern his kingdom after the most exact rules of justice, desiring, at the same time, his nobles to assist him in this good design‡.

As

\* Leland, who was an eye-witness of this town and monastery in their splendour, gives this description of them. "A city more neatly seated the sun never saw, hanging upon a gentle descent, with a little river on its east-side; nor a monastery more great and stately, whether we consider the endowments, largeness, or unparalleled magnificence. The monastery itself looks like a city, so many gates it has (some whereof are brass) so many towers, and a church, than which nothing can be more stately, to which, as appendages, there are three more of admirable beauty and workmanship in the same church-yard." Besides the immense value of the gifts at St. Edmund's tomb, the revenues, at the dissolution, amounted to one thousand five hundred and sixty pounds a year; a large sum in those days. See Camden in Suffolk.

† Rapin, book v.

‡ This epistle, which is extant in Will. Malmesbury, was sent into England by Livingus, abbot of Tavistock. As it contains many interesting articles, we shall lay before our readers a translation of those particulars: "Canute, king of all England, Denmark and Norway, with part of Sweden, wisheth health to Æthelnoth the metropolitan, and Alfric of York; and to all bishops, primates, and to all the English nation, both nobles and commoners: know ye that I lately undertook a journey to Rome, to pray for the remission of my sins, for the welfare of my kingdom, and that of the people subject to my government. This is a journey I had long vowed to make; but I still, till lately, was prevented by the exigencies of my kingdom, and other causes. Now I humbly thank Almighty God, who has, in this life, granted me, according to my desire, leave, personally to venerate and adore the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, with whatever is holy or sacred, either within or without the walls of Rome. This I was the more inclined to effect, because I had learned, from wise men, that St. Peter had received from the Lord great power of loosing and tying, and that he was key-keeper of Heaven; therefore I thought it extremely convenient, particularly to bespeak his patronage with God. Now be it known to you, that there was present with pope John, and the emperor Conrad, a great assembly of nobles at the festival of Easter, who all of them received me with great honour, and made me particular presents. The emperor especially, made me a great many presents of gold and silver plate, as well as of robes and apparel. I then conferred with the emperor, and my lord the Pope, and the other princes who were present, with regard to the hardships of my people, both English and Danes; demanding that they

might be upon more easy terms; that they might be more secure in their persons when upon their journey to Rome, not meeting with so many obstacles, and being plagued with paying so many tolls upon the road. This was granted by the emperor and king Rodolph, and by all the other princes, who issued out orders that all my subjects, both merchants, and they who went to Rome on religious accounts, should be free from all molestations of tolls and impositions, both in their going and returning. I then complained before my lord the Pope, and informed him, that I could not but take it very much amiss, that my archbishops should be so much harrassed, and pay so great sums of money, whenever they went to demand their palls at Rome; upon which the Pope made decree, that the like should not be done in time to come. Every thing which I demanded for the advantage of my people from the Pope, the emperor, king Rodolph, and the other princes, through whose territories I passed, was most cheerfully granted, and confirmed even under the sanction of an oath, in the presence, and under the testimony of four archbishops, twenty bishops, and a great many of the temporal nobility. I resolved, therefore, to pay my thanks to God, having thus succeeded in every thing I purposed. Now be it therefore known to you all, that I purpose to devote myself, in every respect, to God, to reform my life; to govern with justice and piety the people committed to my care, to distribute impartial justice; and if any part of my past misconduct hath been inconsistent with the rules of justice, through the folly or inadvertency of youth, to amend the same, through the assistance of God. I therefore adjure and command all my counsellors, to whom I have entrusted the management of public affairs, upon no manner of account, either from the dread of my power or their affections for any one in power, be he who he will, that they consent to any injustice, nor suffer my people to be harrassed. I likewise command all my deputies, and the governors of my people, as they value my friendship, or their own welfare, that they do injustice to no man, either rich or poor; but that every one, whether noble or ignoble, whether wealthy or needy, have free or impartial justice, from which they are neither to deviate through royal favour, through their partiality for the powerful, nor for the sake of amassing money for me, nor for any other motive whatever; because there can be no manner of necessity for exacting money for me by unjust means.

"Therefore I am willing you should know, that returning the same way I went, I am now upon my road to Denmark, with the view of reconciling all differences between that nation and



As soon as he came back to England, he applied himself to the dedication of the church of St. Edmund, which he had begun building before his journey to Rome. In fine, after he had spent some years longer in continual acts of devotion \*, he died at Shaftesbury, November 12, 1035, in the nineteenth year of his reign, and was buried in the old monastery at Winchester. He left behind him three sons, all of whom were of a fit age to govern; to these he bequeathed his various possessions; to Sweyn † the eldest, who was a bastard, he left the kingdom of Norway. To Harold, his second son, he bequeathed England; and to Hardicanute, his son by Emma of Normandy, he gave the kingdom of Denmark. Gunilda, his daughter by the same princess, was wife to the emperor Henry IV.

The only memorable action which Canute performed after his return from Rome, was an expedition against Malcolm, king of Scotland. During the reign of Ethelred, a tax of a shilling a hyde had been imposed on all the lands of England. That monarch had required that the same tax should be paid by Cumberland, which was held by the Scots; but Malcolm, a warlike prince, told him, that as he was always able to repulse the Danes by his own power, he would neither submit to buy peace of his enemies, nor pay others for resisting them. Ethelred, offended at this reply, which contained a secret reproach on his own conduct, undertook an expedition against Cumberland; but though he committed ravages upon the country, he could never bring Malcolm to a temper more humble or submissive. Canute, after his accession, summoned the Scottish king to acknowledge himself a vassal for Cumberland to the crown of England; but Malcolm refused compliance, on pretence that he owed homage to those princes only who inherited that kingdom by right of blood. Canute was not of a temper to bear this insult; and the king of Scotland soon found that the sceptre was in very different hands from those of the feeble and irresolute Ethelred. Upon Canute's appearing on the frontiers with a formidable army, Malcolm agreed that his grandson and heir, Duncan, whom he put in possession of Cumberland, should make the submissions required, and that the heirs of Scotland should always acknowledge themselves vassals to England for that province.

Historians have not failed to give this prince the surname of Great; a title which conquerors seem to affect, as if true grandeur consisted in invading the rights and properties of others. But not to confine grandeur within such narrow bounds, Canute may be said to merit this glorious title, if we consider only the latter part of his reign. The end of his life was widely different from the beginning. One would have thought he had not been the same prince, who to gain kingdoms that belonged not to him, had caused so much blood to be spilt, and had trampled under foot religion and justice. Some years before his death, he became humble, modest, just, and truly religious. If historians have not carried matters too far in what they say of him, from the time he was thoroughly settled on the throne of England, he gave daily marks of piety, justice, and moderation, which gained him the love and affection of his subjects,

and those who, if it had been in their power, would have deprived me both of my life and kingdom. But this they could not effect, because God <sup>or</sup> founded their devices by his grace, which preserved our royal person and honour, and brought to nothing all the forces of our enemies. Therefore, having settled peace with all our neighbours, and after ordering and composing our government in the east, so that we may have nothing to dread from war, or the enmity of our foes, I design to come to England as soon as I can have a convenient convoy of shipping this summer.

"Now we have sent this letter before, that all our people may rejoice at our welfare; for you yourselves are sensible, that I never spared either my person or my pains, and that I will spare them, to promote the necessary felicity of my subjects.

"He then concludes with injunctions, that before his return, all the dues to the church shall be paid, of whatever kind; threatening, that if any are unpaid, he will, when he

and an universal esteem among foreigners. He was the greatest and most powerful monarch of his time, sovereign of Denmark and Norway, as well as of England. A prince so great could not fail of meeting with adulation from his courtiers. Some of his flatterers broke out one day in rhapsodical admiration of his grandeur, and exclaimed with vehemence, that every thing was possible for him. The monarch, highly offended at their extravagant praises, and being determined to make them sensible of their folly and impiety, ordered a chair to be brought to him as he was walking by the sea-side at Southampton, and seating himself in a place where the tide was about to flow, he turned to the sea, and said; "O sea, thou art under my dominion, and the land which I sit on is mine: I charge thee not to presume to approach any farther, nor to dare to wet the feet of thy sovereign." Having said this, he sat still for some time, as if he expected the sea should obey his commands. But as the tide advanced as usual, he took occasion from this circumstance, to let his base flatterers know, that the title of Lord and Master belong only to him whom the land and the sea obey. It is said, from that moment he would never wear his crown again, but ordered it to be fixed on the head of the crucifix at Winchester.

Among the laws that were enacted by Canute, the following abstracts are remarkable:

1. Justice shall be faithfully and indifferently administered both to poor and rich, and all unjust laws abolished.

2. Mercy shall be used towards all men; and no person shall be put to death for a small offence.

14. If any judge have, out of hatred or lucre, perverted justice, by the law of the English he is to pay to the king the value of his head, and also to be removed from his place, or redeem it, at the king shall please; except he plead, that what he did was from ignorance; and then he must confirm this assertion by oath: and by the law of the Danes, he is to incur the mulct of the breach of that law, except he can plead ignorance.

61. Breaking down or burning houses, as also theft; manifest murders, and betrayers of one's lord, according to human laws, are crimes for which there is no bote or satisfaction to be made by way of mulct or compensation.—This is an alteration of a former law, by which money would redeem a person from any of these crimes.

63. If any man, by neglect or sudden death, depart this life intestate, his lord shall take nothing of his goods except what is due to him, as an heriot; and the rest he shall faithfully distribute, according to the best of his judgment, among the wife, children, and next kindred, of the person deceased, according to their several rights.

71. If a woman marry before her twelve months of widowhood be expired, she shall lose her dower, together with all that her husband left her; and in such case it shall be given to the next of kin: and he that marries her shall pay the value of his head to the king, or to whomsoever he assigns it.

By other of his laws it was decreed, that there should be no markets, fairs, assemblies, or other secular actions

returns to England, severely, and without favour to any one, punish the offenders."

\* He founded also the noted abbey of St. Bennet's, in Holme in Norfolk. He gave rich and extraordinary jewels to the church of Winchester, of which one is recorded to be a cross, worth one year's revenue of the kingdom. It was consumed with the abbey by fire in the time of Henry I. He gave also to Coventry the arm of St. Augustin, the great doctor, which he bought at Pavia in his return from Rome, and is said to have given for it a hundred talents of silver, and one of gold. He also gave the port of Sandwich, with all its issues and profits, to Christ Church in Canterbury.

† It is affirmed by some authors, that Sweyn and Harold were imposed on Canute for sons by his first wife, Edgiva, who, being barren, feigned a lying-in, and procured for the first the new-born infant of a shoemaker, and for the second the son of a priest. Vide Flor. Wigorn. and Diceto.



practised on the Lord's day. Also, that all Christians should receive the Eucharist, or Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, at least three times a year.

## HAROLD HAREFOOT.

NOTWITHSTANDING the treaty which Canute made with Richard, duke of Normandy, concerning the succession of the crown of England, he thought proper to dispose of his dominions in a different manner: perhaps he considered himself as released from that engagement by the death of Richard, or esteemed it dangerous to leave an unsettled and new-conquered kingdom in the hands of so young a prince as Hardicanute, who was, according to Rapin \*, not above fifteen or sixteen years of age, and a prince of no extraordinary genius. Let the motive have been what it would, it is certain, that the article of Canute's will, which bequeathed the crown of England to Harold, gave great offence to the English; and his succession to the throne met with no small degree of opposition from them. They looked upon Hardicanute, who was born in England, and of a lawful wife, who had been the widow of one of their former kings, as the only person who was capable of succeeding, and whose right it was; whereas Harold was considered not only as a foreigner, having been born in Denmark, but as a bastard. The Danes, on the contrary, were resolutely determined to abide by the passage of Canute's last will and testament. Harold having the Danes to assist him, and being on the spot to support his claim, immediately took possession of his father's treasures, which were laid up at Winchester. By the help of these he was enabled to fix the Danes more firmly in his interest, and even to draw over to his party some of the English; and at length he procured himself to be proclaimed king of England.

In the mean time the West-Saxons, who were not in such a state of dependance, upon their return home, convened an assembly of the states of Wessex, and by the management of earl Godwin, Hardicanute was elected and proclaimed king of Wessex, the West-Saxons leaving the Mercians free to acknowledge Harold for their king. For the better understanding this matter, it must be remembered, that there were Danes, or people of Danish extraction, dispersed all over England, but that their chief settlements were in Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumberland. And therefore, in all the country lying north of the Thames, called then by the general name of Mercia, there were more Danes than English. On the contrary, in Wessex, that is, south of the Thames, the English were the most numerous, having admitted among them such of their countrymen, who, to avoid living under the dominion of the Danes, had quitted the northern parts. By this means, Wessex was exceeding populous, and become more powerful than ever, being capable of bringing into the field as great an army as all the rest of England. The forces then of the West-Saxons and of the Mercians being pretty near upon an equality, it is no wonder they were jealous of one another, and that each strove to have for king, that prince whom they thought would be most favourable to them. It was very probable, this division would cause a war between the two nations. But Harold, who was not possessed of his father's qualities, imagined he was not strong enough to undertake the conquest of Wessex. It was owing therefore to their being upon a level, that the two kingdoms remained in peace.

Hardicanute, who was in Denmark, made no great haste to take possession of the crown of Wessex. During his absence, earl Godwin held the reins of the government in an absolute manner, independent of Emma, the queen-mother, who was not beloved by the West-Saxons. In the mean while, Harold was contriving how to gain, by sinister means, a kingdom he saw he could not subdue by force of arms. As he had been deprived of it merely by the interest of earl Godwin, he imagined, that the readiest way to obtain the sovereignty of the whole kingdom, would be to bring over

that earl to his party. He laid hold therefore of the opportunity of his brother's absence, to make Godwin his friend by such ways and means as history has not plainly told as; but may be easily guessed at †. Be that as it will, he succeeded according to his wish. Godwin, whose conscience was not the most scrupulous, finding what Harold had proposed would make for his advantage, promised to place him on the throne of Wessex. This affair was so artfully managed, that on a sudden, under pretence that Hardicanute neglected to come into England, Godwin procured Harold to be acknowledged king of Wessex. This change, however, was not made with the unanimous consent of the West-Saxons, but was brought about by the sole contrivance of Godwin, and some other lords, who engaged so heartily in the matter, that it was completed, before it was in the power of any one to hinder it. Thus the West-Saxons saw a new king on their throne, without having the liberty to deliberate, whether they should give their consent or not.

Emma, the mother of Hardicanute, was extremely surprised at this revolution, which not only deprived her son of the crown of Wessex, but herself also of the hopes of ever having any share in the government. She perceived, as affairs then were, that there was no possibility of recovering the crown for her son Hardicanute; and therefore turning her thoughts another way, she formed a project, the execution whereof seemed to her not impossible; which was, to get one of her sons by Ethelred, to mount the throne. She was in hopes the English would gladly assist her to their utmost, in placing the crown on the head of a prince of the race of their ancient kings. Perhaps the desire of pulling down Godwin from the high station he was raised to, spurred her on as much as the prospect of her son's advancement. In order to accomplish her design, there was need of a great deal of cunning and dissimulation. Above all, it was necessary that some pretence should be formed without raising the king's jealousy, to send for the two princes her sons, who were in Normandy, that they might form a party for themselves, and make what friends they could. With this view, she pretended not to be at all concerned at the deposing of Hardicanute, confining herself to Winchester, where she daily frequented the churches, and seemed to be wholly taken up with the care of her salvation. When she imagined the king was fully satisfied she had laid aside all thoughts of state affairs, she begged leave to send for the two princes, her sons, to Winchester, whom she had not seen since her second marriage.\* Her request being granted, Alfred and Edward arrived soon after in England. without seeming to have any other design but to pay a visit to their mother. They were caressed by great numbers of people, who, having English hearts, always firmly adhered to the ancient royal family.

Godwin, who was a person of great sagacity, quickly discerned the intention of the queen. It was a difficult matter to impose upon so refined a politician. As soon as he had began to suspect her, he employed so many spies, that he soon found his suspicions were not ill-grounded. He acquainted Harold with the matter, who seemed startled at it. But the earl, who was not so easily alarmed, gave him to understand, that this conspiracy as yet was but in embryo, the execution whereof might with ease be prevented; that the difficulty did not lie so much in avoiding the present danger, as in guarding against future ones; that to secure himself once for all, from the like practices, he saw no better way than by dispatching the two Saxon princes, since he had so favourable an opportunity put into his hands. Harold approving of this project, Godwin advised him to put on a seeming security, that he might with the less difficulty draw them into the snare. This being resolved upon, Harold seemed entirely ignorant of the queen's designs, and the two princes continued some time at Winchester, without his showing the least uneasiness upon their account. In short, laying hold of an opportunity, which naturally offered

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itself,



itself, he invited them to come and pass a few days at court, before they returned into Normandy, where he feigned to believe, they designed to go in a short time. Emma was in great suspense what to do. She was very sensible it would be a hard matter for her sons to gain a powerful party among the nobility, without appearing at court, where the lords of the greatest interest were usually present. But on the other hand, she could not bring herself to resolve upon delivering them into the hands of a prince, whose interest it was to destroy them. In this perplexity, she took a middle course, which she judged proper to prevent the danger she dreaded. This was to send Alfred, her eldest son, to the king, and to detain Edward under some pretence: she was persuaded, that in case Harold had any ill designs, he would defer them till such time as he had both the brothers in his power, seeing it would be to no purpose to dispatch one, whilst the other was alive. Godwin, content that his advice had thus far succeeded, ordered the matter so, that he was sent to meet Alfred, as if to do him honour, but in reality, because he was unwilling to trust another with the execution of his designs. Alfred's little train \* composed of Normans, were charmed with the respect Godwin paid, and caused to be paid to the prince. But their satisfaction was quickly turned into great consternation, when the prince and all that were with him were stopped at Guildford castle, where they were made to enter, under pretence of refreshing themselves. Alfred was immediately conducted to Ely, where after they had put out his eyes, he was shut up in the monastery. The unhappy prince had scarce time to be sensible of his misfortunes, since he died a few days after, either through grief, or by some more violent means. At least Godwin was afterwards charged with his murder. As soon as Edward was informed of the sad catastrophe of his brother, he forthwith departed for Normandy, for fear of the like treatment. Shortly after Emma, having received orders to depart the kingdom, retired to Baldwin, earl of Flanders, who assigned her the city of Bruges to reside in. It seems somewhat strange, she should not go to Normandy to duke William her nephew; but in all probability, those to whom the administration of affairs during the duke's minority, had been entrusted, did not think proper to receive her. And indeed, it was to be feared this intriguing princess would increase the disturbances of the dukedom, where William was not as yet firmly established †.

Whilst these things were transacting, Hardicanute, rousing at length from his lethargy, formed a design of recovering by arms, the kingdom of Wessex, usurped by his brother. With this intent he went to Bruges, to consult with the queen his mother. He would, no doubt, have had a very hard task to accomplish his designs, had not the death of Harold, which happened

about that time, smoothed all difficulties. This prince died on the 14th of April, 1039, at Oxford, in the fourth year of his reign, and was buried at Winchester ‡. As he left no issue, his brother Hardicanute took possession of the throne. He was surnamed Harefoot, because he was light and swift of foot. His death happened in one of the hardest winters that had ever been known in England §.

He laid a tax of eight marks, on every port, towards fitting out sixteen ships. He made but one law, mentioned by Selden, which was, that if any Welsh-man, coming into England without leave, was taken on this side Offa's Ditch, he should have his right hand cut off by the king's officer.

#### CANUTE II. OR HARDICANUTE.

AFTER the death of Harold, the principal men of both nations, unanimously agreed to make a tender of the crown to Canute, surnamed the Hardy, not on account of his courage, but his strong constitution. He was then at Bruges, concerting measures with the queen his mother, for the recovery of the kingdom of Wessex, by the means of a powerful aid the earl of Flanders had given him reason to expect. The news of Harold's death having put an end to their consultations, he came to England with a fleet consisting of forty ships which he had brought with him from Denmark. He was received with great demonstrations of joy, both by the English and Danes. Earl Godwin himself, though he had no cause to rejoice at his arrival, after the treacherous manner in which he acted against him, was the foremost to do him homage.

The first act of Hardicanute's government afforded his subjects a bad prognostic of his future conduct. The ceremony of his coronation was hardly over, but through his impatience to be revenged on his brother Harold, he commanded his body to be dug up and thrown into the Thames \*\*. But all his care to prevent the body from being buried again, proved ineffectual. Some fishermen finding the corps floating on the water, delivered it to the Danes, who interred it in a burying-place their nation had then in London ††. It is further added, that the king being informed of the affair, ordered the body to be thrown once more into the river; but being found again, it was privately buried at Westminster. Godwin, equally servile and insolent, submitted to be his instrument in this unnatural and brutal action.

Hardicanute was hardly seated on the throne before he imposed an exorbitant tax on the kingdom, for the payment of the fleet he sent back to Denmark. Though the English had often paid a similar tax, termed Danegeld, they were dissatisfied at its being renewed, at a time when there appeared no necessity for it. The inhabitants of Worcester opposed the levying this tax with

\* According to Hume, ch. 111. Alfred's train amounted to about six hundred men, who were murdered in a most cruel manner.

† This account of Alfred's death, says Malmesbury, was built on common report, and not being recorded, refuses to vouch the fact. But Matth. Westminster and others, relate it without diffidence, most of the ancient manuscript annals in the Cottonian Library, as also a treatise called *Encomium Emmae*, (which, it is plain, Malmesbury never saw) being a panegyric wrote on that queen, by a monk of her own time, relate the matter thus: Harold seeking by treachery to get these two young princes into his power, forged a letter in the name of Emma, their mother, earnestly inviting them into England; wherein, (personating her,) "She gently chides them for their delay, in not coming over to inspect their own affairs, since they could not but know, that it daily confirmed the usurper in his power, who omitted no artifices to gain the chief nobility over to his party: yet assured them the English had much rather have one of them to reign over them; and therefore urged them to come as speedily and as privately as they could, to consult what measures were most proper to be taken." This letter was sent to Normandy, by an express messenger, and received by the princes with joy; who sent word by the same hand, that one of them would be with her shortly, naming both the time and

place. Accordingly, Alfred the youngest, (by others said to be the eldest) at the appointed time, with a few ships, and a small number of Normans, sailed for England; where they were no sooner landed, but they fell into the hands of Godwin, who served them as above related. What makes this account the more probable, is, that had both the princes come over in the manner above-mentioned, Harold would certainly have put them both to death, since it would have been in his power. The Saxon Annals say nothing of Alfred's death, and some place it after Harold's decease. Such is the uncertainty of this matter: which makes it appear, how little traditional accounts are to be depended upon, though of no long standing, since this story, transacted but a few years before the conquest, is told so many ways. Tindal.

‡ According to Brompton at Westminster.

§ The Saxon Annals, 1039, say, that this year a fester, or horse-load of wheat, was sold for fifty-five pence, and more.

|| Hume, ch. 111. says, he had assembled a fleet of sixty sail.

\*\* This order was issued to Alric archbishop of York, earl Godwin, and Trough, the common executioner.

†† Which constant tradition affirms to be the church and church-yard of St. Clements Danes, beyond Temple Bar, London.



the greatest heat. They even proceeded so far as to kill two of the collectors. News of this transaction being presented to the king, he instantly ordered Godwin, duke of Wessex; Leofric, duke of Mercia; and Siward, earl of Northumberland, to draw their forces together, march to Worcester, and destroy the city with fire and sword. These lords executed in part the king's orders, though with a great deal of reluctance. The city was burnt, after it had been plundered for four days together. But the inhabitants had leave to retire into a small island in the Severn, named Beverey, until the king was appeased\*.

Soon after the destruction of Worcester, Prince Edward, the son of Ethelred II. and brother to the king by the same mother, made his appearance at court. He met with a very civil reception from his brother and the courtiers; and in a short time he demanded justice against Godwin, charging him with the murder of his brother Alfred. The king was well enough pleased with having an opportunity of punishing the earl, not so much perhaps for the death of prince Alfred, as for what he had done in favour of the late king. He was cited therefore to appear and answer to the crime alledged against him. But Godwin, who knew the covetous temper of the king, found the means to extricate himself out of this affair, by a magnificent present before his trial. This present was a galley, having a gilt stern, and manned with fourscore choice soldiers, every one of which had upon each arm a golden bracelet weighing sixteen ounces, with gilt helmets and swords, and a Danish battle-axe adorned with gold and silver, hanging on his left shoulder, and a lance of the same in the right hand. Every thing in the galley was answerable to this magnificence. By virtue of this noble present, the earl was acquitted, upon taking his oath that he had no hand in the death of prince Alfred †.

\* This city, the Branonium of Antoninus, and Branogenium of Ptolomy, whence called by the Welsh at this day, Caer Vranon, was named by the Saxons, Wogar-Cester, Wegorna-Cester, and Wirecester, perhaps from the adjacent forest of Wire. It was built by the Romans, as a frontier town against the Britons or Welsh. It was fenced formerly with high Roman walls, and has now a strong wall. It was made an episcopal see by Sexwulfus bishop of the Mercians, in 680. It was soon rebuilt after being burnt by the Danes. Camden.

† This year also, as Brompton tells us, Hardicanute sent over his sister Gunilda to the emperor Henry, to whom she had been betrothed in her father's time; but before she set out on her journey, the king kept her nuptial feast with that magnificence, in clothes, equipage, and feasting, that Matthew of Westminster says, it was remembered in his days, and sung by musicians at all great entertainments. After the princess had been some time in Germany, she was accused of adultery, and could find, it seems, no other champion than Municon, a little page she had carried with her from England, to vindicate her honour. The page undertaking her defence, fought a duel with one Rodignar, a man of gigantic stature, and cutting his ham-strings overcame him, and so cleared his lady's honour. Because of her unjust accusation, she forsook her husband, and retired to a monastery, where she ended her days.

‡ This Danish nobleman's name was Tuvey Prudean, and that of his wife Githa; she was the daughter of Osgood Clappa.

§ The name of this place is derived from the two Saxon words *lamb*, a lamb, and *hyd*, a harbour: qu. *Lamb's-harbour*. It is however variously written in records and our ancient historians; viz. Lambhyth, Lambhyde, Lambheith, Lambhitha, Lambhetz, Lamedh, Lammedh, Lamtithe, Lamuda, and in Domesday-book Lanchei. The earliest possessors of this lordship, in the Saxon times, are unknown. Most probably it was a royal manor in this king's reign. Here it was, says Rog. Hoveden, that Harold II. had the crown of this realm put upon his head. In Edward the Confessor's time, according to Domesday-book, it was part of the estate of his sister the countess of Goda, wife of Walter earl of Mantes, and afterwards of Eustace earl of Boulogne. That pious lady gave this manor to the bishop and church of Rochester, reserving to herself the patronage of the church. At the Norman conquest, when an universal subversion of property took place, Lambeth was seized by the crown, and part of it granted to Odo,

Hardicanute did not long enjoy a crown he was not worthy to wear. He died suddenly in the third year of his reign, anno 1041, at the nuptial feast of a Danish lord ‡ at Lambeth §. Perhaps his death was hastened on by poison: but his cruelty and gluttony, which were carried to an exceeding height, rendered him so odious in the eyes of his subjects, that he died regretted by none, neither was any enquiry made concerning the manner of his death. All historians unanimously agree, that he spent whole days and nights in feasting and carousing ||. Hen. Huntingdon, however, praises him for keeping an open table four times a day, and exclaims against the niggardness of his successors, who abolished so praiseworthy a custom.

## C H A P. VII.

*From the Restoration of the Saxons in 1041, to the Norman Conquest, in 1066.*

## EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

ON the death of Hardicanute, who left no issue, Edward, the son of Ethelred II. and Emma, of Normandy, was the only prince in England that had any pretensions to the crown. The English had now a favourable opportunity for recovering their liberty, and for shaking off the Danish yoke; and therefore they thought it but reasonable, that the race of the Saxon kings should be restored to the throne they had been unjustly deprived of. But then it was no less right and just to recall out of Hungary prince Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, and place him on the throne before his uncle, who was one degree farther removed. On the other hand, the uninterrupted succession of four Danish kings, who sat on the throne during the space of

bishop of Bayeux, the Conqueror's half-brother. But William Rufus not only restored it, but also added to his gift the church of St. Mary's, at Lambeth, as appears by the copy of his grant, in the Cotton Library. Accordingly we find Lambeth among those manors, which were confirmed to the church of Rochester, anno 1103, by king Henry I. archbishop Anselm, and bishop Gundulph. In 1191 an exchange of some lands in Lambeth took place between the bishop and convent of Rochester, and archbishop Baldwin: and in 1197 the said bishop and convent made an exchange of the manor and church of Lambeth, with archbishop Hubert Walter, for the manor of Darent. The palace at this place was founded by archbishop Boniface; but it grew by degrees into its present form and grandeur. Without doubt, the following archbishops, who made Lambeth their chief residence, greatly enlarged and improved it: viz. Peckham, Sudbury, Bouchier, Parker, Winchelsey, Courtney, Morton, Grindall, Reynolds, Arundel, Deane, Whitgift, Illip, Chichele, Warham, Bancroft, Langham, Stafford, Cranmer, Abbot, Wittlesey, Hemp, Pole, Laud, and many of the later ones. The oldest part of the palace seems to be stone arches under the chapel, now turned into vaults. In 1490, archbishop Morton built the great tower near the gateway, and the gateway itself. In 1643 this palace was seized, and made a prison for the royalists; and after the king's murder, it was given to colonel Scot, one of the regicides, who destroyed several parts of it. It was returned, however, at the Restoration; and archbishop Juxon repaired the greater part of it. The parish of Lambeth contains eight precincts, the names of which are, the Archbishop's, the Prince's, Vauxhall, Kennington, the Marsh, the Wall, Stockwell, and the Dean's precinct. At Lambeth Wall is a spot of ground, containing an acre and nineteen poles, denominated Pedlar's Acre, which has belonged to the parish from time immemorial, and is said to have been given by a pedlar, upon condition, that his picture, with that of his dog, be perpetually preserved in painted glass, in one of the windows of the church; which the parishioners carefully performed. Vide History of Lambeth Palace.

|| John Rouse, of Warwick, in his treatise *De Regibus Anglia*, relates, that the day of king Hardicanute's death was kept by the English as a holy-day in his time, four hundred years afterwards, and was called Hog's-Tide, or Hock-Wednesday. This day was spent in dancing and merriment, and drawing cords across the streets to stop persons, till they had obtained their passage either by money or drink.



twenty-eight years, with the consent of the English, started another difficulty, seeing Sweyn, the son of Canute the Great, was still alive. It is true, he was reckoned by some as a bastard; but as the king his father had not treated him as such in the partition of his dominions, it may be said in his favour, that he ought to have had the same privilege with his brother Harold, to whom his being born of the same mother was no bar to his mounting the throne. It was therefore no easy matter to settle the succession to the satisfaction of all parties. On the contrary, it was to be feared, that upon this occasion the old animosities between the two nations would break out afresh, and the kingdom be again plunged into its former calamities. Edward, the son of Ethelred II. having spent the most part of his days in Normandy, was little known in England. Besides his merit, which was not very conspicuous, he was incapable of setting forth and maintaining his right. A lucky thought, however, which was the offspring of necessity, procured him a support, and by this alone he was enabled to maintain his pretensions, I mean, earl Godwin. Though it was but a few months since Edward had prosecuted this lord as the murderer of his brother, he was advised to court his protection, which he obtained with greater ease than he durst have expected. Godwin was so powerful, and of so superior a genius to the rest of the nobility, that it would have been almost an impossibility for Edward to have succeeded, if he had not made a proselyte of him to his interest. He was already distinguished by his merit, as well as by his birth, when Canute the Great entrusted him with the command of the English troops, in the war against the Vandals. After that expedition, wherein he signalized himself, Canute made him earl of Kent, Suffex, and Surrey, and gave him in marriage Thyra, sister to earl Ulphon, to whom Canute had given his own sister Estrith, widow of the duke of Normandy\*. Godwin had by this wife a son, who was drowned in the Thames, by the means of an unruly horse. His second wife was Gith, sister to Sweyn, who was king of Denmark after the death of Hardicanute. By this wife he had seven sons, Harold, Toston, Sweyn, Ulnoth or Wolfnoth, Gurth, Elfgar, Lewin, and a daughter named Editha. His great credit with Canute the Great, the superiority of his genius, his noble alliances, his titles of earl of Kent, duke of Wesssex, and his post of high-treasurer, conferred on him by king Harold; and lastly, the government of the counties of Oxford and Hereford, in the hands of his eldest son, had raised him to that height, that it was difficult to advance him any higher. His interest was somewhat eclipsed in the reign of Hardicanute; but he had the address to work himself out of the danger with which he was threatened. How great a dislike forever the late

king bore Godwin, he was such an enemy to business, that not being able to bring himself to undergo the fatigue the administration of affairs required, he left all to his management, supposing him to be the most able person in the kingdom. Godwin was an able politician, and knew so well how to improve these favourable junctures, to ingratiate himself more and more with the nobles and people, that his power far exceeded that of all the other English lords. From what has been said, it plainly appears how necessary Godwin's assistance was, in order to Edward's ascending the throne, though his right and title had been stronger than they were. Godwin however, was not one that neglected his own in promoting the interests of others; for before he engaged in his cause, he brought Edward to terms, and made him promise on oath, to marry his daughter Editha. The prince complied with his request, notwithstanding his inward reluctance to espouse the daughter of a man whom he looked upon as the murderer of his brother Alfred. As soon as Godwin had bound up Edward to the conditions required, he convened a general assembly, where, by his intrigue and management, the prince was unanimously acknowledged and proclaimed king. In this assembly, to which, in all probability, the Danes being then without a leader, were not called, Godwin strenuously asserted and supported the claim of Edward to the throne; and in an elegant speech told the English, that a favourable opportunity now offered itself, in which they might free themselves from the oppression under which they had groaned for many years. He painted out in an eloquent manner, which was natural to him, the calamities their country laboured under whilst in subjection to foreigners. He displayed the extreme pride of the Danes, who, not content with sharing the kingdom with the English, treated them like slaves. He called to their remembrance the sad times, when an Englishman and a Dane meeting on a bridge, the former durst not stir a step till the latter was passed over. That if an Englishman did not make a low reverence to a Dane, he was sure to be abused and cudgelled. To all these miseries, he added that of the excessive taxes they had been obliged to pay, particularly Dane-geld †, which was imposed for no other end, but to satisfy the avarice of their greedy masters. In fine, he omitted nothing that might inflame the rage of the English. His harangue wrought so upon the hearers, that it was resolved, no Dane for the future should ever sit on the throne of England. Some add, that the enumeration of the calamities, they had so long groaned under, made such an impression on their minds, that with one consent, they came to the resolution of driving all the Danes out of the kingdom, and accordingly put their resolution in execution ‡.

He

\* Mr. Tyrrel, and others, say, that Godwin's first wife was Canute's sister; but according to Pontanus, she was only sister to Ulphon, brother-in-law to Canute, which is most probable. Rapin.

† This tax amounted to forty-thousand pounds a-year. King Edward released the nation of this heavy burden, in the year 1051. The occasion of his so doing, though related by Ingulf, will scarcely be credited. As the king was one day brought to see the huge heap of money collected by this tax, he started back as in a great fright; and being asked the reason, protested he saw the devil capering and dancing over the money. Upon which he ordered it to be all paid back to the people, and *Dane-geld* to be abolished for ever, after it had been paid thirty-eight years. Ingulf, p. 65, edit. Gale.

‡ "This is one of the most difficult passages in the whole English history. Turn it which way you will, there is no accounting for it. In the first place, it is hard to conceive, how, in a general assembly of the kingdom, it was possible they could come to a resolution of getting rid of the Danes, and much more, how it came to be in the power of the English to put it in practice. The Danes alone in a manner, were in possession of all the eastern and northern counties, and in Mercia, that is, in the heart of the kingdom, they were as numerous as the English. Four kings of their nation had reigned successively, who, far from humbling them, had no doubt shown them great favour, and given them the preference. And yet, without any

thing extraordinary happening, except the death of Hardicanute, a prince of little merit and reputation, they will have it, that the English were suddenly become superior. But this is not all, it is affirmed, that this superiority was so great, as to enable them to expel the Danes out of the kingdom. How is it possible to believe, that the Danes should suffer themselves to be thus treated without making the least resistance? For it does not appear that there was any war or commotion in the kingdom upon this occasion. The Danish historians make the matter still worse. They tell us, that all the Danes in England were massacred in one night, by the treachery of Harold, the son of Godwin, who ordered all the Danish soldiers to march out of their garrisons, under pretence of solemnizing the funeral of the late king. But this account is altogether improbable; for, in the first place, Harold, who was then very young, had no hand in the government, and consequently could give no such orders to the Danish officers. In the next place, how it came to pass, that all the English historians, Brompton only excepted, who says but very little of the matter, should agree to pass over in silence so remarkable an event? How was it possible for them to write their histories without ever making the least allusion to it? If it is objected, they did this, as ashamed of their nation for so barbarous an action, what is the reason they acted not in the same manner with regard to the massacre in the reign of Ethelred? These are difficulties that are not easily to be got over. It seems at first, as if there



He was a prince of a weak constitution, and of a weak a genius, not in the least qualified to rule a kingdom. His unsteadiness and irresolution on important occasions, his inability in public affairs, and his being wholly engrossed by trifles, gave the nobles an opportunity of assuming a power, very nearly approaching the supreme authority. As soon as they perceived the weakness of this prince, they became so arbitrary in their governments, that they disregarded the king's orders, unless they were consistent with their interest. Earl Godwin became so great, that almost the same deference was paid to him that was paid to the king himself. Perhaps the easiness of temper he observed in Edward, was the principal motive of his procuring for him the crown, in order that he might govern in his name. Notwithstanding the king's fair carriage towards him, he hated in his heart both him and his family. This was the true reason that made him put off his marriage with Editha, as long as he could. But as he stood in fear of this lord, it would not have been a politic step to break his word with him; and therefore after he had deferred it on several pretences for two years, he espoused his daughter according to his promise. However, the marriage was never consummated, by reason of his aversion to all that belonged to Godwin. The queen, who was a person of strict virtue, and endowed with a greatness of soul, bore this usage with wonderful patience. Instead of complaining of her hard treatment, she never discovered the matter; but finding it was not in her power to gain the affections of the king her husband, she diverted her thoughts with doing acts of devotion, and reading books\*. The author of the life of Edward pretends, that this prince had made a vow of chastity, long before his marriage, and that he had persuaded the queen to do the like. But Malmesbury shows a strong inclination to believe, that Edward's hatred to Godwin was the real cause of his abstaining from his daughter. He durst not venture however to divorce her, for fear the earl, by whose interests he had mounted the throne, might still have it in his power to depose him, or at least, to create him a great deal of trouble. For this reason, he continued to conceal, in all other respects, his aversion towards him, and even to heap favours on him, till a fit opportunity should offer of showing his resentment. He did not consider that by his dissembling the matter, the earl ingratiated himself more and more with the people, who imagining he was in great credit with the king, the more firmly adhered to him. Godwin wisely improved these advantages, and became every day more formidable to the king, by the great number of friends he acquired. In all probability, he would have become in time, as powerful as the mayors of the palace were formerly in France, if he had not met with a counter-balance, which prevented his rising to that degree of power, so fatal to the royal authority; which he effectually did in Siward, earl of Northumberland, and Leofric, duke of Mercia. Siward

had the reputation of the bravest and most worthy peer in the kingdom. His excellent qualities gave him great authority at court, and among the Northumbrians, who were under his government. Leofric was universally esteemed and respected for his merit. His power was so great in Mercia, that he was more a king there than Edward himself. These two lords uniting together in order to prevent Godwin from soaring too high, firmly adhered to the person of the king, and endeavoured to the utmost of their power, to support his authority. Without their assistance, Edward, who was naturally a weak man, would have found it a very hard matter to guard himself against the artifices of so able and powerful a subject as Godwin. Thus matters stood at the court of England, during the early part of this reign.

Edward, to whom is given the glorious titles of Saint and Confessor, ascended the throne with a disposition of mind somewhat repugnant to true holiness. Besides his hatred against Godwin and his own wife, he cherished in his breast the desire of being revenged on his mother, which ill agreed with the dictates of the Gospel. It is true, his mother, who had never any great affection for him, had done enough to cause Edward's disgust, in marrying Canute the Great, the mortal foe of her first husband. She had moreover given her consent, that the children by her second marriage should succeed to the crown of England; which showed she had but little regard for those by the first. This thing made so deep an impression on Edward's mind, that all her endeavours afterwards to procure him the throne, were not able to efface it. As soon as it was in his power to be revenged on her, he delayed not to put it in execution. He made a sudden journey to Winchester, where her treasures lay, and without showing the least regard for her, stripped her of all, leaving her only a moderate pension for her subsistence. Thus the princess, widow of two kings, mother of two more, and daughter of a duke of Normandy, little inferior to a king, saw herself in the latter end of her days, reduced to poverty, by the rigour of her own son! But Edward was not satisfied with having shown, by this act of violence, the little regard and affection he had for his mother. Several historians assure us, that he moreover caused her to be accused of incontinence with Alwin bishop of Winchester. They tell us, that without regarding her quality, he was so hard-hearted, as to make her undergo the trial of the fiery ordeal; which consisted in obliging the party accused, to walk bare-foot and hood-winked over nine red-hot plough-shares. They pretend Emma came off unhurt, and that she gave in memory of this deliverance, nine manors to the next monastery†: but, (as appears from what has been said before,) she had none left to give. However this be, she lived ten years in the condition the king had reduced her to, confined to Winchester, as to a sort of prison, from whence she was not delivered, till death set her free in 1052‡.

Whilst Edward was thus venting his resentment against his

was a plausible way of accounting for them, which is, to charge the historians, as well English as Danish, of not having told the whole truth, or of having aggravated what they relate. But by taking this course, we run still greater difficulties. It is most certain, that ever since the beginning of the reign of Edward the Confessor, the Danes have been so far from making any figure in England, that they are not mentioned in history any more than if they had never been known there, though just before they were masters of the whole kingdom. But whence should proceed so sudden a fall, or rather, how should they all vanish in a moment, if neither expelled nor massacred? History acquaints us not that war was made against them, that their strong holds were taken from them, that they were brought under new laws: but all on a sudden, these powerful and formidable Danes are reduced to nothing, in the reign of a prince the most unwarlike that had ever sat on the throne. These are historical difficulties, the solution whereof I am forced to leave to others." Rapin, book v.

\* Ingulf says, she was not only the most beautiful, chaste, humble, and modest lady of her time, but also very learned; inasmuch that he tells us, when he was but a boy, and lived at court with his father, she was used to meet him coming from No. VI.

school, and took delight in puzzling him not only in grammar, but in logic also. And when she had done, would order her servant to give him some pieces of money. He farther says, she had nothing of her father in her. Whence it was become a saying, *Sicut spina rosam, genuit Godwinus Editham*. Ingulf p. 62. edit. Gale.

† Winchester.

‡ The trial of Emma is related by Brompton and Knighton, and embellished with some trivial circumstances by Harpesfield. They tell us, Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, a Norman, (whom Edward had brought over with him,) accused the queen of consenting to the death of her son Alfred, of endeavouring to poison her son Edward, and of maintaining an infamous commerce with bishop Alwin. For which she was condemned by a council, held on purpose, to purge herself by the trial of fire ordeal, as she had offered to do, and as it is related above. But the whole matter admits of great dispute. For Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester, Huntingdon, Hoveden, and Matth. of Westminster, who lived near the time, say not a word of this miraculous purgation. Then again, Brompton says, Robert immediately fled the kingdom, whereas he went not off, as Malmesbury assures us, till several years after upon another occasion.



his mother, he received advice, that a great storm was gathering in the north. Sweyn, king of Norway, the son of Canute the Great, designing to lay claim to the crown of England, was making great preparations for an invasion, which put the English in dread of the like miseries they had so long experienced, and from which, for some time, they had been happily freed. Edward, who was no less alarmed than his subjects, at the news of this invasion, made some preparations for his defence. Gunilda, niece to Canute the Great, fell a sacrifice to his fears. She was constrained to abandon the kingdom and her family, to prevent her contriving some plot in favour of the Danes. But by a lucky turn, a war, which unexpectedly happened in 1043, between the kings of Denmark and Norway, broke the measures of the latter, and brought peace to the English, contrary to their expectation. Some time after, Sweyn was deposed by Magnus, the son of Olaf the Martyr, whom Canute the Great had dispossessed of Norway. Magnus was no sooner master of that kingdom, but he carried the war into Denmark, upon which the king, whose name was also Sweyn, demanding the assistance of England, Godwin was of opinion, that to keep up the war between the two princes, an aid of fifty sail should be sent him. But Siward and Leofric, for reasons unknown, prevented the council from coming to this resolution. For want of this assistance, Sweyn was dethroned; but was restored to his kingdom, after the death of his enemy.

The troubles in Denmark hindered not the piratical Danes from putting to sea, and bringing terror to the English coasts. In the year 1046, twenty-five sail of Danes arrived, unlooked for, at Sandwich, from whence they carried off a great booty. Then sailing for Essex, they carried away for slaves, great numbers of both sexes, and all conditions. The English were extremely terrified; but Godwin, Siward, and Leofric, took such measures that the Danes, alarmed in their turn, hastily retired, to carry their ravages elsewhere.

The retreat of the Danish pirates did not restore peace to England; for the sea-coasts were that same year infested by a new enemy. Swane, the son of Godwin, having deflowered an abbess, with whom he was in love, and not daring to stay in England after such a base action, retired into Denmark, where he had in vain expected his pardon, through the mediation of the earl, his father. But as Godwin found the king inexorable, Swane was not able to procure a pardon so soon as he had imagined. Hereupon he manned eight ships, and made open war upon the English, plundering the merchants, and committing such barbarities on the inhabitants of the sea-coasts, as exceeded those of the most cruel enemies. His insolence gave Godwin's enemies a plea to exasperate the king more and more against his family. He himself was at a great loss what to do in this affair. He was not willing to appear openly for his son, lest he should be charged with abetting his rebellion. On the other hand, he could not but be extremely concerned at Swane's being declared an enemy to the public. In this perplexity, he desired earl Beorn, the son of Ulphon and Elfrith, sister to Canute the Great, to use his interest with the king in behalf of his rebellious son. Though Beorn had stoutly declaimed against Swane, he was prevailed upon by Godwin to speak to the king, who complied with his request upon certain terms. Matters were now in a fair way of being brought to a conclusion, and Beorn went to Swane, in order to persuade him to submit to the king's mercy; but he was ill rewarded for all his pains. Swane taking it in his head that the earl was come to betray him, slew him

with his own hand, and ordered his body to be thrown into the sea\*. This brutal action prevented a reconciliation for the present: but the king forgave him afterwards, notwithstanding the various crimes he had committed against the state: so much did this weak prince stand in fear of Godwin's revenging himself, in case he continued inflexible. Thus Godwin, though hated by the king, obtained as many favours of him, as if he had really held the first place in his affections. But these good offices, instead of producing a mutual love, served only to foment their disunion. The earl did not think himself at all obliged to the king for favours that proceeded partly from fear; and the king increased his hatred, in proportion as he found himself under the necessity of stifling it.

The Normans, who were very numerous at the court of Edward, and in much credit there, were also great enemies to earl Godwin, and were constantly inveighing against him. These looked upon Godwin as a professed enemy, because he complained of the great regard the king had for them; and his complaints were not altogether without cause. Edward, who had been bred up among the Normans, had a fondness for their manners, and expressed such an affection for them, as raised the jealousy of the English. The Norman language was more spoke at court than the Saxon. Godwin imagined he was above the power of any person; and therefore was so far from seeking their protection, that he affected by his continual raileries to show, that he thought it not in their power to do him any mischief. Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, of all the Normans, was the most esteemed at court. The king had taken him from a monastery in Normandy, to promote him to the bishopric of London, and afterwards to the archbishopric of Canterbury, to the great regret of several English bishops, who aspired to that high station. This prelate, who was naturally of a haughty temper, and whom his interest with the king made still more arrogant, kept no measures with Godwin, who, for his part, showed the utmost contempt for him. The archbishop, incensed at the treatment of Godwin, made use of all his address to cause a wrong interpretation to be put on all the earl's actions, and to irritate the king still more against that nobleman. Affairs were in this situation at court, when an accident happened which brought earl Godwin to the brink of ruin, and gave the king an opportunity of showing at last the hatred he bore him. Eustace, earl of Boulogne†, being come to visit the king his brother-in-law, was honourably and kindly received, Edward having a particular affection for him. Some time after, as he was on the road, in order for France, one of his people, who was sent before to provide him lodgings at Dover, quarrelled with a townsman and killed him. This accident making a great noise among the inhabitants, they ran to arms, in order to seize the murderer, who stood upon his defence, with some of the earl's domestics that were with him. Eustace, entering the town in the midst of this tumult, and seeing his people attacked, was obliged to take their part, without having time to enquire into the occasion of the quarrel. But being overpowered with numbers, twenty of his retinue were killed on the spot, and he himself narrowly escaped with his life. Enraged at this affront, he returned to the king at Gloucester, where the court was then, and loudly demanded satisfaction. Edward, willing to do him justice, ordered Godwin to march immediately with some troops, and chastise the rioters that were under his government. But instead of obeying the king's order, the earl warmly replied, that it was not

occasion. Moreover, he could not be archbishop then, since Edsius lived till 1050, which was three years after Alwin's death, (according to Flor. Matth. West. Hoved. Chron. Mailr.) whom Brompton supposes to be alive at the trial, for he says, he also gave nine manors to the church of Winchester. The Saxon Annals say, Edsius died in 1047, and Alwin in 1045; and therefore Robert, could not be archbishop till two years after his death, according to the Annals. Thus this

whole story seems to be a mere fiction; and to have no foundation in fact.

\* The Saxon Annals say, they buried his body in a certain church; but that afterwards his relations and the mariners of London dug it up, and buried it at Winchester, near that of king Canute. Sax. Ann. 1046.

† Father to the famous Godfrey of Boulogne, who took Jerusalem from the Saracens.



the custom in England to punish people unheard, and that the rights and privileges of the subjects ought not to be violated; that the accused should be summoned, and make satisfaction with their bodies or estates, if guilty, or if innocent, should be discharged. He added, in a very haughty tone, that being earl of Kent, it was his business to protect those that were under his government, against the insults of foreigners. Some say, he even charged the king to deliver up the earl of Boulogne into his hands, that he might be punished upon the place, if found guilty of this riot. Edward was extremely chagrined at this bold answer; which was not only a barefaced refusal to obey his commands, but also a stinging reproach for his partiality to foreigners. The archbishop and the rest of the Normans, earnestly seized this opportunity to exasperate him against the earl, and to fan the already kindled embers into a flame. How angry soever the king was, he was forced to conceal it, not being in a condition to punish on the spot, a lord, whose power rivalled his. Siward and Leofric being absent, he durst not attempt any thing against Godwin, without being first assured of their concurrence. Being very impatient of revenge, he dispatched several messengers to these two lords, to inform them of his resolution to chastise Godwin, and to order, or rather to desire them, to repair to him immediately. How privately soever this matter was transacted, Godwin had notice of his design, and took his measures accordingly. As he was very sensible he should be infallibly ruined, was he not beforehand with his enemies, he drew together some troops, which were soon reinforced with others from his son's government. An incursion the Welsh made at the same time into Herefordshire, furnished him with a pretence to levy this army. He propagated a report, that these forces were raised to drive the enemy out of the kingdom, though he had received no orders about the matter. In the interim, the king having summoned him to appear before a general assembly convened at Gloucester, he came there with his sons, but so well attended, that he had nothing to fear. Thus guarded as he was, the most prudent knowing it would have been dangerous to have pushed matters too far, advised the king to hide his resentment. They represented to him, that if the earl stood on his defence, as he seemed resolved to do, it was greatly to be feared, he would draw to his side the majority of the people, whose interests he seemed to espouse, and therefore the giving him a reason to carry his audaciousness any farther, could not be done without danger. In pursuance of this advice, such a peace was patched up as Godwin desired, that is, he came off by making some excuses, which related more to his manner of acting, than to the main point in hand. This reconciliation was of no long continuance. Edward, who could not digest the affront he had received, sought new measures against Godwin, by gaining over some of his principal friends, by presents and promises. As soon as matters were ordered to his mind, he convened a general assembly, before whom Godwin and his sons were summoned to appear. But being informed a design was laid of apprehending them, they refused to appear, unless they had a pass, and hostages given them for their security. Hereupon they were banished from the kingdom, and the combination against them was so well put together, that they saw themselves suddenly abandoned by their principal adherents, and forced to submit to the sentence passed upon them. Edward, not content with having thus got rid of Godwin, he shut up the queen in the nunnery of Warwell, with a design, in all appearance, never to take her again. Godwin retired to the earl of Flanders, father-in-law to his son Toston, and Harold sailed for Ireland, where he hoped to meet with assistance.

In the interim Godwin, who thought he had been ill-used, resolved upon endeavouring to right himself by arms, having no other course to take, as matters stood between the king and him. The earl of Flanders having furnished him with some ships, he infested the eastern coasts of England, whilst Harold did the same to the western. But these faint attempts were to little purpose,

as their forces were not very considerable; and therefore Godwin returned to Flanders, where, for the space of two years, he endeavoured to persuade the earl, his protector, that it was for his interest to assist him with a powerful army, and to have in England such a friend as he was. Baldwin being at length prevailed upon, granted him an aid capable of rendering him formidable. Whilst on the other hand, Harold manned out a considerable fleet from Ireland. Edward received intelligence of these proceedings, fitted out a number of vessels, which he manned with able seamen, with all expedition; the command of it was given to Radulph of Mantes his nephew\*, and another lord named Odda. These two admirals being informed that Godwin had been seen off Rumney Point, resolved upon going in quest of him, in order to bring him to an engagement; but he had time to sail off elsewhere. His measures being thus broken by the king's expedition, he steered his course back again for Flanders, and sent Harold into Ireland. His view was to make the king believe, that he dropped his undertaking, by reason of the obstacles he met with. In the mean while, he kept his fleet always in readiness to put to sea, that he might seize any opportunity that might present itself. Shortly after he had one given him, which he did not fail to take advantage of. Whether the two admirals had been wanting in point of duty or conduct, or whether by the intrigues at court, which history has not sufficiently cleared up, Edward on a sudden removed these two lords from the command of the fleet. This alteration, and the breaking some of the inferior officers, raised such discontents among the sailors, that vast numbers of them deserted. Thus the king's ships not being in a condition to keep the sea for want of hands, were brought up the Thames in order to be refitted. Godwin, by his spies, being informed how matters stood, put to sea immediately, and made a descent on the Isle of Wight, where he extorted great sums from the inhabitants, whilst he waited for his son Harold's joining him; which being done, they sailed up the Thames, and advanced towards London, where the king's fleet lay. Edward, giving way to his passion, was minded, with what ships were ready, to go himself and try the fortune of an engagement; but his council disapproved of the measure. They represented to him, that instead of hazarding his person in an action, the consequences whereof might prove fatal, it would be more for his own and the kingdom's advantage, to try to make Godwin return to his obedience, by calmer methods. This was wholesome advice: but it would have been a hard matter to bring the king to approve of it, had not Godwin, who was informed of what passed at court, paved the way, by saving him the shame of making the first advances. He sent the king word, that he was not come to fight against his sovereign, but most humbly to intreat him to hear what he had to say in his justification: that his coming thus armed, was only to defend himself against the insults of his enemies, and that he should always make it his chiefest glory to be the most faithful of his subjects. How respectful soever this message might be, Edward, looking upon it as a sort of an insulting banter, refused to hearken to any terms of accommodation; affirming, he could not resolve to pardon his brother's murderer. His obstinacy had like to have had a fatal effect. Godwin's army, entirely made up of foreigners, who were in hopes of enriching themselves with the plunder of London, was for engaging the king's fleet without delay. But the earl, who was perfectly informed how the council stood disposed, checked the ardour of his soldiers, and behaved in a very submissive manner with regard to the king. His moderation at length had its intended effect. Edward was prevailed upon by the principal lords, and especially Stigand bishop of Winchester, a steady friend to Godwin, to receive the earl into favour again, at least to an outward appearance. He even agreed he should be acquitted by the general assembly of the kingdom, of the murder of prince Alfred, which he was charged with anew, on condition he would give

hostages

\* He was son to Goda (the sister of Edward,) and the earl of Mantes. See p. 59.



hostages for his good behaviour for the future. Godwin submitting to the king's terms, put into his hands his son Ulnoth, and his grandson Hacune, who were sent forthwith into Normandy, Edward not thinking he could secure them in England. Godwin and his sons were restored to their estates and honours, and the king honourably took again the queen his wife, whom he imagined he had got rid of for his life.

On the accommodation of matters between the king and the earl, the archbishop of Canterbury retired to the monastery of Jumiege in Normandy. Shortly after his departure he was banished the kingdom by an assembly-general, as a fomentor of divisions between the king and his subjects. Stigand was made archbishop in his room, on a supposition that the see was become vacant by his banishment, a supposition that the court of Rome would by no means admit. Thus ended the affair of Godwin. Instead of being shut out from the favour of the king, this nobleman, contrary to the expectations of his enemies, became more powerful and formidable. The same year he lost his third son Swane, who being gone a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, died on the road in Syria, where he fell into the hands of robbers\*.

The court of England enjoying a profound quiet ever since the return of Godwin†, William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, took an opportunity to pay a visit to Edward. It is the opinion of some historians, that Edward sent him word by archbishop Robert, that he designed to make him his heir, and that his aim in this visit was to get a confirmation of his promise. But this is merely conjecture. However this be, during William's stay in England, the king took a pleasure in showing his gratitude for all the civilities he had received both from him, and from the duke his father. It is affirmed, that after he had thus publicly testified his gratitude, he gave him in private a more substantial mark of his affection, by making his will, and nominating him for his heir and successor. If it be true that Edward made his will, which no-body ever saw, it is more probable he did it at this time, than when he was in Normandy. However this be, it was this will, real or forged, that furnished the duke with a pretence of becoming master of England after the death of Edward.

Godwin's death made no great alteration in the affairs of England. Harold had the same friends, the same creatures, and the same interest as the earl his father had when alive. All the difference to be observed between the father and son was, that the son was of a temper more courteous and condescending, carried himself with a great deal less pride, and behaved in a more respectful and submissive manner to the king. He was in hopes, by his carriage, to blot out of the king's mind the ill will he had so long bore his family; but this was to no purpose. Edward perhaps had not so great an aversion for him, as he had for his father; but he stood as much in fear of him, as indeed he had good reason

to do. Harold, of as great parts and abilities as his father, but withal of more honour and conscience, firmly gained over to his interests both the nobles and people, by his civil and obliging behaviour, whereas Godwin's haughtiness and pride lost him many friends. In the mean time, the same reasons that constrained the king to act courteously with the father, obliged him to do the same with the son. Though he loved him not, it would have been an impolitic step to show his ill-will, lest it should prove the occasion of a rupture, which would evidently have hurt the king's interest, considering Harold's great credit both at court and with the people.

If the overgrown power of the Godwin family created uneasiness in the king, it was in some measure balanced by the satisfaction he had in seeing his kingdom exempt from war, ever since his accession to the throne. But this tranquillity, which could not but be very grateful to a prince of so unwarlike a temper, was somewhat interrupted by a quarrel with Macbeth king of Scotland, who had made himself master of Cumberland in the year 1054. This little kingdom, which for a long while had been under the protection of the crown of England, was in dispute between Macbeth, and Malcolm, a lord of royal family of Cumberland. Edward espousing the cause of Malcolm, commissioned Siward to restore him to his kingdom. This war lasted not long. Siward by one decisive battle, in 1055, obliged Macbeth to abandon Cumberland, and leave his rival in possession of it‡. Siward had scarce finished this affair, when he was seized with a distemper, that ended with his life. When he found he was near his end, he got upon his legs, and causing his armour to be put on, expired in that posture, declaring it was a shameful thing for a brave man to die in his bed§.

After the death of this earl, the government of Northumberland was bestowed on Toston, brother to Harold, Edward not being master of resolution enough to refuse him that favour, though he dreaded nothing more than the raising that family. Some pretend that this was done through policy.

Earl Harold daily gained ground; his personal merit and liberal temper procured him such friends every day, as were able to support him against the attempts of the king himself. Though he had married the duke of Mercia's daughter, Alfgar his brother-in-law behaved indifferently towards him, merely through envy at his greatness. This lord, being of a turbulent spirit, entered into a dangerous conspiracy, and privately held intelligence with Griffin, king of Wales, to the detriment of the public. Edward being informed of it, caused him to be accused of treason and condemned to banishment. Alfgar retired to his friend Griffin, who received him with open arms, and fomented his discontent to the utmost of his power||. Some time after they made an inroad into Herefordshire and

\* Simeon of Durham says, being pricked in conscience for the murder of earl Beorn, he went from Flanders bare-foot as far as Jerusalem, and in his return homeward died of a cold he got in Lycia. Sim. Dunelm. p. 186.

† The death of Godwin happened on the 17th of the calends of May, 1053; and we could wish, that the circumstances of it were recorded by more respectable authorities than we find them: however that be, they tell us, that as Godwin was one day sitting at table with the king, the cup-bearer in his hurry made a trip with one foot, but recovered himself with the other. Several who were present making themselves merry on this incident, observed, that one foot came luckily to the assistance of the other; and the earl, to increase their mirth, added, "So brother should assist brother, when either stands in need." As soon as the words were out of his mouth, Edward turned towards him, and said, "So might my brother have helped me, if Godwin had not interposed." This exceeding smart reply so much astonished the earl, that he immediately rose up, and addressing himself to the king, said, with a great deal of emotion, "I perceive, my lord, by what you have just now said that you still think me guilty of the death of the prince, your brother, though I have been publicly acquitted of that crime. But to give you a fresh proof of my innocence, I pray God that this morsel I am

"going to put into my mouth, may choke me this moment, if I had any hand in the death of that prince." They pretend, that upon saying these words, he went to swallow the fatal morsel, but alas! it never reached his stomach, to the great astonishment of the by-standers. For the veracity of this particular we cannot vouch; but all historians agree that Godwin died suddenly, as he sat at table with the king. He was buried in the old monastery at Winchester. Harold his eldest son succeeded him in all his posts, and those he had before his father's death were given to Alfgar, the son of Leofric, duke of Mercia.

‡ He defeated and killed Macbeth in battle, and restored Malcolm to the throne of his ancestors. W. Malmesb. p. 79. Chron. Mailr. p. 158. Hume, ch. 111.

§ Simeon of Durham says, earl Siward's son was slain in the battle with Macbeth; and Huntingdon adds, that when the news was brought him, he asked, whether he had received the wound before or behind? and being told, before; he only replied, "I am glad to hear it, for so it became my son to die."

|| Historians are divided in their opinions, whether this earl was banished justly or not. Simeon of Durham and Brompton, say he went to Ireland first, and procuring eighteen ships joined Griffin.



defeated Radulph, earl of that county, who had attempted to drive them thence. Encouraged by this success, they began to make farther advances \*, when they met earl Harold, who stopped their career. He had, of his own accord, levied an army in his governments, and boldly marched towards them, to give them battle. They quickly found the difference between him and Radulph. Harold superior in valour and conduct, put them to the rout, and compelled them to retreat into Wales, whence they durst not come forth any more. A peace being the fruits of this victory, Harold made use of all his interest to obtain a pardon for Alfgar, and prevailed upon Edward to restore him to his estate and honours. By this uncommon act of generosity, he gained the friendship of Alfgar, and wonderfully increased the people's regard for himself.

The reputation Harold acquired in this last expedition, which happened in 1057, his generosity to Alfgar, his affable and obliging behaviour, and his beneficent temper, entirely gained him the hearts of the people. They now began to talk openly, that since the king had no heirs, no one was so worthy to succeed him as Harold. The affection of the English for the earl, very sensibly touched Edward, who had all along lived in hopes of an opportunity to ruin him. Hitherto it seems as if this prince had a design of leaving the crown to the duke of Normandy, since he was not ignorant that he had a nephew in Hungary, and yet had never once thought of recalling him home and securing him the succession. But the moment he found earl Harold aspired to the crown, or at least, that the people marked him out for his successor, he judged it would be in vain to set up a foreign prince, in competition with an English earl backed with such great power and credit. This, in all probability, was the reason that induced him at last to send for Edward his nephew, the son of Edmund Ironside, out of Hungary. Prince Edward came into England in 1057, bringing with him his young son Edgar, with Margaret and Christina his daughters, who were all three born in Hungary. The arrival of this prince, the son of a king of England, whose memory was dear to the nation, could not but be very acceptable to the English; and therefore, without hesitation, they looked upon him as the heir apparent to the crown, their esteem for Harold giving place to their affection for the royal family. Indeed there was no calling in question this young prince's right to succeed his uncle, since, had he not been absent when it was debated who should sit on the throne after Hardicanute, there is no doubt but he would have had the preference even before king Edward himself. Which consideration was apparently the reason the king his uncle left him so long in Hungary, lest his presence might occasion some dangerous commotions. But this prince, who seemed designed for the crown, died soon after his arrival in England, leaving his just, though

empty title, to Edgar his son, surnamed Atheling †. Leofric ‡, duke of Merica, followed him the same year. Alfgar succeeded to his father's earldom, by Harold's interest, who earnestly interceded for him.

Harold's ambition and hopes were raised by prince Edward's death. It is true, he had left a son behind him but so young that it seemed no hard matter to set him aside. Besides, it was possible he might die before the king. Accordingly, Harold was resolved to make the best of the present favourable conjuncture. But before he openly discovered his designs, he thought it requisite to get out of the hands of the duke of Normandy, Ulnoth his brother, and Hactine his nephew, whom the earl his father had given for hostages to the king. But though he was very urgent in demanding them, alledging, that since Godwin was dead, there was no manner of reason to keep them any longer, and that it would be highly unjust to deprive them of the benefit of an English education, yet he could not prevail with the king. Edward always put him off with saying, they were not in his power, but in the duke of Normandy's, and therefore to him he was to make application. In fine, Harold perceiving he could get no other answer from him, desired leave to go into Normandy, to solicit the duke for their deliverance. His request was very readily granted. Nothing could be more agreeable to the king, than the earl's resolution of going to Normandy, not at all questioning but the duke would detain him there. At least, he hoped, duke William would take such measures as would free him from all obstacles the earl might lay in his way. Harold having obtained the king's consent, embarked for Roan, without the least suspicion of the danger he was running into, being ignorant of the king's intention with relation to the succession. Hardly was he got to sea, before a tempest arose, which drove him on the coast of Picardy, and compelled him to put in at one of the ports of the earl of Ponthieu, where he was immediately seized. As soon as they knew who he was, they carried him to Gwido earl of Ponthieu, who, glad to find himself master of so rich a prize, was resolved to set a round price on his head. It would have been a difficult thing for Harold to have got off, had he not, whilst he pretended to treat about his ransom, found the means to inform the duke of Normandy how matters stood with him. As soon as the duke received the news, he sent and demanded the prisoner of the earl of Ponthieu, letting him know, that he had no manner of pretence to detain a stranger, that was going to Roan, and by a tempest cast on his coasts. The earl not daring to dispute the case with the duke, set the prisoner at liberty, who immediately pursued his journey to Roan. Duke William not being ignorant of Harold's designs on the crown of England, was at a great loss how to behave towards him. He had but two ways to take, both equally dangerous. He must either detain Harold by force, or try to gain him by fair means. If he went the first way to work,

\* They took and sacked Hereford, burning the church and monastery, with the relics of king Ethelbert, who was treacherously slain by king Offa. Hereford (*i. e.*) the Ford of the army, was built as a frontier in the time of the Heptarchy. This was the only misfortune that ever happened to that city. Camd.

† (*i. e.*) Truly noble, to denote his being of royal blood. His father, prince Edward, surnamed the Out-Law, was buried at St. Paul's, London. Sax. Ann. 1057.

‡ Historians give this lord a great character; but especially they extol Godiva his wife, above all the women in her time. It is related of this lady, that in order to free the inhabitants of Coventry from a heavy tax laid on them by her husband, she readily consented to perform a very extraordinary act. The earl, upon her interceding in their behalf, told her, he would ease them of their burden, provided she would ride on horse-back naked, from one end of the town to the other. This condition gave the burghers but little hopes of being relieved. But Godiva undertook the matter, covering her body with her hair, and commanding all persons to keep within doors and from their windows, on pain of death. How great soever the penalty was, there was one, who could not forbear giving a peep out of curiosity, but it cost him his life. In memory of

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whom, there is a statue of a man looking out of a window, always kept in a house at Coventry. But whether this be true or not, there is a procession or cavalcade still made there every year, in memory of Godiva, with a figure, representing a naked woman riding through the city. The pictures of Leofric and Godiva were also set up in the windows of Trinity-church, with this inscription:

*I Luric, for the love of thee,  
Do set Coventry toll-free.*

This city had its name either from the convent new built and richly endowed by Leofric, or, as some assert, from a rivulet running through it, now called Shirburn, but in an old charter of the priory, Cuentsford. This city was famous for its walls, which were demolished in the time of Charles II. and the gates only left standing. In one of which, named Gofford, is to be seen the vast shield-bone of a boar, which they tell you was slain by Guy earl of Warwick, after he had with his snout turned up the pool or pond now called Swanefwell-Pool, but in ancient charters, Swinewell. Here is also a fine cross built (33 Hen. VIII.) by Sir William Hollier, lord-mayor of London. Camd.



he was apprehensive of declaring himself too soon, since it would not be for his interest, that the English as yet should know he had any thoughts of succeeding to the crown. Besides, Harold had so many friends in the kingdom, it was to be feared, the detaining him would occasion a rupture between England and Normandy, which would break all the measures the king should take in his favour. And indeed, in case Edward should die during the war, how was it possible for him to leave the crown to a prince that was actually in arms against the English nation? Moreover, Harold being duke of Wessex, and earl of Kent, all the strong places in the southern parts were in the hands of his creatures, and consequently this would lay great obstacles in the duke's way. In short, the duke had not perfect information what steps Harold had made to pave his way to the crown; as, on the other hand, Harold was ignorant of the designs of the king and duke. The duke considered further, that by detaining Harold in prison, he should break the most sacred rights of hospitality, which a great soul could not be guilty of without offering extreme violence to itself. These considerations induced him to take the other course, though it was no less dangerous. By laying himself open to Harold, he put it in his power to prevent the execution of his designs. However, believing he should gain him by putting so great a trust in him, he plainly told him the hopes he had of one day mounting the throne of England, grounded on the goodwill the king bore him. This discovery was followed with large promises, in case he would support his pretensions, and the assurance of a reward proportionable to so important a piece of service. He let him know likewise, that his aspiring to the crown, though not of the royal family was no secret to him, and endeavoured to make him sensible, how many difficulties he had to encounter before he could attain to his ends. To divert him from his purpose, he laid before him all the obstacles, he must naturally expect to meet with, as well from Edgar, as the other English lords, who would look on his ambition with a jealous eye. To these considerations he added this material one: that provided he was so fortunate, as to surmount all the obstacles he had mentioned, he would still find in him an enemy, who wanted neither money nor arms, nor friends to maintain a right he was resolved to defend to the last drop of his blood. In fine, he represented to him, that in case he was bent to pursue his first design, instead of securing, as he might now do, a power and grandeur, second to none but the supreme, he ran the risk of losing a certain good, for the hopes of a very great uncertainty. Harold was too wise not to see, that on this occasion he had but one course to take; which was, to dissemble the matter to the duke. He returned him therefore an answer, That indeed, before the arrival of prince Edward, he had been of opinion, that had the king died without heirs, he was as worthy to ascend the throne, as any other nobleman of the kingdom. He even owned, that he had gone so far as to take some measures, which might give him hopes of success: but that he had dropped his design ever since the coming of Edward, being sensible there was no room to pretend to the crown, as long as there were princes of the royal family in England. He also added, that since he was acquainted with his pretensions, and the king's mind, which till then he had been ignorant of, he had much rather the kingdom should be governed by so great prince as the duke was, than by Edgar Atheling, who scarce knew how to govern himself. To convince him the more that he was in earnest, he came to terms with him, and among others, demanded one of his daughters in mar-

riage, as a reward for the service he designed to do him. Whatever Harold required, was immediately and joyfully complied with. But as the princess the duke designed for him was too young, the intended marriage was put off till a convenient time. In the interim, duke William, not trusting wholly to Harold's bare word, made him swear on the Gospels that he would punctually perform what he had promised; especially, that he would never attempt to ascend the throne of England. This agreement being made, they parted both of them extremely well satisfied in outward appearance, and Harold returned into England\*. He was no sooner at liberty, but he looked upon his oath as extorted from him, and consequently not binding. He could not understand upon what grounds the duke of Normandy could pretend to the crown of England, or by what right Edward could transfer it to a foreigner. And therefore, so far was he from any thoughts of standing to his engagements, that he was resolved to take the advantage of the duke's entrusting him with his designs, by managing his affairs so as to render them abortive. Thenceforward he used a double diligence to strengthen his party in such a manner, as should put it out of the power of the king or duke to lay any obstacles in his way. If hitherto he had entertained any scruple with regard to prince Edgar, it entirely vanished upon consideration, that in mounting the throne himself he should do no injury to that prince, since the crown would be otherwise disposed of even by his uncle the king. He exerted therefore his endeavours, to secure an interest in all the great lords of the kingdom; which he found no hard matter to do. The duke of Normandy was absent, and but little known in England, where moreover the Normans were extremely hated. Prince Edgar, by reason of his youth, was in no condition to put a stop to proceedings so destructive to his claims. As for the king, he was so unresolved in the affair of the succession, that he promoted the interest neither of the prince his nephew, nor of the duke. He was, no doubt, at a loss how to reconcile the two steps he had made; the promising the duke of Normandy, and the recalling his nephew from Hungary. He had no farther view, than the passing his days in peace, without troubling himself about what should happen after his death. Thus every thing concurring to favour Harold's designs, he omitted nothing that might serve to confirm the good opinion the English had of him. To which end, two very good opportunities offered shortly after †.

The Welsh having renewed their incursions in 1063, under Griffin their king, Harold, and Toston his brother joined their forces to repulse them. They were so fortunate in this expedition, that after having had the advantage several times, they compelled the Welsh to dethrone Griffin, and become tributary to England. Griffin being restored afterwards, and renewing the war with the English, Harold marched to the frontiers of Wales, and struck such a terror into the Welsh, that they sent him the head of their king ‡. This event, which demonstrated, how formidable Harold was to the enemies of the kingdom, confirmed the English in their opinion that he, who knew so well how to defend it, deserved to wear the crown. Another circumstance happened which added new lustre to Harold's character, by affording him an opportunity of giving proof of his moderation and equity, as he had just done of his valour and conduct. Toston, his brother, earl of Northumberland, treated the Northumbrians with great severity, and committed so many acts of injustice, that the people, not being able to bear his cruelties, took up arms against him, and expelled him from his earldom. This action

\* The Duke made Harold swear to deliver up Dover as soon as king Edward was dead. Then loading him with presents, dismissed him with his nephew Macune, promising to bring over Ulnoth, his brother, when he himself should come into England. Sim. Dunel. p. 196.

† Vide Rapin, book v.

‡ This was the end of Griffith ap Llewelyn, to whom the

Welsh Chronicles give the character of a valiant and generous prince, and for the most part victorious, till now he perished by the treachery of his own people. Harold sent the head with the gilded stern of Griffin's ship, which the Welsh had brought with the head, to the king at Gloucester. Florence of Worcester adds, that the brother of Griffin swore fealty to Harold as well as to the king.



being of a dangerous consequence, Harold was ordered to chastise them, and restore his brother. As soon as he came near them, the Northumbrians sent deputies to inform him of the reason of their rising. They told him they had no design of withdrawing their obedience from the king, but only from an unjust and cruel governor, who exercised over them a tyrannical power, which neither they nor their forefathers had ever been accustomed to. At the same time, they intimated, that they were resolved to hazard their lives, rather than submit to the like power again. However, they solemnly protested, that if the king would set over them one that would govern them according to the laws and customs of their country, nothing should be able to shake their fidelity. To these remonstrances they added a long list of the grievances they had suffered under Toston, and entreated Harold to prefer the good of the public, before the interests of his own family. Harold finding that this affair related chiefly to Toston, and that the king was not directly concerned in it, sent an impartial account of the whole matter to the court. At the same time he interceded for the Northumbrians; and not content with obtaining their pardon, he procured them Morcar, the son of Algar, duke of Mercia, for their governor. By these just proceedings, he entirely gained the affections of the northern people, and knitted the band of friendship between him and Algar closer than before. This was absolutely necessary for the bringing about his designs. If by these actions Harold increased in favour with the people, he exasperated by them, to the last degree, his brother Toston, who never forgave him. But as it was not in his power to vent his fury on Harold's person he turned it upon some of his domestics, whom he caused to be cut in pieces, then to barbelled up, and sent to his brother for a present\*. After so barbarous an action, not daring to stay any longer in England, he retired into Flanders, to earl Baldwin, his father-in-law.

Whilst Harold was thus preparing his way to the crown, Edward gave himself but little trouble about the business of the succession, which he had exceedingly embroiled by the engagements he had entered into with the duke of Normandy. His thoughts were wholly engrossed about building the church and monastery of Westminster; on which he laid out the money he should have expended in a journey he had formerly vowed to take to Rome, from which he was dispensed with by the pope upon that condition. In this very place, called Thorney by the Saxons, stood formerly a famous temple, sacred to Apollo. Sebert, king of Essex, after he had embraced the Gospel, converted this Pagan temple into a Christian church, which was destroyed by the Danes. This church, after having lain a long time in ruins, Edward undertook the rebuilding of, with an adjoining monastery, which, from its lying west of London, was called Westminster†. In process of time, a city was built here by degrees, which almost rivalled London itself. These two cities, separated only by a gate, have distinct magistrates and privileges, though they have often been confounded under the common name of London. The church and monastery being finished towards the latter end of the year 1065, Edward was desirous the dedication should be performed in a very solemn manner. To this end, he convened at London a general assembly, at which were present all the bishops and great men of the kingdom, who were to be witnesses of this ceremony. At this time, the king

was seized with a sudden illness, of which he died in a few days, on the 5th of January, 1066, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. As soon as he found the time of his dissolution drew near, his principal care was the finishing the ceremony, on account whereof the assembly had been convened‡. The affair of the succession he would not meddle with, because it was surrounded with many difficulties; though secretly he was for the duke of Normandy: the right was manifestly in prince Edgar, his nephew; but Harold had the hearts and hands of the English. The case standing thus, the difficulties, which he could never bring himself to determine, whilst he was in health, were become insurmountable in the condition he was in, and therefore he resolved to leave the decision of the matter to God alone. In the mean while Harold was not idle. Almost all the lords of the kingdom, both spiritual and temporal, being then assembled at London, he found the means to persuade them to come to a resolution, of sending deputies to the dying king, to entreat him to name a successor. But at the same time, they had orders to insinuate to the king, that in case he nominated any but Harold, he would infallibly embroil the kingdom in endless troubles, which would be inconsistent with his wisdom, and the affection he had all along expressed for his people. Edward, not being then in a condition to examine a proposal of this nature, replied, that since they were met in a body, he left it to them to chuse him, whom they judged most worthy to rule over them. At his death he left the succession to the crown as unsettled as it had been during his life.

This prince, who was born at Gillingham, near Oxford, reigned twenty-four years, without any molestation from foreign enemies. However, he cannot be said to have reigned happily, since he lived in continual fears, occasioned by the overgrown power of earl Godwin and his family. His mild and peaceable temper were a great means, however, to procure him some tranquillity. Had he attempted the humbling Godwin's pride, and the lessening Harold's power, he would, most certainly, have involved himself in troubles, from whence he would have found it a hard matter to extricate himself. But by not taking notice of their secret practices, and feigning to know nothing of their designs, he prevented them from acting more openly, caused them to lay their schemes at a greater distance, and by that means gained time to arrive at the end of his days. He was remarkable neither for his virtues nor his vices; and his natural parts were but mean. His piety has been exceedingly cried up, and had acquired him the glorious title of Confessor. It is certain, he was very charitable, and laid out in alms, the sums other princes vainly lavished away upon their pleasures. This, joined to his bountiful temper, of which he gave from time to time uncommon instances, made him pass for a saint among the people, and particularly among the monks, who reaped great advantages from his liberal disposition. They have not been satisfied with extolling his virtues, but have even, if we may so say, canonized his faults, and endeavoured to make them pass for so many proofs of his holiness. Of this we need no other witness but his own historian, or rather panegyrist||, who attributes his voluntary chastity to a vow he made before his marriage. This writer assures us, that Edward espoused Editha, the daughter of Godwin, merely to exercise his virtue by a continual temptation. But it is easy to perceive, he acted from a very different motive, since he got rid of his wife, the moment he thought he could do it with safety. How-

\* Vide Flor. Wigorn. and Chron. Sax.

† It was dedicated to St. Peter. This fabric of Edward's was demolished by Henry III. about one hundred and sixty years after, who erected a new one, which was fifty years in building. The abbots very much enlarged it on the west side, and Henry VII. added to the east a chapel, which Ireland calls the Miracle of the World. Edward was buried in his newly dedicated church.

‡ The great men also signed the charter of the privileges and immunities granted to the church, to which was annexed,

as is said, the first great seal used in England. Though Tyrrel thinks other kings might have seals to their charters, though they are now defaced.

§ Now Islip. In the chapel here, called the King's-Chapel, not many years since stood a font, the same, as tradition has constantly delivered it down, wherein Edward the Confessor was baptized. But being put to an indecent use, was at last removed to the garden of Sir Henry Brown, Bart. of Nether Riddington, in Oxfordshire. Add to Caund.

|| Ailred.



ever, the opinion of his sanctity, having by degrees taken deep root in the minds of the people, he was canonized by Pope Alexander III. by the name of Edward the Confessor\*. It was not thought enough, to allow this prince all the virtues necessary to carry him to Heaven, unless he had a place given him also among the saints of the first class. We are told, he was favoured with several revelations, with the gift of prophecy, and many other miraculous powers; for the proof of which, such weak and trifling instances are produced, as are not worth mentioning. However, we cannot pass over in silence, one special privilege he is said to receive from Heaven, of curing the king's evil. It is even affirmed, this privilege has descended upon the kings of England, his successors. Hence the custom in England, of the king's touching for the evil at a certain time of the year†. But king William III. of glorious memory, was so persuaded he should do no injury to such as were afflicted with this distemper, by not touching them, that he refrained from doing it all his reign.

What has been most extolled in king Edward, was his good nature, which evidently appeared on several occasions: an instance or two may suffice. One day, being laid down upon the bed, one of his domestics, who did not know he was in the room, stole some money out of chest he found open, which the king let him carry off without saying a word. Quickly after, the boy returning to make a second attempt, the king called out to him without the least passion, "Sirrah, you had best be satisfied with what you have got, for if my chamberlain comes and catches you he will not only take away all you have stolen but also whip you severely." The story further adds, that the chamberlain coming in after the boy was gone, and missing the money, fell into a great rage; but the king calmly said to him, "Be contented, it may be, the poor rogue that has it, wants it more than we do; there is enough left for us‡." Another time, as he was hunting, a countryman maliciously spoiling his sport, he galloped up to him, and said to him in seeming anger, "By our lady, I would be revenged on thee, if it was in my power." These are the incontestible proofs of his easy and good nature, which, according to his panegyrist, raise him far above all other men.

Edward was the last king of Egbert's race, though not the last Saxon king, as some have affirmed, since his successor was of that nation. Had not this weak prince made a preposterous vow of chastity, he would, in all probability, have left an heir to his crown and dominions; and by that means he would have prevented a revolution, which involved the English in slavery.

Before the reign of Edward, the West Saxon, Mercian, and Danish laws, were observed in England, namely, the first in Wessex, the second in Mercia, and the last in Northumberland. This prince reduced them all into one body; and from his time they became common to all England, under the name of the laws of Edward, to distinguish them from the Norman ones, which were introduced afterwards§.

## HAROLD II.

ON the death of Edward, the principal men of the kingdom assembled to appoint a successor to the throne; if these men had been swayed only by justice, equity,

and the ancient customs of the kingdom, it would scarce have admitted of a debate, to know on whom the crown was devolved. Edgar Atheling was the only prince left of the family of the ancient kings, and consequently, the only one who had a right to lay claim to the crown. But Harold had so well laid his schemes, that he was unanimously elected, without any regard to the right of the lawful heir. As for the duke of Normandy, it does not appear his pretensions, grounded on the late king's promise, were at all considered. Be this as it may, Harold was crowned at Lambeth||, in January, 1066; and was acknowledged as king of England by all ranks of people. Notwithstanding the peaceable aspect which matters bore in England, with regard to Harold's accession, the continent wore a different appearance. Earl Toston, Harold's brother, was highly enraged against him for his impartial proceedings, when in favour of the Northumbrians, he dispossessed him of his government. Toston\*\*, being acquainted with the duke of Normandy's intentions to invade Ireland, with a view to deprive Harold of his realm, entered into a strong alliance with him. Toston, having procured a small fleet from the earl of Flanders, his father-in-law, infested the English coasts, and plundered the Isle of Wight. He then sailed to the coast of Kent, and landed a body of troops at Sandwich. Being informed that the king was directing his march against him, he re-embarked, and set sail for the north; and entering the Humber with his little fleet, he made a descent on Yorkshire, and committed ravages, as if it had been in the country of an enemy. Harold did not think it a prudent measure to leave the southern parts of the kingdom; and therefore commissioned earl Morcar to march against his brother; who having been made governor of Northumberland in the room of Toston, was more particularly concerned to put a stop to his incursions. The king remained at London, that he might watch over Edgar's party, and prevent them from exciting any troubles on that prince's account. He even hinted, from time to time, that he had accepted the crown merely on account of Edgar's minority. He created Edgar earl of Oxford; and seemed to take a very particular care of his education, as if he designed to qualify him for the government of the kingdom.

In the interim, Morcar, accompanied with his brother Edwin, earl of Chester, marched expeditiously against Toston, who was got on the south side of the Humber. He came upon him unawares in Lincolnshire, and by that means put his little army to flight, and compelled him to embark on board his ships. Toston finding he could do nothing considerable with so small a number of forces, steered towards Scotland, in hopes of meeting with assistance from the king of that country. But perceiving the king of Scotland was not disposed to aid him, he put to sea again, with a design to make another descent on England. Prevented by contrary winds, he was driven on the coast of Norway, where he accidentally stumbled upon what he had been so industriously seeking.

Harold Harfager, king of Norway, had just before made himself master of some of the Orkades††, which belonged to Scotland, and was fitting out a more numerous fleet, in order to push on his conquests. Toston being informed of this prince's intentions, repaired immediately to him, pretending he was come on purpose to

\* About two hundred years after his death. There was likewise a bull of Pope Innocent IV. to fix the anniversary, and order the solemnity of the festival. Martyrol. Rom. Baronius, Jan. 8.

† This pretended privilege, being only a vulgar notion, founded on the stories of the Monkish historians, is too futile to need contradiction.

‡ Ailred. Vit. Ed. p. 376. X. Scrip.

§ Concerning this threefold distinction of the laws, see what has been said at p. 68.

|| See note, p. 67.

\*\* Toston and the duke of Normandy married two sisters, daughters of the earl of Flanders.

†† They are now called the Isles of Orkney. Whatever the ancients have said of their number, there are but twenty-six that are inhabited, the rest are used only for pasturage, and are called Holmes. Orkney lies north of Caithness, in the latitude of fifty-nine and sixty degrees. Eagles are in such plenty here, and do so much mischief, that whoever kills one, is entitled to a hen from every house in the parish. The largest of these isles is, Mainland, anciently Pomona, twenty-four miles long, whereon stands the only remarkable town, called Kirkwall, famous for St. Magnus's church, and the bishop of Orkney's



to propose to him a more noble undertaking. He represented to him, that a favourable opportunity offered to conquer England, if he would but turn his arms that way. The better to persuade him to this, he told him, there were in the kingdom two powerful factions, both enemies to the king, the one for prince Edgar, the other for the duke of Normandy, and therefore the English being thus divided, he would find it no hard matter to subdue them. Adding, that he himself had a strong party in Northumberland, which would very much help forward the business. In fine, he brought him to believe, that the king his brother was extremely odious to the English, and would be certainly deserted by them as soon as they saw in England a foreign army powerful enough to support his enemies. Harfager, greedy of fame, and already devouring, in his imagination, so noble a prize, wanted not much sollicitation to engage in this design. Prepossessed by Toston of the plausibility of the thing, he resolved to employ all his forces in making so glorious a conquest. Whilst the king of Norway was busied in making preparations, the duke of Normandy's thoughts were no less taken up about the means of wresting from Harold a crown, he had so long fed himself with the hopes of, and which he could not bear to see on his head without extreme regret. Though his rival, in all appearance, was firmly seated on his throne, the duke imagined he was able to pull him down, since the way by arms was still open, when all other methods failed. However, to proceed regularly, he sent ambassadors to him, to require him to deliver up the crown, and in case of refusal, to charge him with the breach of his oath, and declare war against him. Harold told the ambassadors, "Their master had no manner of right to the crown of England: that supposing the late king had disposed of it in his favour, a thing the English knew nothing of, it was contrary to the laws of the land, which allow not the king to give away the crown according to his fancy, much less to a foreigner. As for his part, he had been elected by those, who had the power of placing the kings on the throne, and therefore could not give it up without the breach of that trust, the English had reposed in him. As for the oath, the violation whereof he was charged with, it having been extorted from him at a time when he had not the power to help himself, it was null and void, by the laws of all the nations in the world; and that he knew how to defend his right against any person that durst dispute it with him." This quarrel being of too great consequence to be decided without coming to blows, each party took such measures as he judged most likely to prove successful.

The duke's vexation at having been deceived, the desire of revenge, the shame of drawing back, and the pleasing hopes of being master of England, spurred him on to exert his utmost endeavours to bring about his ends. On the other hand, Harold finding he was like to have so formidable an adversary to cope with, thought nothing would be of more service to him than the gaining the people to his interests. To this purpose, he made himself more popular than ever. He lessened the taxes, and caused justice to be duly and impartially administered. In short, he omitted nothing that might serve to confirm his subjects in the esteem and affection they had already entertained for him. His labour was not in vain. The English, charmed with his first setting out, which afforded them so pleasant a prospect, resolved to sacrifice their lives and properties to support him on the throne whereon they had placed him. Duke

William, for his part, not being ignorant of the resolution of the English, perceived he had no other way to attain his ends, but by bringing into the field, an army equal to that of his enemy. The main difficulty was, to raise a sum of money sufficient for the charge of so great an undertaking. The first method he took was to convene an assembly of the states of Normandy, in order to obtain their concurrence. But he found them very backward to come into his scheme. They told him that "Normandy having been drained of men and money by the late wars, they were so far from being in a condition to think of making new conquests; that they were hardly able to defend their own territories against the attacks of a powerful invader. Besides, how just soever the duke's claim to England might be, they could not see that any advantage would accrue to their country from this expedition. And that they were not obliged by their allegiance to serve in foreign wars, wherein the state had no concern." This answer cutting off the duke's expectations of raising money in a public way, he bethought himself of an expedient, which succeeded to his wish. This was, to borrow money of private persons; and having got some of the chief men to contribute, the rest were inspired with an emulation, who should be most zealous in assisting their prince. William Fitz-Osborn undertook to fit out forty ships at his own expence. The most wealthy, every one according to his ability, subscribed very large sums: so that the duke, by this method, raised more money than he could have done by any public tax. This alone being not sufficient to answer his exigencies, he engaged several of the neighbouring princes to furnish him with troops and transports, on condition of their having lands assigned them in England after the conquest. He even demanded the assistance of France; but it was not the interest of that crown, that the duke of Normandy should become more powerful.

Duke William, sensible of the weakness of his title omitted nothing that might serve to give it the colour of justice. With this view, he bethought himself of an expedient exceeding proper to blind the eyes of the world; which was to get the Pope to approve of the matter; to whom it is said, he made a promise of holding the kingdom of England of the apostolic see. However this be, the Pope very heartily espoused his cause, and sent him a consecrated banner\*, as a mark of his approbation. Moreover, willing that all Christians should know that religion was concerned in the case, he solemnly excommunicated all that durst oppose the duke in the execution of his project. This approbation was of great service to the duke, as it furnished him with a pretence to justify his intended expedition, and at the same time, removed the scruples of such as he was endeavouring to engage in his quarrel. But it had not the same effect in England. Whether the English knew nothing of the Pope's excommunication, or whether they looked upon it as great piece of partiality, it prevented not Harold from equipping a large fleet, and raising a numerous army, with which he anxiously waited the arrival of the enemy.

The charge of keeping so considerable an armament on foot, could not but be very burthensome to the people, a thing the king would have been glad to avoid. After he had in vain waited some months for the coming of duke William, finding winter drew on, he imagined, pursuant to some false informations he had received, that the duke had put off his expedition till the spring. Accordingly, he thought he might safely lay up

Orkney's palace. These isles were first inhabited by the Picts, who kept possession of them till destroyed in 839 by Kenneth II. of Scotland, from which time they were subject to the Scots, till delivered up by Donald Ban, the usurper, in 1099, to Magnus, king of Norway, but in 1263 they were surrendered to Alexander III. king of Scotland, by treaty with St. Magnus, king of Norway, who is said to have built the stately cathedral at Kirkwall. They have since remained annexed to the crown of Scotland. In Hoy, one of these isles, lies a stone called the

Dwarfie Stone, thirty-six feet long, eighteen broad, and nine thick, hollowed by art with a square hole of two feet high for the entry. Within, at one end, is a bed big enough for two men, excellently hewn out of the stone, with a pillow; at the other end is a couch, and in the middle a hearth for a fire, with a hole over it for the chimney. Orkney gives title to an earl.

\* With a golden *Agnus Dei*, and one of St. Peter's hairs.



his ships for the winter, and disband his troops, in order to save an useless expence. As he was returning to London out of Kent, where he had given orders for disbanding the army, news was brought him that the king of Norway, accompanied with earl Toston, was entered the Tyne, with a fleet of five hundred sail. Surprized at this unexpected invasion, he hastily drew his army together again; which were dispersing themselves. But before he could do it the Norwegians had made a great progress. After they had sacked the counties on both sides of the Tyne, they put to sea, and entering the Humber landed their forces on the north side, and ravaged the country with inexpressible cruelties. Morcar and Edwin, who were upon the spot, endeavoured to put a stop to their career, with some troops levied in haste; but they were so roughly handled, that their whole army was destroyed. Elated with this success, the Norwegians advanced towards York, and laid siege to that city, which they quickly became masters of; the inhabitants, who were unprovided with necessaries for their defence, choosing rather to surrender upon terms, than expose themselves to certain ruin. In the mean time, Harold having drawn his army together, advanced in order to give the Norwegians battle, who having left their fleet in the Humber, were marching towards the North, to complete the conquest of Northumberland, before they proceeded any farther southwards. As they marched on but slowly, and as Harold made all the expedition possible, he came up with them at Stanford-bridge\*, on the river Derwent, a little below York. The Norwegians, upon his approach, intrenched themselves in such a manner, that it seemed impossible to drive them from their station. They were posted on the other side of the river, where there was no attacking them but by the bridge, of which they were masters. Notwithstanding this, Harold, who was very sensible how much it behoved him to come to an engagement, ordered the bridge to be attacked without delay. The Norwegians defended it stoutly; but they were not able to withstand the efforts of the English, though animated by the astonishing valour of one of their own men, who defended the bridge alone against the English army for a considerable while. At length, the brave Norwegian being slain†, Harold became master of the bridge, and passed his army over: then furiously falling on the enemy, after an obstinate fight, entirely routed them. There had never been seen in England an engagement between two such numerous armies, each side having no less than three score thousand men. The battle, as may be easily imagined, was a very bloody one; it lasted from seven in the morning till three in the afternoon. Harfager and Toston were both slain, and Harold obtained a complete victory. Of the whole army that came from Norway in five hundred ships, the remains were carried off by Olaf, the son of Harfager, in twenty vessels, with the conqueror's leave. The booty, which was taken upon this occasion, was very great, since they found in the camp, all that the Norwegians had brought from home, and all that they had plundered in the kingdom‡. But Harold having been so impolitic as to retain the spoil to himself, raised such disorders in his army, as proved of every ill consequence to his affairs afterwards§. One would think this prince, who was naturally of a generous temper, would have secured the hearts of his soldiers by a liberality which would have cost nothing, especially at a time he stood in great need of their service. But he considered, that by expending this booty in the war against the duke of Normandy, it would go a great way towards easing the people, whose affections he was desirous to retain at any

rate. Nevertheless, he should not have forgot that gaining the hearts of his soldiers was no less necessary.

Duke William having assembled a fleet of three thousand vessels, great and small, and selected an army of sixty thousand men from among those numerous supplies, which from every quarter solicited to be received into his service, he took a review of the camp before his embarkation, which bore a splendid, yet a martial appearance, from the discipline of the men, the beauty and vigour of the horses, and lustre of the arms, and the accoutrements of both; but above all, from the high names of nobility who engaged under the banners of the duke of Normandy: the most celebrated of whom were Eustace, count of Boulogne; Aimeri de Thouars, Hugh d'Estaples, William d'Evreux, Geoffrey de Rotrou, Roger de Beaumont, William de Warrenne, Roger de Montgomery, Hugh de Grentmesnil, Charles Martel, and Geoffrey Giffard. To these bold chieftains William held up the spoils of England as the prize of their valour; and pointing to the opposite shore, called to them, that there was the field on which they must erect trophies to their name, and fix their establishments.

During the time that Harold was taken up in rectifying the disorders occasioned by the Norwegian invasion, in the north, the duke of Normandy, who had been long waiting for a wind at St. Valery, set sail towards the end of September, and had a speedy passage to Pevensey|| in Suffex. It is affirmed, that in leaping ashore, he fell all along on his face; at which one of the soldiers said merrily, "See our duke is taking possession of England;" which saying the duke valued as a good omen. Finding none to dispute his landing, his first care was, to run up a fort near the place where he disembarked, to favour his retreat in case of necessity. Some, however, affirm, that he ordered his ships to return to Normandy, to let his army see they had nothing to trust to but their valour\*\*. After some days stay at Pevensey, he marched along the shore as far as Hastings††, where he built a stronger fort than the former, resolving to wait there for the enemy, of whom he had heard no news. He here published a manifesto, showing the reasons of his coming into England; viz. in the first place to revenge the death of prince Alfred, brother to king Edward. Secondly, to restore Robert archbishop of Canterbury, to his see. Thirdly, and principally, to offer the English his assistance to bring Harold to condign punishment, for presuming to seize the crown, without any manner of right, and directly contrary to his oath.

The news of the Norman invasion was quickly carried to Harold, who yet remained in the north, little expecting their coming till the spring. As soon as he was informed of the matter, he set forward, in order to give the new-comers battle, whom he did not think more formidable than the Norwegians. By hasty marches he came to London, where upon a review, he found his army very much diminished, not only by his losses at the battle of Stanford, but by multitudes deserting through discontent. However, all the nobility of the kingdom came in to him, and offered their assistance at a juncture, wherein it was no less their interest than his, to repel the foreigners. Whilst he staid at London, expecting the coming of some of his troops that were behind, duke William sent ambassadors to require him to deliver up the crown, and to charge him with the breach of his oath. He was so moved at the haughtiness wherewith the ambassadors addressed him, that he could hardly refrain from ordering them to be taken into custody. However, he governed his passion, but was even with his enemy, by sending him a menacing and insult-

\* Which Camden says, is also called Battle-Bridge, from this engagement between Harold and the Norwegians.

† He is said to have killed forty men with his own hand.

‡ Adam Bremenensis says, they took so much gold among the spoil, that twelve young men could hardly bear it on their shoulders. This battle was fought nine days before William the Conqueror landed.

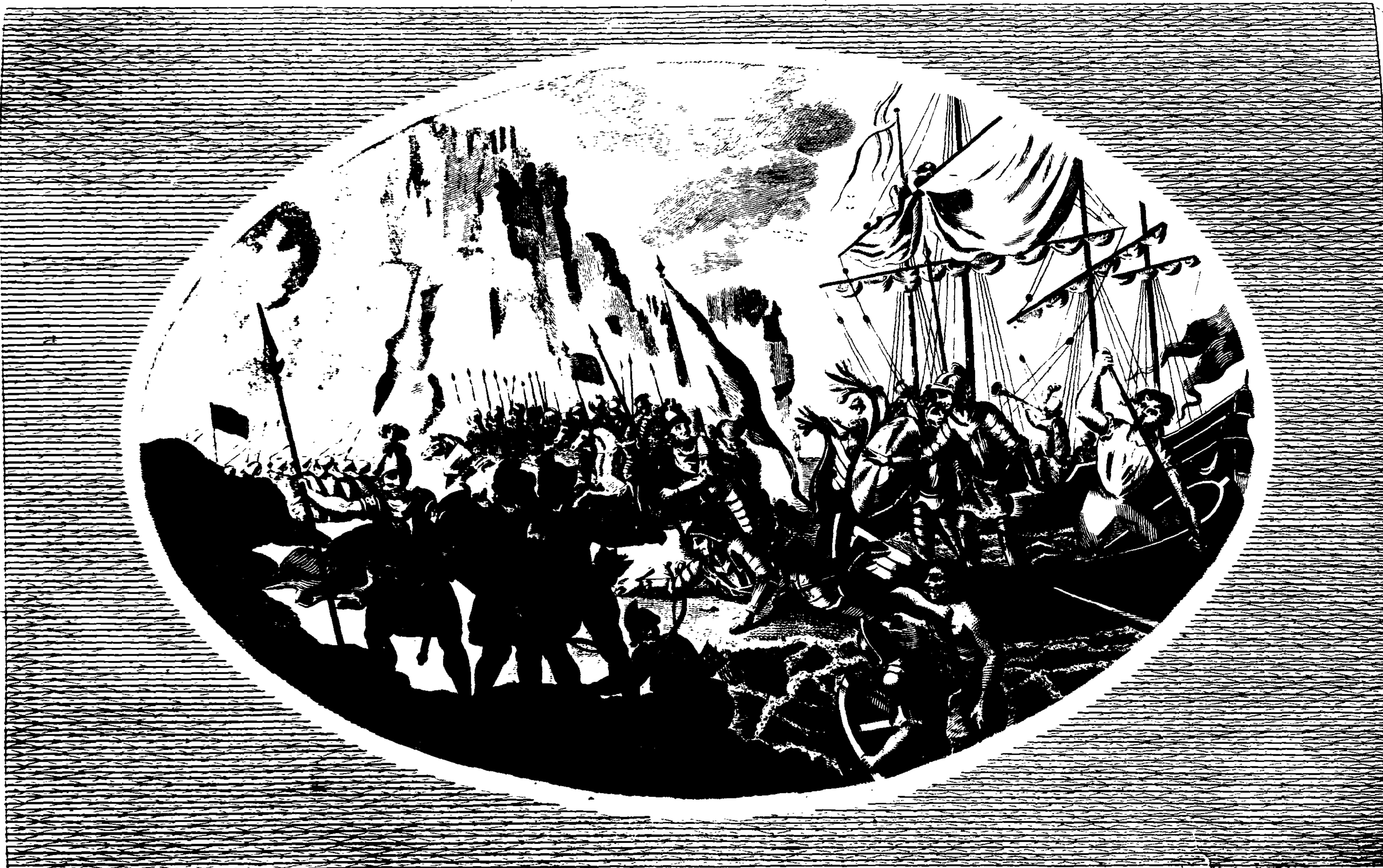
§ It was the custom in those days, for all the spoils to be fairly divided among the officers and soldiers.

|| Now Pevensey.

\*\* Camden says he ordered his ships to be burnt.

†† The chief of the cinque-ports, whose burghesses retain the old title of barons.





*The Landing of William the Conqueror at Pevensey in Sussex.*



ing message. The duke heard with patience all that Harold had ordered to be said to him, and dismissed the ambassadors without returning any answer.

Harold having drawn all his forces together, encamped about seven miles from the Norman army, with a resolution to give them battle. Whilst the two armies lay thus near one another, spies were continually sent out by both parties, each leader being desirous to know the strength and posture of his enemy. But the English spies magnified in such a manner the numbers, and discipline of the Normans, that the principal officers began to doubt of the success of the war\*. Gurth, brother to Harold, took an occasion from these reports, to persuade the king to put off the battle. He represented to him, "that by prolonging the time, he would find his army to increase continually, whereas the enemy's forces would daily be diminished. That nothing could annoy the Normans more than wintering in an enemy's country, where they had not so much as one strong hold to retreat to, and from whence in all probability the want of necessaries would compel them to retire. That as he was accused of the breach of an oath, he had reason to fear, in case he was guilty of the charge, that Heaven would not prosper his arms: but however, if he was absolutely bent to come to an engagement without any farther delay, it would be most prudent for him, not to be present in person at the battle, that he might discourage the enemy with the dread of having a fresh army to deal with, in case they should be so fortunate as to get the better of this. In fine, if he would trust him with the command of his forces, he would promise him, not indeed the victory, which was in the hand of God alone, but rather than be conquered, to die in the defence of his country." The king was deaf to all his brother had urged, and made answer, "that by his former actions he had gained the esteem of the English, and therefore could not think of losing it again by an inglorious flight. That he would rather hazard a battle, the success whereof was as yet uncertain, than forfeit his reputation, as he should most certainly do, if after so near an approach to the enemy, he should be known to withdraw. That after all, the Normans were not more formidable than the Norwegians; and that since he was to fight, he could not do it a better time, than whilst his army was flushed with their late success. In a word that he was resolved to let his subjects see, he was not unworthy of the crown he wore."

Duke William perceiving by all Harold's motions, that he was bent upon giving him battle, advanced a little forward, for the sake of a commodious piece of ground, where he could draw up his army to the best advantage. Whilst they were preparing for a battle, which was to decide the fate of both princes, duke William seemed to abate somewhat of his haughtiness. It is to be presumed, that the thoughts of a battle in an enemy's country, where his loss would be irretrievable, inspired him with some dread of the issue. On the other hand he could not well forbear reflecting before-hand, on the blood that was going to be split in a quarrel, the justice whereof he could not be thoroughly convinced of, how much soever he appeared to be so. Be this as it will, before they engaged, he sent the king by the hands of a certain monk these four proposals for him to take his choice. The first was, "to deliver up the crown, as he had bound himself by oath to do." By the second, he offered to "return into Normandy, provided Harold would do him homage, and hold the kingdom under him." By the third, he was ready to "submit the determination of the matter to the judgement of the apostolic see." And, lastly, he proposed the "deciding of their quarrel by single combat." It is no wonder Harold rejected these four propositions, as they were all so advantageous to the duke: and the answer that he returned was, that "God should determine on the morrow, on whose side justice lay."

The English spent the whole night in carousing and

singing, as if they had been sure of victory. The Normans, on the contrary were employed in preparing for the battle, and offering up prayers to God for success. At length, on the 14th of October, Harold's birth-day, but much more memorable for one of the greatest events that ever happened in England, the two armies engaged. In the front of the English stood the Kentish men, a privilege, they had enjoyed ever since the time of the heptarchy. Harold placed himself in the center, and resolved to fight on foot, that his men might be the more encouraged by seeing their king exposed to equal danger with the meanest soldier. The Normans were drawn up in three bodies. Montgomery and Fitz-Osbern led up the first. Charles Martel commanded the second, and the duke himself headed the body of reserve, to succour those who should most want it. The Normans began the fight with a volley of arrows, which being shot upward were like a thick cloud over the heads of the foremost ranks of the English. As their ranks were very close, the arrows did great execution. The English not being used to this way of fighting, were at first put into some disorder. The Normans willing to take the advantage of it vigorously attacked them. But the English immediately falling into good order again, gave them so warm a reception, that they were obliged to retreat a little. Quickly after, they renewed the attack, but met with as brave a resistance as before, neither was it in their power to break their ranks. The English preferring rather to die than give way, and the Normans ashamed to retreat, both sides fought stoutly for a considerable time, without either gaining the least ground. The presence of their leaders animating the soldiers, they every where fought with equal bravery, so that there was no distinguishing which side had the better. We may judge of the valour of the troops in both armies by the length of the fight, which began at seven o'clock in the morning, and lasted till night.

The various historians who have treated of this battle have so confused their accounts that no detail which may be depended upon can be extracted from their works. Therefore, we shall content ourselves with relating two circumstances, which, all historians agree, gave the Normans the victory. The fight had lasted all day without any one's being able to form an idea how it would end; when duke William bethought himself of a stratagem, which made the victory incline to his side. This prince, who had a great deal of experience, perceiving there was no breaking the ranks of the English, ordered his troops to retreat as they fought, as if disheartened, but at the same time to take great care not to break their ranks. This order being put in execution, the English looked upon the enemy's retreat, as the beginning of their victory. Filled with this notion, they encouraged one another, by reiterated shouts, to press the retreating enemy. Their eagerness made them break their ranks, that they might drive them back with the greater impetuosity, imagining they were upon the point of flight. Then it was, that the Normans finding their stratagem had taken effect, stood their ground, and by a discipline they had long been used to closed their ranks again; after which falling on the disordered English, they made a terrible slaughter among them. Harold, distracted to see the victory, which a moment before he thought himself sure of, snatched from his hands exerted his utmost to rally his troops that were in extreme disorder. His labour was not altogether fruitless, since he drew up on a rising ground, at a little distance from the field of battle, a considerable body of foot, which became at length very formidable by being continually joined by the flying troops. The duke of Normandy's victory being far from compleat, whilst so strong a body of the English kept together, he ordered them to be attacked with fresh vigour. But the English received them with that bravery, and the Normans lost such numbers, that the fortune of the day seemed still doubtful. The approach of night, and the resolution of the English making

\* Some of the spies took the Normans to be an army of priests, as they were shaven, the English at that time wearing long beards.



making the duke despair of penetrating their ranks, he began to look upon himself as conquered, since he was not entirely victorious. In all appearance, the English army might have retreated in good order enough, by favour of the night, if Harold could have bore the thoughts of leaving the enemy in possession of the field of battle, at a time, when the loss on both sides was pretty near equal. But being apprehensive that his retiring might be prejudicial to his affairs, and derogatory to his reputation, he resolved to stand his ground, and not give the enemy that advantage over him. Besides, he was in hopes of rallying his whole army during the night, and of renewing the fight, the next day.

The duke perceiving the night was going to rob him of the glory of a compleat victory, made one effort more to drive the English from their station. In this last onset, Harold was slain by an arrow shot into his brains\*. His troops, disheartened at this fatal accident, began to give ground, and betake themselves to flight. Thus Harold's death was a second reason of the Normans being victorious, and of the English being entirely routed. They were pursued as long as day lasted; and in this pursuit a terrible slaughter was made of them, the victors putting all to the sword they could overtake, to save the trouble of guarding the prisoners. The darkness of the night however saved a great part of the English army, who retreated under the conduct of Morcar and Edwin. These two lords, who had firmly adhered to Harold, seeing he was slain, as well as Gurth and Leofwin his brothers, submitted at length to Providence, after having given, the whole day, visible marks of their valour and military skill. Thus was gained by duke William, the great and decisive battle of Hastings; he had three horses killed under him†; and he lost upwards of fifteen thousand men. The vanquished lost a much greater number‡.

Duke William, at the height of his wishes, gave orders for the whole army to fall on their knees and return thanks to God for so signal a victory. After he had done this, he caused his tent to be pitched in the field of battle, and spent the residue of the night among the

slain. On the morrow, he ordered his own dead to be buried, and gave the English peasants leave to do the same office for others. The bodies of the king and his brothers being found, he sent them to Gith their mother, who gave them as honourable a burial as the present circumstances would permit, in Waltham-Abbey, founded by the king her son§.

Thus fell Harold, with his sword in his hand in defence not only of his own, but of his country's cause, against the ambition of the duke of Normandy. The historians, who wrote in the reigns of the conqueror and his sons, have greatly endeavoured to blacken the memory of Harold, in order to justify in some measure the ambitious pretences of the duke. But all they have said against this last of the Saxon kings, tends only to the breach of his oath, from which he imagined himself absolved, as it was extorted from him in Normandy. They might, upon much better grounds, have blamed him for his secret practices, in getting prince Edgar to be excluded from the throne, who alone had a right to it. Be this as it will, it may be said Harold would have been more worthy of the crown, had he been less forward to obtain it. He gained the love and esteem of the English whilst he was but a private man, and he acted nothing during his short reign of nine months and nine days, which tended to lessen their affections. He fought within the space of a few days, two great battles, with very different success. In both these battles, his conduct and valour were unquestionable. As for his other personal qualities, he was naturally honest, obliging, affable, exceeding generous, and in a word, was endowed with all the virtues which are essential to the forming a great prince.

Harold had been twice married. By his first wife, whose name is not known, he had three sons, Edmund, Godwin, and Magnus, who retired into Ireland after the death of their father. By his second wife, Alghitha, sister to Morcar and Edwin, he had a son called Wolf, who was but a child at the time of the battle of Hastings, and was afterwards knighted by William Rufus; and also two daughters: Gunilda the eldest falling blind, passed her days in a nunnery. The youngest was mar-

\* As archery is now reviving in England, the following note may be acceptable. It is acknowledged by historians of credit, that by the help of the broad arrow and long bow, as well as by the above stratagem, duke William obtained this signal victory; and it was by the same means that the English afterwards conquered France. John Hayward, who wrote the life of William the Conqueror, says, "One circumstance more I hold fit to be observed, that this victory was gotten only by the means of the blow of an arrow, the use whereof was brought into this land afterwards. The English being trained to that fight, did thereby chiefly maintain themselves with honourable advantage against all nations with whom they did contend in arms, being generally reputed the best shot in the world. But of late years it hath been altogether laid aside, and instead thereof the harquebuz and calliver are brought into use; yet not without contradiction of many expert men of arms, who albeit they do not reject the use of the small pieces, yet do they prefer the bow before them: first, for that, in a reasonable distance, it is both of greater certainty and force. Secondly, for that it discharges faster. Thirdly, for that more men may discharge therewith at once; for only the first rank dischargeth the piece, neither hurt they any but those that are in the front, but with the bow ten or twelve ranks may discharge together; and will annoy so many ranks of the enemy. Lastly, for that the arrow doth strike more parts of the body, for in that it turneth by descent, and not only point-blank like the bullet, there is no part of the body but it may strike, from the crown of the head to the nailing of the foot to the ground; hereupon it followeth, that the arrows falling so thick as hail upon the bodies of men, as less fearful of their flesh, so more slenderly armed than in former times, must necessarily work more dangerous effects. Besides these general respects, in many particular services and times the use of the bow is of great advantage; if some defence lie before the enemy, the arrow may strike where the bullet cannot; foul weather may much hinder the discharge of the piece, but it is of no great impediment to the discharge of the bow: a horse struck with a bullet, if the wound be not mortal, may perform good service, but if an arrow be fastened in his flesh, the con-

tinually stirring thereof, occasioned by the motion of himself, will force him to cast off all command, and either bear down or disorder those that are near. But the crack of the piece, some men say, doth strike a terror in the enemy: true, if they be such as never heard the like noise before; but a little use will extinguish those terrors; to men, yea to beasts, acquainted with these cracks, they work a weak impression of fear; and if it be true, which all men of action do hold, that the eye in all battles is first overcome, then against men equally accustomed to both, the sight of the arrow is more available to victory than the crack of the piece: assuredly the duke before the battle encouraged his men; for that they should deal with enemies who had no shot. But I will leave this point to be determined by more discerning judgments." Vide Harl. Miscel. vol II.

† Hume, ch. III.

‡ This battle was fought near Heathfield in Suffex, in the place where the town of Battel now stands, so called from this day's action, wherein our modern historians say, were slain above three-score thousand Englishmen.

§ An ancient manuscript in the Cottonian library relates, that the king's body was hard to be known by reason of its being covered with wounds, but was at last discovered by one who had been his mistress, by the means of certain private marks known only to herself. The duke sent the body to his mother without any ransom, though she is said to have offered him its weight in gold. It is also affirmed, that a Norman soldier, who was present at the discovery, in a fit of unmanly exaltation, ran his spear into the thigh of the lifeless king; an account of which action being communicated to the duke, he instantly ordered the base wretch to receive the punishment due to so dastardly a deed, and dismissed him from his service. But though all others agree that Harold fell in this battle, yet Knyghton from Giraldus Cambrensis asserts he was not slain, but escaping retired to a cell near St. John's church in Chester, and died there an anchorite, as was owned by himself in his last confession when he lay dying. In memory whereof they showed his tomb, when Knyghton wrote.



ried to Waldemar king of Russia, by whom she had a daughter, who was wife to Waldemar king of Denmark \*.

Thus ended in England the empire of the Anglo-Saxons, which began above six hundred years before in the person of Hengist the first king of Kent.

## APPENDIX TO BOOK II.

CONCERNING THE

*Government, several Orders of People, Laws, Manners, Customs, and Language of the ANGLO-SAXONS.*

*Of the Anglo-Saxon Government.*

IT may be easily imagined, that all the northern nations, who established themselves on the ruins of the Roman empire, made their governments exceedingly free; and that those fierce people, accustomed to independence, and inured to arms, were more guided by the persuasion of their chieftains, than by their authority. The military despotism, which had taken place in every part of the Roman empire, as well in the eastern as in the western provinces, and which, previous to the irruption of those conquerors, had sunk the genius of men, and destroyed every noble principle of science and virtue, was unable to resist the vigorous effort of a free people; and Europe, as from a new epoch, re-kindled her ancient spirit, and shook off the base servitude to arbitrary will and authority, under which she had so long laboured. The Roman empire in the west, particularly, was so harassed by the continual inroads of the northern nations, that having lost by degrees, all its provinces, it was reduced to nothing; and the very name of emperor of the west, vanished with his dominions. This great revolution quickly put a new face on the affairs of Europe; new inhabitants took possession of various districts in these provinces, who raised new kingdoms, and introduced new laws and customs in their respective territories. Spain was peopled with colonies of Visi-Goths, Catti, Alans, and Suevi; the Gauls were overwhelmed by a deluge of Visi-Goths, Burgundians, and Franks; Italy was frequently invaded by the Herculi, Ostro-Goths, and Lombards, and the natives of that vast peninsula, in which stood Rome itself, were so far from being superior to the invaders in number, that they were not able to make head in the least against them; the Saxons, Suevi, and Batavi, spread themselves all over Germany, and quickly became masters of that extensive country; and Great-Britain was so over-run with Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, that the Britons, the ancient inhabitants, were driven into Wales and Armorica †. The Saxons, having obtained possession of England, introduced their own form of government and their own laws.

The Saxons, who subdued Britain, says Hume, as they enjoyed great liberty in their own country, obstinately retained that invaluable possession in their new settlement; and they imported into this island the same principles of independence, which they had inherited from their ancestors. The chieftains ‡ (for such they were more properly than kings or princes) who commanded them in those military expeditions, still possessed a very limited authority; and as the Saxons exterminated, rather than subdued, the ancient inhabitants, they were indeed transplanted into a new territory, but

preserved, unaltered, all their civil and military institutions. The language was pure Saxon; even the names of places, which often remain while the tongue entirely changes, were almost all affixed by the conquerors; the manners and customs were wholly German; and the same picture of a fierce and bold liberty, which is drawn by the masterly pencil of Tacitus, will suit those founders of the English government. The king, so far from being invested with arbitrary power, was only considered as the first among the citizens; his authority depended more on his personal qualities than on his station; he was even so far on a level with the people, that a stated price was fixed for his head §, and a legal fine was levied upon his murderer §, which, though proportionate to his station, and superior to that paid for the life of a subject, was a sensible mark of his subordination to the community.

Hengist, when put in possession of Kent, took upon himself the title of king; all those Saxon leaders, who afterwards settled in Britain, followed his example, in assuming that title. In Germany the Saxon territories were divided into twelve governments; but their conquests in England were cantoned out into seven kingdoms: and they differed in this particular, that in Germany each governor depended on the Assembly-general of the nation, while in England each king was sovereign in his petty kingdom. But this sovereignty did not exempt him from all dependence on the Wittena-gemot of his own state, which, in conjunction with him, regulated all important affairs; and by a mutual consent, there was established a general assembly of the whole seven kingdoms, wherein matters relating to all in common were debated. Hence this form of government, which considered the seven kingdoms as united into one body, was called the Heptarchy, that is the government of seven ||.

These first kings, having scarce any subjects but their own countrymen, durst not think of assuming a despotic power; perhaps they never entertained such an idea; having been accustomed to the contrary in their own country. They therefore established a Wittena-gemot, each in his own respective dominions, wherein affairs were determined, in a similar manner with like assemblies in Germany. Those matters which related to the nation in general, i. e. the seven kingdoms united, were debated in a general assembly, at which were present all the kings and great men of the several nations which composed the heptarchy. It is not precisely known what were the rights and privileges of the general Wittena-gemot; but, in all probability, they were much the same with those enjoyed by the States-general of the Seven United Provinces of Holland at this day. Each king, though a sovereign in his own

\* Tyrrel says, (from Speed,) she was mother to Waldemar the first king of Denmark of that name; from whom the Danish kings for many ages after succeeded.

† See p. 32.

‡ It is observable, that the Saxons had no kings in Germany, when they sent their first troops to assist the Britons under the conduct of Hengist. In the languages of France, No. VII.

Spain, and Italy, there is not any word that signifies king, but what is borrowed from the Latin, a language these invaders were entirely ignorant of, at the time they settled in their various conquests.

§ See hereafter.

|| See p. 33.



dominions, was obliged to put in execution the determination, of the general Wittena-gemot, to which he had given consent, either in person or by his deputies. Be this as it will, the common received opinion is, that there was a Wittena-gemot for each kingdom in particular, and a general one for all the seven\*. Notwithstanding this we cannot pretend, from the uncertainty of our knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon history and antiquities, to determine the various prerogatives of the crown, and privileges of the people, or to give an exact delineation of their form of government. It is however probable, says Hume, that the constitution might be somewhat different in the several kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and that it changed considerably during the course of six centuries, which elapsed from the first invasion of the Saxons till the Norman conquest†. But most of these differences and changes, with their causes and effects are unknown to us: it only appears, that at all times, and in all the kingdoms, there was a national council, called a Wittena-gemot, or assembly of the wise men (for that is the import of the term,) whose consent was requisite for enacting laws and for ratifying the chief acts of public administration. The preambles to all the laws of Ethelbert, Ina, Alfred, Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edmund, Edgar, Ethelred, and Edward the Confessor; even those to the laws of Canute, though a kind of conqueror; put this matter beyond controversy, and carry proofs every where of a limited and legal government. But who were the constituent members of this Wittena-gemot, has not been determined with certainty by antiquaries. It is agreed, that the bishops and abbots‡ were an essential part; and it is also evident, from the tenor of those ancient laws, that the Wittena-gemot enacted statutes which regulated the ecclesiastical as well as civil government, and that those dangerous principles, by which the church is totally severed from the state were hitherto unknown to the Anglo-Saxons§. It also appears, that the aldermen, or governors of counties, who after the Danish times were often called earls||, were admitted into this council, and gave their consent to the public statutes. But besides the prelates and aldermen, there is also mention of the wites, or wise men, as a component part of the Wittena-gemot; but who these were, is not so clearly

ascertained by the laws, or the history of that period. The matter would probably be of difficult discussion, even were it examined impartially; but as our modern parties have chosen to divide on this point, the question has been disputed with the greater obstinacy, and the arguments on both sides have become, on that account, the more captious and deceitful. Our monarchical faction maintain, that these *wites*, or *sapientes*, were the judges, or men learned in the law: the popular faction assert them to be representatives of the boroughs, or what we now call the commons.

The expressions employed by all ancient historians, in mentioning the Wittena-gemot, seem to contradict the latter supposition. The members are almost always called the *principes*, *satrapæ*, *optimates*, *magnates*, *proceres*; terms which seem to suppose an aristocracy, and to exclude the commons. The boroughs also, from the low state of commerce, were so small and so poor, and the inhabitants lived in such dependence on the great men\*\*, that it seems nowise probable they would be admitted as a part of the national councils. The commons are well known to have had no share in the governments established by the Franks, Burgundians, and other northern nations; and we may conclude, that the Saxons, who remained longer barbarous and uncivilized than those tribes, would never think of conferring such an extraordinary privilege on trade and industry. The military profession alone was honourable among all those conquerors; the warriors subsisted by their possessions in land: they became considerable by their influence over their vassals, retainers, tenants, and slaves: and it requires strong proof to convince us, that they would admit of a rank so much inferior as the burgesies, to share with them in the legislative authority. Tacitus indeed affirms, that, among the ancient Germans, the consent of all the members of the community was required in every important deliberation; but he speaks not of representatives; and this ancient practice, mentioned by the Roman historian, could only have place in small tribes, where every citizen might, without inconvenience, be assembled upon any extraordinary emergency. After principalities became extensive; after the difference of property had formed distinctions more important than those which arose from personal strength

\* That there were Wittena-gemots in each kingdom is evident from the title to the laws of Ina, king of Wessex, wherein are these words: "I Ina, by the grace of God king of the West-Saxons, with the advice of Cenred my father, Hedda my bishop, with all my ealdormans, seniors, and wise men of my nation, willing to establish good order in the state, have ordained," &c. Hence it is plain, that Ina, in making his laws, had the advice of the assembly-general of Wessex. That the same method was established in Mercia, is evident from Bertulph's charter to the abbey of Croyland, wherein are these words, "with the unanimous consent of the present council assembled at Kingbury to debate on the affairs of the nation." In this charter, after the bishops and lords had set their hands, the king subscribed in this manner: "I Bertulph, in the presence of all the bishops and great men of my kingdom." Thus it appears, that this charter was granted in the assembly-general, or Wittena-gemot, of Mercia. Other cases might be cited, to prove the existence of general assemblies in each of the other kingdoms; but this would be unnecessary.

And that there was a general Wittena gemot of the seven kingdoms, from the very name of Heptarchy, which implies that the seven kingdoms had something in common, and consequently that there was an assembly, wherein their common affairs were debated. Several historians acquaint us, that there was a general assembly held in Gloucestershire, wherein Ina, king of the West-Saxons was chosen monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, by the interest of Sebba king of Essex, who was present there with all the other kings. They produce also from Ingulf, Witglaf, king of Mercia's charter, where are these words, "In the presence of Egbert king of the West-Saxons, of Ethelwulf his son, and of the bishops and great lords of England, assembled at London." Hence it is plain, that this assembly, convened at London, and consisting of all the bishops and great men of England, was a general Wittena-gemot of the nation.

† We know of one change, not inconsiderable, in the

Saxon constitution. The Saxon annals, p. 49, inform us, that it was in ancient times the prerogative of the king to name the dukes, earls, aldermen, and sheriffs of the counties. After, a contemporary writer, informs us, that Alfred deposed all the ignorant aldermen, and appointed men of more capacity in their place: yet the laws of Edward the Confessor, § 35, say expressly, that the heretoghs or dukes, and the sheriffs, were chosen by the freeholders in the folk-mote, a county court, which was assembled once a-year, and where all the freeholders swore allegiance to the king.

‡ Sometimes abbesses were admitted; at least, they often signed the king's charters or grants. Spelm. Gloss. in verbo. *parliamentum*.

§ Wilkins *passim*.

|| It appears from the ancient translations of the Saxon annals and laws, and from king Alfred's translations of Bede, as well as from all the ancient historians, that *comes* in Latin, *alderman* in Saxon, and *earl* in Dano-Saxon, were synonymous. There is only a law in the clause of king Athelstan's (see Spelm. Conc. p. 406) which has occasioned some antiquaries to run into error, and has made them imagine, that an earl was superior to an alderman. The *weregild*, or the price of an earl's blood, is there fixed at fifteen thousand *thrimas*, equal to that of an archbishop; whereas that of a bishop and alderman is only eight thousand *thrimas*. To solve this difficulty, we must have recourse to Seldon's conjecture (see his *Titles of Honour*, chap. v. p. 603, 604.) that the term of earl was, in the age of Athelstan, just beginning to be in use in England, and stood at that time for the *atheling*, or prince of the blood, heir to the crown. This he confirms by a law of Canute, § 55, where an *atheling* and an archbishop are put upon the same footing. In another law of the same Athelstan, the *weregild* of the prince, or *atheling*, is said to be fifteen thousand *thrimas*. (See Wilkins, p. 71.) He is therefore the same who is called earl in the former law.

\*\* Brady's *Treatise of English Boroughs*, p. 3, 4, 5, &c.



and valour; we may conclude, that the national assemblies must have been more limited in their number, and composed only of the most considerable citizens.

But though we must exclude the burgesses, or commons, from the Saxon Wittena-gemot, there is some necessity for supposing, that this assembly consisted of other members than the prelates, abbots, aldermen, and the judges, or privy-council. For as all these, excepting some of the ecclesiastics\*, were anciently appointed by the king, had there been no other legislative authority, the royal power had been in a great measure absolute, contrary to the tenor of all the historians, and to the practice of all the northern nations. We may therefore conclude, that the more considerable proprietors of land were, without any election, constituent members of the national assembly: there is reason to think that forty hydes, or between four and five thousand acres, was the estate requisite for entitling the possessor to this honourable privilege. We find a passage in an ancient author†, by which it appears, that a person of very noble birth, even one allied to the crown, was not esteemed a *princeps* (the term usually employed by ancient historians when the Wittena-gemot is mentioned) till he had acquired a fortune of that magnitude. Nor need we imagine, that the public council would become disorderly or confused by admitting so great a multitude. The landed property of England was probably in a few hands during the Saxon times; at least during the later part of that period; and as men had hardly any ambition to attend those public councils, there was no danger of the assembly's becoming too numerous for the dispatch of the little business which was brought before them‡.

It is certain, that whatever we may determine concerning the constituent members of the Wittena-gemot, in whom, with the king, the legislature resided, the Anglo-Saxon government, in the period preceding the Norman conquest, was become extremely aristocratical: the royal authority was very limited; the people, even if admitted to that assembly, were of little or no weight and consideration. We have hints given us in historians, of the great power and riches of particular noblemen: and it could not but happen, after the abolition of the Heptarchy, when the king lived at a distance from the provinces, that those great proprietors, who resided on their estates, would much augment their authority over their vassals and retainers, and over all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Hence the immeasurable power assumed by Harold, Godwin, Leofric, Siward, Morcar, Edwin, Edric, and Alfric, who controlled the authority of the king, and rendered themselves quite necessary in the government. The two latter, though detested by the people, on account of their joining a foreign enemy, still preserved their power and influence; and we may therefore conclude, says Hume, that their authority was founded, not on popularity, but on family rights and possessions. There is one Athelstan mentioned in the reign of the king of that name, who is called alderman of all England, and is said to be half king; though the monarch himself was a prince of valour and abilities§. And we find, that, in the latter Saxon times, and in these alone, the great offices went from father to son, and became in a manner hereditary in the families||.

The circumstances attending the invasions of the

Danes would also serve much to increase the power of the principal nobility. Those freebooters made unexpected inroads in every quarter of the kingdom; and there was a necessity, that each county should resist them by its own force, and under the conduct of its own nobility and its own magistrates. For the same reason that a general war, managed by the united efforts of the whole state, commonly augments the power of the crown; those private wars and inroads turned to the advantage of the aldermen and nobles.

Among that military and turbulent people, averse to commerce and the arts, and so little inured to industry, justice was commonly very ill administered, and great oppression and violence seem to have prevailed. These disorders would be increased by the exorbitant power of the aristocracy; and would, in their turn, contribute to increase it. Men, not daring to rely on the guardianship of the laws, were obliged to devote themselves to the service of some chieftain, whose orders they followed, even to the disturbance of the government, or the injury of their fellow-citizens, and who afforded them, in return, protection from any insult or injustice by strangers. Hence we find, by the extracts which Dr. Brady has given us of Domesday, that almost all the inhabitants, even of towns, had placed themselves under the clientship of some particular nobleman, whose patronage they purchased by annual payments, and whom they were obliged to consider as their sovereign, more than the king himself, or even the legislature\*\*. A client, though a freeman, was supposed so much to belong to his patron, that his murderer was obliged by law to pay a fine to the latter, as a compensation for his loss; in like manner as he paid a fine to the master for the murder of his slave††. Men who were of a more considerable rank, but not powerful enough, each to support himself by his own independent authority, entered into formal confederacies with each other, and composed a kind of separate community, which rendered itself formidable to all aggressors. Dr. Hicke has preserved a curious Saxon bond of this kind, which he calls a *Sodalitium*, and which contains many particulars characteristic of the manners and customs of the times‡‡. All the associates are there said to be gentlemen of Cambridgeshire; and they swear before the holy reliques to observe their confederacy, and to be faithful to each other: they promise to bury any of the associates who dies, in whatever place he had appointed; to contribute to his funeral charges, and to attend at his interment; and whoever is wanting in this last duty, binds himself to pay a measure of honey. When any of the associates is in danger, and calls for the assistance of his fellows, they promise, besides flying to his succour, to give information to the sheriff; and if he be negligent in protecting the person exposed to danger, they engage to levy a fine of one pound upon him: if the president of the society himself be wanting in this particular, he binds himself to pay one pound; unless he has the reasonable excuse of sickness, or of duty to his superior. When any of the associates is murdered, they are to exact eight pounds from the murderer; and if he refuse to pay it, they are to prosecute him for the sum at their joint expence. If any of the associates who happens to be poor kill a man, the society are to contribute, by a certain proportion, to pay his fine: a mark a-piece if the fine be seven hun-

\* There is some reason to think, that the bishops were sometimes chosen by the Wittena-gemot, and confirmed by the king. Eddius, cap. 2. The abbots in the monasteries of royal foundation were anciently named by the king; though Edgar gave the monks the election, and only reserved to himself the ratification. This destination was afterwards frequently violated; and the abbots, as well as bishops, were afterwards all appointed by the king; as we learn from Ingulf, a writer contemporary to the conquest.

† Hist. Clientis, lib. 11. cap. 40.

‡ See Hume's History of England, Appendix I.

§ Hist. Ramef. fecit. 111. p. 387.

|| Roger Hoveden, giving the reason why William the Con-

queror made Gospatrick earl of Northumberland, say, *Nam ex materno sanguine attinebat ad eum honor illius comitatus. Erat enim ex matre Algha, filia Uthredii comitis.* See also Sim. Dun. p. 205. We see in those instances the same tendency towards rendering offices hereditary, which took place, during a more early period, on the continent; and which had already produced there its full effect.

\*\* Brady's Treatise of Boroughs, p. 3, 4, 5, &c. The case was the same with the freemen in the country. See Pref. to his Hist. p. 8, 9, 10, &c.

†† LL. Edw. Conf. § 8. apud Ingulf.

‡‡ Dissert. Epist. p. 21.



dred shillings; less if the person killed be a clown or ceorle; the half of that sum again if he be a Welshman. But where any of the associates kills a man, wilfully and without provocation, he must himself pay the fine. If any of the associates kill any of his fellows in a like criminal manner, besides paying the usual fine to the relations of the deceased, he must pay eight pounds to the society, or renounce the benefit of it: in which case, they bind themselves, under the penalty of one pound, never to eat or drink with him except in the presence of the king, bishop or alderman. There are other regulations to protect themselves and their servants from all injuries, to revenge such as are committed, and to prevent their giving abusive language to each other; and the fine, which they engage to pay for this last offence, is a measure of honey.

It is not to be doubted, but a confederacy of this kind must have been a great source of friendship and attachment; when men lived in perpetual danger from enemies, robbers, and oppressors, and received protection chiefly from their personal valour, and from the assistance of their friends or patrons. As animosities were then more violent, connections were also more intimate, whether voluntary or derived from blood: the most remote degree of propinquity was regarded: an indelible memory of benefits was preserved: severe vengeance was taken for injuries both from a point of honour, and as the best means of future security: and the civil union being weak, many private engagements were contracted in order to supply its place, and to procure men that safety, which the laws and their own innocence were not alone able to insure to them.

On the whole, notwithstanding the seeming liberty, or rather licentiousness of the Anglo-Saxons, the great body even of the free citizens, in those ages, really enjoyed much less true liberty, than where the execution of the laws is the most severe, and where subjects are reduced to the strictest subordination and dependence on the civil magistrate. The reason is derived from the excess itself of that liberty. Men must guard themselves at any price against insults and injuries; and where they received not protection from the laws and magistrate, they will seek it by submission to superiors, and by herding in some private confederacy, which acts under the direction of a powerful leader. And thus all anarchy is the immediate cause of tyranny, if not over the state, at least over many of the individuals. Security was provided by the Saxon laws to all members of the Wittena-gemot, both in going and returning, except they were notorious thieves and robbers\*.

### *Of the several Orders and Ranks of People,*

#### 1. OF THE KING, REVENUES, &c.

WE have already observed, that the Anglo-Saxon government was become aristocratical, and that the Saxon leaders, in their several conquests in Britain, assumed the title of king, and there is no doubt, but that in England, as well as in all the other kingdoms, the regal authority, by degrees, exceeded the bounds at first prescribed. As the history of the Anglo-Saxons is very imperfect, and we cannot give a circumstantial detail of the various privileges of the Anglo-Saxon kings, we shall content ourselves with laying down a general view of the chief prerogatives enjoyed by them, during the space of six hundred years.

One of the most powerful prerogatives belonging to the crown, was that of appointing the earls, viscounts, judges, and other officers, as well civil as military. Some, however, assert, that the military posts of the dukes or holds of each province were conferred by the

Shire-gemot, or assembly of the county. Another great prerogative of the crown was, that the laws made in the Wittena-gemot were of none-effect without the assent of the king, to whom was committed the executive power. The king had also the power to pardon malefactors. The coining of money was another of the king's prerogatives, which he could grant by charter to whom he pleased; as we find several of the Saxon kings did to the two archbishops and others: but the king had not the power of enhancing or debasing the coin. The Mirror of Justices recites it as an old law, that the king could not change the money, or make other coin than of silver, without the consent of all the counties. It is uncertain, whether it was absolutely in the power of the Saxon kings to make war or peace, without the consent of the Wittena-gemot. It is true indeed, that the power of making war was, as it is now, of little consequence, since the king could not raise money to carry it on, without the concurrence of the Wittena-gemot; but as for making peace, the case is quite different, since on a good or bad peace, depends the safety of a whole kingdom, as hath been too often experienced; and therefore these two prerogatives, which are commonly joined together, widely differ in their consequences. The people may choose whether they will contribute to the support or maintenance of the wars, which the king is pleased to enter into on his own accord; for by withholding their concurrence, the king had it not in his power to prosecute his designs. Notwithstanding this, the king might conclude a peace without the knowledge of the people; and when a peace has been concluded in this manner, it has seldom failed to be for the worse.

The revenues of the king seem to have been divided into three branches: the first may be said to have consisted in certain things which the state furnished him with, for the maintenance of his household, as corn, hay, cattle, and the like; and these things were paid in kind. The second branch was the produce of certain demesnes or lands annexed to the crown, which were very large and extensive; and it was not in the power of the king to alienate any part of these demesnes, even to religious uses, without the consent of the states†. Hence it is, that we find the ancient charters of the Saxon kings to the churches or monasteries confirmed by the principal members of the general assembly, who signed them in this manner: "I. N. have subscribed, confirmed, approved, corroborated, &c." And the third branch consisted, as at this day, of certain taxes or imposts, which were, from time to time, laid on the people upon urgent occasions, by the authority of the Wittena-gemot.

There was no time fixed for the coronation of the Anglo-Saxon kings, either during the Heptarchy, or after the union of the seven kingdoms. They were crowned at the most convenient opportunity. Before the time of Egbert, the kings of Kent were crowned by the archbishops of Canterbury; the kings of Northumberland were crowned by the archbishops of York; and the other kings generally received coronation from the hands of the bishops of their respective capitals. After Egbert became sole monarch of England, the archbishops of Canterbury claimed the privilege of crowning the kings: but this claim was not always abided by; for we find, after the union, that several kings were crowned by the archbishops of York, and even by other bishops. According to some historians, Harold put the crown on his own head himself. Sweyn, the first Danish king was not crowned at all, and yet he was owned for king. Edgar reigned several years in Wessex before he was solemnly crowned. Edward the Confessor's coronation was not performed till about six months after his proclamation‡.

#### 2. THE

\* Vide Hume, Hist. Eng. App. I.

† See Spelm. Conc. vol. 1. p. 340.

‡ As the antiquity of the coronation-oath is a subject that has employed the pens of several learned men, and seems not to have been rightly understood by some of our historians, who have made it more modern than it really is; it will not be amiss

to gratify the curiosity of those who honour this history with their perusal, by presenting them with a transcript of the original oath, administered by Dunstan to Ethelred [see p. 54.] which is more ancient, as well as more authentic, than any which other historians have produced. The original Saxon runs thus: *On thare halgan Thrymffe naman, ic threo thing beliet*



## 2. THE QUEEN.

THE queen\* was the second person in the state, not for any part she took in the government, but only with regard to the respect that was paid her, on account of her being the wife of the king. The queens have sometimes signed charters as well as the kings, and that merely on account of their rank. During the whole time of the Saxon government, we find but one queen invested with sovereign power; her name was Saxburga, and she was queen of Wessex. Some historians have acquainted us, that she was deposed by the West-Saxons, merely for being a woman. But on account of Brithric's death, Egbert's immediate predecessor, the same West-Saxons deprived their queens of the prerogatives they had till that time enjoyed.

## 3. THE PRINCES OF THE BLOOD.

THE princes of the blood were the king's sons; and they held the third rank among the inhabitants of the kingdom. They were distinguished by the name of *Clyts*, a word of Greek derivation, signifying *Illustrious*. Hence we observe, in our ancient historians, that the king's sons were frequently styled *Clytones*, or *Clytonculi*. After some years this term was discarded to make way for the Saxon word *Atheling*, from *Athel*, i. e. *Noble*. The termination *ing* denotes extraction or descent, according to Malmesbury, where he says, "The sons of the kings of England were wont to assume names, which shewed their extraction. Thus the son of Edgar named himself Edgaring, the son of Edmund, Edmunding; and so of the others: but they had one common title, namely, that of Atheling."

## 4. EALDORMAN.

THE next degree was that of ealdorman, i. e. aged man, or elder. This name was applied to those who were advanced in years; and because their long expe-

rience had rendered them sagacious and careful, they were generally preferred to the highest offices in the state. We find, on a view of the Sacred Writ that the elders of Israel, of Moab, and of Midian, were taken for the chief or principal men of their respective nations. We may therefore observe, that the ealdormans in England were the most considerable of the nobility, that they discharged the highest offices, and that they had the largest estates. These men were entrusted with the government of counties; and instead of being called governors, they were termed ealdormans. After the Danes had settled in England, the title of ealdorman was, by degrees, changed into earl, a Danish word of the same import. The Normans introduced the word count, which, though different in its primary signification, meant the same dignity.

There were various kinds of ealdormans in this country. Some were only governors of a province or county; while others held their province as an estate of inheritance, and as a fee of the crown. Another kind of ealdormans had the title, without a government, on account of their high birth; and from among these the governors were usually chosen. Thus the title of ealdorman was sometimes used to denote a person of quality. There were also inferior ealdormans in cities and boroughs; but these were only subordinate magistrates, who administered justice in the king's name, and were dependent on the great ealdormans, or earls. The name of ealdorman or alderman is yet preserved, and given to those whose office is altogether civil †.

## 5. HERETOGH.

THERE were also in each province heretogh's or dukes, to whom the care of the militia was submitted, and these had nothing to do with civil affairs. They were the commanders of the forces belonging to the various counties; the word heretogh signifying a public leader, or captain.

*beate Christenum folce, and me under theodum. An ærest that Godes cyrice, and eall Cristes folce, minra gewearde sothe sibbe healde; Oðer is, that ic reaflic and healle unrihte thing eallum hadum forbode. Thridde, that ic beate and bebeode on eallum domum riht. And mildheortnesse, that us eallum afeast and mildheort God thurh that his ecean mildseforgyse se lyfath and riðath. The verbal translation of which runs thus: "In the name of the ever blessed Trinity, I promise three things to the Christian people and my subjects. First, that the church of God and Christian people within my dominions, shall enjoy uninterrupted peace; that it be free from any molestation. Secondly, that I will prevent theft, and every kind of injustice in all ranks of men. Thirdly, I engage to preserve and maintain justice and clemency in all judicial proceedings, that the kind, merciful God may, according to his eternal mercy, forgive us all our sins, who liveth and reigneth, &c." The charge which the archbishop added to this oath, containing it in such sentiments as may be of use on all future occasions of the like nature, I shall give it in the original, with an English translation, that the reader, who understands Saxon, may be gratified with a real curiosity, and he who does not understand that obsolete language, may partake with him in his pleasure. Se Cristena cyng the ðas thing geheardeth, he gecarnath hym sylfum woroldliene weorthmynt, and him ece God æfter gemilðrath; geon and werdum life ge eac on ðam ecean theofne ne afeorath. Gif he ðonne that awægth that Gode was behten, ðonne sceal hit syth than wyrðian swyðe ðona on this theode, and ealle hit on ende gehwyrðath on that wyrð, but an heon his life fære ar hit gebete. Eala leof hlaforð beorh hura ðinga georne the sylfum, gethenc that gelome, that thu scealt thu heorde forth at Godes dome ypan and ladan, the thu eart to hyrde gesiyst on ðysum life, and ðonne gecennan hu thu gehende that Crist ar gebohte sylf mid his blode.—*

*Gehaigodes cinges riht is that he nænigne man ne wordeme, and that he wuduwan and sloop cild and æltheodige werige, and amundige, and stala forbode, and unriht hæmedu gebete and sibbigeru to-træme, and grundlinga forbode wiccan, and galdra adelga, magmyrhtan and manswæran ofearde adrise, ðurðan midel myssan fede, and eald and wise and sýs him to getheoterum hærbe, and rihtwise men him to wicnerum rette, soðthan swa hwat swa hig to unriht gedoth thurh his asul, he is sceal ealles gescead agyldan on domes dag. That is, "The Chris-*

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"tian king, who observes these things, shall acquire temporal honour, and render the Deity propitious to him, both in the present life, and in that eternal one which knows no end. But if he shall at any time break his promise he has made to God, the state of his kingdom shall immediately grow worse, and at last be involved in ruin, unless, in the future part of his life, he shall repent and amend his faults. My dearest lord, have an especial care of yourself. Frequently recollect, that you must lead and produce the flock at the judgment seat of God, over which you have been created the shepherd in this life, and then you will be made to understand, that you have the charge of that flock, which Christ has purchased with his own blood—

"It is the duty of an anointed king, to judge no man unjustly; to protect the orphan and stranger; to restrain theft; to punish adultery; to dissolve and set aside incestuous marriages; to abolish sorcery; to extirpate those that are guilty of parricide and perjury; to feed the poor with alms; to advise with persons famous for their age, wisdom, and sobriety; and to place men of property in the administration, inasmuch as the king is responsible for all the crimes they are guilty of through his faults at the day of judgement."

\* "The title of queen, which was, and still is given to the queen, means only in its original signification, a companion, in Latin, *comes*. In process of time, this term was made use of, to denote more particularly those who were nearest the king's person; from whence it came to have a more general meaning, and to be understood of the great lords. Thus we find in the old French Romances, and Poets, *Li Queen de Flandre*, *Li Queen de Leicester*, instead of, the earls of Flanders and of Leicester. The word queen then was common to men and women, just as *comes* in Latin. In fine, the term count or earl being substituted in its room, when applied to men, queen was appropriated to the women only. Afterwards coming to have a more restrained signification, it was made use of only to denote the companion of the king, or the queen. But it is to be observed, this appellation is common to all queens, whether they hold their dignity by virtue of their husbands, or of their own right." See Rapin's Dissertation on the Government of the Anglo-Saxons.

† See under Burghers and Aldermen.



## 6. SHIRE - REVE.

THE sheriffs were officers sent by the king into such counties as had no earls, to administer justice to the people in his name and stead. They were afterwards called *vice-comites*, i. e. *viscounts*, not because they were under the inspection of any earl or count, but because they performed the office of one. There were also high sheriffs in some counties where there were earls. The name of sheriff was continued to some inferior officers, who performed the duty in each county, of the ancient viscounts; these last having been long ranked among the peers of the realm.

## 7. THANES,

THE thanes were of two sorts, viz. Maf Thaners, i. e. Ecclesiastical Thaners; and Werold Thaners, i. e. Lay Thaners. The thanes were generally divided into three classes, 1. the king's thanes, who were the immediate tenants of the crown, and did homage to the king only. These were afterwards called Peers of the Realm; therefore we may conclude, that dukes, ealdormans, and viscounts, were ranked among the thanes of the first class, as well as those who, having no offices, were the immediate tenants of the crown. 2. The second class of thanes were called middle thanes, because there were other of an inferior degree under them. 3. The third class of thanes were properly such as lived upon their own estates; and being of no profession, were distinguished from the meaner sort of people.

## 8. CEORLES.

THE next order of men among the Saxons, was that of Ceorles, i. e. merchants, artificers, countrymen, and others. These men were equally free, as to their persons, with the thanes of the third class; but there was a little difference as to their privileges. The thanes held such estates as were called Boc-land, or Free-land; and these were conveyable by deed or otherwise: but the Ceorles were possessed of such lands only as were called Soc-land, i. e. Land of the Plough, which they could not alienate, because they were only in the nature of farmers.

## 9. BONDS MEN.

THE lowest rank of men were the slaves, or bondsmen, of whom there were two sorts, such as were really slaves, who, possessing no estates, worked for their lords, by whom, for that reason, they were maintained: the others, who were properly servants, had small holdings at the will of their lords, in consideration of which, they performed all the servile country works that were set them. These last were afterwards called *villans*, i. e. *villagers*, from the villages where they lived and worked. When a slave had his freedom given him, he was ranked among the Ceorles. It may be here remarked, with Hume, that the power of a master over his slaves was not unlimited among the Anglo-Saxons, as it was among their ancestors. If a man beat out his slave's eye, or teeth, the slave recovered his liberty\*: if he killed him, he paid a fine to the king; provided the slave died within a day after the wound or blow: otherwise it passed unpunished.

## 10. BURGHERS AND ALDERMEN.

THE inhabitants of towns, who were called Burghwitan, or Burghers, had the privilege of being governed by magistrates, chosen from among their own body, to whom they gave the title of Aldermen, as also of forming themselves into corporations. This privilege was granted to them for the encouragement and advantage of trade and commerce.

*Of the Courts of Justice.*

THOUGH the general strain of the Anglo-Saxon government seems to have become aristocratical, there were still considerable remains of the ancient democracy, which were not indeed sufficient to protect the lowest of the people, without the patronage of some great lord, but might give security, and even some degree of dignity, to the gentry or inferior nobility. The administration of justice, in particular, by the courts of the decennary, the hundred and the county, was well calculated to defend general liberty, and to restrain the power of the nobles. In the county courts, shire-gemotes, or folcmotes, all the freeholders were assembled twice a year, and received appeals from the inferior courts. They there decided all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil; and the bishop, together with the alderman, or earl, presided over them†. The affair was determined in a summary manner, without much pleading, formality, or delay, by a majority of voices; and the bishop and alderman had no further authority, than to keep order among the freeholders, and interpose with their opinion‡. Where justice was denied during three sessions by the hundred, and then by the county-court, there lay an appeal to the king's court§; but this was not practised on slight occasions. In this court the king himself presided, or in his absence the high-chancellor||; and from this court the Common-Pleas and King's-Bench derive their original. The aldermen received a third of the fines levied in those courts\*\*; and as most of the punishments were then pecuniary, this perquisite formed a considerable part of the profits belonging to their office. The two-thirds also, which went to the king, made no contemptible part of the public revenue. Any freeholder was fined who absented himself thrice from these courts††.

As the extreme ignorance of the age made deeds and writings very rare, the county or hundred court was the place where the most remarkable civil transactions were finished, in order to preserve the memory of them, and prevent all future disputes. Here testaments were promulgated, slaves manumitted, bargains of sale concluded; and sometimes, for greater security, the most considerable of these deeds were inserted in the blank leaves of the parish bible, which thus became a kind of register too sacred to be falsified. It was not unusual to add to the deed an imprecation on all such as should be guilty of that crime‡‡.

*Of the ANGLO-SAXON Laws.*

AMONG a people who lived in so simple a manner as the Anglo-Saxons, the judicial power is always of greater importance than the legislative. There were few or no taxes imposed by the states: there were few statutes enacted; and the nation was less governed by laws than by customs, which admitted a great latitude of interpretation. Though it should, therefore, be allowed that the Wittena-gemot was altogether composed of the principal nobility, the county-courts, where all the freeholders were admitted, and which regulated all the daily occurrences of life, formed a wide basis for the government, and were no contemptible checks on the aristocracy. But there is another power still more important than either the judicial or legislative; to wit, the power of injuring or serving by immediate force and violence, for which it is difficult to obtain redress in courts of justice. In all extensive governments, where the execution of the laws is feeble, this power naturally falls into the hands of the principal nobility; and the degree of it which prevails, cannot be determined so much by the public statutes, as by small incidents in history, by par-

\* I.L. Ælf. § 20. † I.L. Edg. § 5. Wilkins, p. 78. LL. Canut. § 17. Wilkins, p. 136.  
‡ Hickee, Dissert. Epist. p. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.  
§ I.L. § 2. Wilkins, p. 77. LL. Canut. § 18.  
apud Wilkins, p. 136.

|| It was, without doubt, in this court, that Alfred (see p. 38, above) condemned to death four and forty judges.  
\*\* I.L. Edw. Conf. § 31. †† I.L. Athelt. § 20.  
‡‡ Hickee, Dissert. Epist.



icular customs, and sometimes by the reason and nature of things. The Highlands of Scotland have long been entitled, by law, to every privilege of British subjects; but it was not till very lately that the common people could in fact enjoy these privileges. The powers of all the members of the Anglo-Saxon government are disputed among historians and antiquaries: the extreme obscurity of the subject, even though faction had never entered into the question, would naturally have begotten those controversies. But the great influence of the lords over their slaves and tenants, the clientship of the burghers, the total want of a midling rank of men, the extent of the monarchy, the loose execution of the laws, the continued disorders and convulsions of the state; all these circumstances evince, that the Anglo-Saxon government became at last extremely aristocratical; and the events, during the period immediately preceding the conquest, confirm this inference or conjecture.

### I. CRIMINAL LAWS.

BOTH the punishments inflicted by the Anglo-Saxon courts of judicature, and the methods of proof employed in all cases, appear somewhat singular, and are very different from those which prevail at present among all civilized nations. "We must conceive," says Hume, "that the ancient Germans were little removed from the original state of nature: the social confederacy among them was more martial than civil: they had chiefly in view the means of attack or defence against public enemies, not those of protection against their fellow-citizens: their possessions were so slender and so equal, that they were not exposed to great danger; and the natural bravery of the people made every man trust to himself, and to his particular friends, for his defence or vengeance. This defect in the political union drew much closer the knot of particular confederacies: an insult upon any man was regarded by all his relations and associates as a common injury: they were bound by honour, as well as by a sense of common interest, to revenge his death, or any violence which he had suffered: they retaliated on the aggressor by like acts of violence; and if he were protected, as was natural and usual, by his own clan, the quarrel was spread still wider, and bred endless disorders in the nation. The Frisians, a tribe of the Germans, had never advanced beyond this wild and imperfect state of society; and the right of private revenge still remained among them unlimited and uncontrolled\*. But the other German nations, in the age of Tacitus, had made one step farther towards completing the political or civil union. Though it still continued to be an indispensable point of honour for every clan to revenge the death or injury of a member, the magistrate had acquired a right of interposing in the quarrel, and of accommodating the difference. He obliged the person maimed or injured, and the relations of one killed, to accept of a present from the aggressor and his relations†, as a compensation for the injury‡, and to drop all farther prosecution of revenge. That the accommodation of one quarrel might not be the source of more, this present was fixed and certain, according to the rank of the person killed or injured, was commonly paid in cattle, the chief property of those rude and uncultivated nations. A present of this kind gratified the revenge of the injured family, by the loss which the aggressor suffered: it satisfied their pride, by the submission which it expressed: it diminished their regret for the loss or injury of a kinsman, by their acquisition of new property: and thus general peace was for a moment

restored to the society§. But when the German nations had been settled some time in the provinces of the Roman empire, they made still another step towards a more cultivated life, and their criminal justice gradually improved and refined itself. The magistrate, whose office it was to guard public peace, and to suppress private animosities, conceived himself to be injured by any injury done to any of his people; and besides the compensation to the person who suffered, or to his family, he thought himself entitled to exact a fine called the *Fridwit*, as an atonement for the breach of peace, and as a reward for the pains which he had taken in accommodating the quarrel. When this idea, which is so natural, was once suggested, it was willingly received both by sovereign and people. The numerous fines which were levied, augmented the revenue of the king: and the people were sensible that he would be more vigilant in interposing with his good offices, when he reaped such immediate advantage from them; and that injuries would be less frequent, when, besides compensation to the person injured, they were exposed to this additional penalty||."

This short abstract contains the history of the criminal jurisprudence of the northern nations for several centuries. The state of England in this particular, during the period of the Anglo-Saxons, may be judged of by the collection of ancient laws published by Lombard and Wilkins. The chief purport of these laws, is not to prevent or entirely suppress private quarrels, which the legislator knew to be impossible, but only to regulate and moderate them. The laws of Alfred enjoin, that if any one know that his enemy or aggressor, after doing him an injury, resolves to keep within his own house and his own lands\*\*, he shall not fight him till he require compensation for the injury. If he be strong enough to besiege him in his house, he may do it for seven days without attacking him; and if the aggressor be willing, during that time, to surrender himself and his arms, his adversary may detain him thirty days; but is afterwards obliged to restore him safe to his kindred, and be content with the compensation. If the criminal fly to the temple, that sanctuary must not be violated. Where the assailant has not force sufficient to besiege the criminal in his house, he must apply to the alderman for assistance; and if the alderman refuse aid, the assailant must have recourse to the king: and he is not allowed to assault the house, till after this supreme magistrate has refused assistance. If any one meet with his enemy, and be ignorant that he was resolved to keep within his own lands, he must, before he attack him, require him to surrender himself prisoner, and deliver up his arms; in which case he may detain him thirty days: but if he refuse to deliver up his arms, it is then lawful to fight him. A slave may fight in his master's quarrel: a father may fight in his son's with any one, except with his master††.

It was enacted by king Ina, that no man should take revenge for an injury till he had first demanded compensation, and had been refused it‡‡.

King Edmund, in the preamble to his laws, mentions the general misery occasioned by the multiplicity of private feuds and battles; and he establishes several expedients for remedying this grievance. He ordains, that if any one commits murder, he may, with the assistance of his kindred, pay within a twelvemonth the fine of his crime; and if they abandon him, he shall alone sustain the deadly feud or quarrel with the kindred of the murdered person: his own kindred are free from the feud, but on condition that they neither converse

\* I.L. Fris. tit. 2. apud Lindenbrog. p. 491.

† I.L. Athelb. § 23. I.L. Alf. § 27.

‡ Called by the Saxons *magbota*.

§ Tacit. de Morib. Germ. The author says, that the price of the composition was fixed; which must have been by the laws and the interposition of the magistrates.

|| Besides paying money to the relations of the deceased and to the king, the murderer was also obliged to pay the master of

a slave or vassal, a sum as the compensation for his loss. This was called the *manbote*. See Spel. Gloss. in verb. *Fredum*, *Manbot*.

\*\* The addition of these last words *Italics* appears necessary from what follows in the same law.

†† I.L. Alf. § 28. Wilkins, p. 43.

‡‡ I.L. Ina, § 9.



with the criminal, nor supply him with meat or other necessities: if any of them, after renouncing him, receive him into their house, or give him assistance, they are finable to the king, and are involved in the feud. If the kindred of the murdered person take revenge on any but the criminal himself after he is abandoned by his kindred, all their property is forfeited, and they are declared to be enemies to the king and all his friends\*. It is also ordained, that the fine for murder shall never be remitted by the king †; and that no criminal shall be killed who flies to the church, or any of the king's towns ‡; and the king himself declares, that his house shall give no protection to murderers, till they have satisfied the church by their penance, and the kindred of the deceased, by making compensation §. The method appointed for transacting this composition is found in the same law ||.

Almost every crime that could be committed by the Anglo-Saxons, might be compensated with a sum of money. Thus, the price of the king's head, or his weregild, as it was then called, was by law thirty thousand thrimfas, near thirteen hundred pounds of present money. The price of the prince's head was fifteen thousand thrimfas; that of a bishop's or alderman's eight thousand a sheriff's four thousand; a thane's or clergyman's two thousand; a ceorle's two hundred and sixty six. These prices were fixed by the laws of the Angles. By the Mercian law, the price of a ceorle's head was two hundred shillings; that of a thane's six times as much; that of a king's six times more. By the laws of Kent, the price of the archbishop's head was higher than that of the king's. Such respect was then paid to the ecclesiastics! It must be understood, that where a person was unable or unwilling to pay the fine, he was put out of the protection of law, and the kindred of the deceased had liberty to punish him as they thought proper.

As the laws which were drawn up by Ethelbert, after his conversion to Christianity, by the advice and consent of the wisest men of his kingdom, and which were engrossed in the Anglo-Saxon language, contain many very curious particulars respecting the fines which were paid for the compensation of various crimes, we shall here lay them before our readers.

1. Let sacrilege be compensated twelve-fold, the theft of the goods of a bishop eleven fold, the goods of a priest nine-fold, of those of a deacon six fold, of those of a clerk three-fold, the violation of the peace of a church two-fold, and that of a monastery two fold.
2. If the king call an assembly of his people, and any damage be done to them there, let it be repaid two-fold, and fifty shillings be paid to the king.
3. If the king is at an entertainment at any one's house, and any damage be done there, let it be compensated two-fold.
4. If a freeman steal any thing from the king, let him compensate nine-fold.
5. Let him that killeth a man in the king's own city, be fined fifty shillings.
6. Let him that killeth a freeman, pay fifty shillings to the king for the loss of a subject.
7. If any one kill the servants of the king's master-smith or butler, let him pay the ordinary mulct.
8. Let the violation of the king's patronage be compensated with fifty shillings.
9. If a freeman steal any thing from a freeman, let him repay it three-fold, let a mulct be imposed, and all his goods be confiscated to the king.
10. If a man lie with the king's maid servant, being a virgin, let him compensate her virginity with fifty shillings.
11. If she be a grinding maid, let the compensation be twenty-five shillings, if of the third rank, twelve shillings.
12. Let the violation of the chastity of the king's vic-tualling maid, be compensated with twenty-shillings.
13. Let him that killeth a man in the city of an earl, be fined twelve shillings.

14. If a man lie with a maid that is an earl's cup-bearer, let him compensate her virginity with twelve shillings.

15. Let the violation of the patronage of a yeoman be compensated with six shillings.

16. Let the violation of the chastity of a maid that is a yeoman's cup bearer, be compensated with six shillings, that of a yeoman's other maid servants, with fifty scættas, and those of the third rank, thirty scættas.

17. Let him that first breaketh into another man's house, be amerced six shillings, the second three shillings, and the rest one each.

18. If any one lend another arms where there is a quarrel, though no harm be done thereby, let him be amerced six shillings.

19. If robbery be committed, let it be compensated with six shillings.

20. But if a man be killed, let the murderer compensate his death with twenty shillings.

21. If a man kill another be the ordinary mulct of an hundred shillings imposed upon him.

22. If a man kill another at an open grave, let him compensate his death with twenty shillings, besides the ordinary mulct, which he must pay in forty days.

23. If the homicide fly his country, let his relations pay half the ordinary mulct.

24. Let him that bindeth a freeman, pay twenty shillings.

25. Let the murderer of a yeoman's guest compensate his death with six shillings.

26. But if the landlord killeth his chief guest, it shall be eighty shillings.

27. If he kills the second, sixty shillings; if the third, forty shillings.

28. If a freeman cut down a hedge, he shall pay six shillings.

29. If a man take away a thing kept within the house, he shall pay it three-fold.

30. If a freeman break over an hedge, let him compensate with four shillings.

31. Let him that killeth a man, make compensation according to the true valuation in current money.

32. If a freeman lie with a freeman's wife, let him make amends by buying another wife for the injured party. [That is, by giving a portion to some other woman to take such man to her husband, according to the manner of the Saxons, who always gave money to their wives, instead of receiving it with them.]

33. If a man prick another in the right thigh, let him compensate the same.

34. If he catch him by the hair, let him pay fifty scættas.

35. If the bones appear, let him pay three shillings.

36. If the bone be hurt, let him pay four shillings.

37. If the bone be broken, let him pay ten shillings.

38. If both be done, let him pay twenty shillings.

39. If the shoulder be lamed, be it compensated with twenty shillings.

40. If he is made deaf of an ear, let him be compensated with twenty-five shillings.

41. If the ear be cut off, let it be compensated with twelve shillings.

42. If the ear be bored through, let it be compensated with three shillings.

43. If clipped off with six shillings.

44. If the eye be struck out, let fifty shillings compensate it.

45. If the mouth or eye be injured, let twelve shillings make a compensation.

46. If the nose be bored through, let nine shillings be the compensation.

47. If but one membrane be bored, be three shillings the compensation.

48. If both, six shillings.

49. If both nostrils be slit, let each be compensated with six shillings.

50. If bored, by six shillings.

51. Let



51. Let him that cutteth off the chin bone, pay twenty shillings.
52. Let each of the fore-teeth be compensated with six shillings; for the one that stands next, four shillings; for the next, three shillings; for each of the rest, one shilling; if it be an impediment to his speech, twelve shillings; if the jaw bone be broke, six shillings.
53. Be the bruifery of a man's arm compensated with six shillings; and the breaking it with six shillings.
54. If the thumb be cut off, let it be compensated with twenty shillings; the nail of the thumb, with three shillings; the fore-finger, with eight shillings; the middle-finger, with four shillings; the ring-finger, with six shillings; the little finger, with eleven shillings.
55. For each nail, a shilling.
56. For the least blemish, three shillings; for greater ones, six shillings.
57. A blow on the nose with the fist, three shillings.
58. If the nose be wounded, a shilling.
59. If the stroke be black without the cloaths, let it be compensated with thirty scættas: if within cloaths, with twenty.
60. If the midriff be wounded, let it be compensated by twelve shillings; if bored, by twenty shillings.
61. If one be made to halt, let it be compensated with thirty shillings.
62. If one wound the calves, let thirty shillings be the recompence.
63. If any man's privy-member be cut off, let it be compensated by thrice the ordinary mulct: if it be bored, by six shillings; if cut by six shillings.
64. If a man's thigh be broke, let twelve shillings be the recompence; if it is lamed, let the friends judge.
65. If a rib be broke, let it be compensated with three shillings.
66. If the thigh be pricked, for every prick be paid six shillings; if it be an inch deep, one shilling; if two inches, two shillings; if above three, three shillings.
67. If a vertebra be wounded, let it be compensated with three shillings.
68. If the foot be cut off, with fifty shillings.
69. If the great toe be cut off, with ten shillings.
70. For each of the other toes, half the price, as for the finger.
71. For the nail of the great toe, thirty scættas, and ten for each of the rest.
72. If a free woman, wearing her hair, do any thing that is dishonourable, let her pay thirty shillings.
73. Let the compensation of a virgin be the same as that of a freeman.
74. Let the violation of the patronage of the chief widow of a noble family, be compensated by fifty shillings; of the next, by twenty shillings; of the third, with twelve shillings; of the fourth, with six shillings.

75. If a man marry a widow that is not at her own disposal, let him compensate the violated patronage.

76. If a man buy a maid with his money, let her stand for bought, if there is no fraud in the bargain; but if there be, let her be returned home, and the purchaser's money restored to him.

77. If she bring forth any live issue, let her have the man's goods if he die first.

78. If she has a mind to depart with her children, let her have the half of her estate.

79. If she have no issue, let her relations have the goods and the dowry.

80. If a man take a maid by force, let him pay fifty shillings to her first master, and afterwards redeem her according to his pleasure.

81. If she be before betrothed to another let him compensate with twenty shillings.

82. If she be with child let him pay thirty-five shillings, and fifteen shillings to the king.

83. If a man lie with the wife of a servant while her husband is alive, let him make double recompence.

84. If a slave kill another slave, being innocent, let him compensate his death with all his substance.

85. If a servant's eye or foot be struck off, let it be compensated.

86. If a man bind another's servant, let him be compensated with six shillings.

87. Let the robbery of a servant be compensated with three shillings.

88. If a servant steal any thing, let him compensate the same two-fold.

## 2. MEANS OF DISCOVERING TRUTH.

IF the manner of punishing crimes among the Anglo-Saxons appears singular, the methods of discovering the truth are no less so.—The first was by OATH, which the party accused or suspected was obliged to take, in order to make his innocence appear. But the oath of an accused person was not sufficient; he was obliged to procure a certain number of persons, who were called compurgators, to swear also that he was innocent. These compurgators were, in some cases, multiplied to the number of three hundred.—The second was by means of an ORDEAL, i. e. *trial by fire or water*. The *trial by fire* was performed two ways: in the first, the person accused held in his hand a red-hot piece of iron, of one, two, or three pounds weight, according to the heinousness of his crime, or according to the evidence against him; and by the second he was obliged to walk barefoot and blindfold over nine red-hot plough-shares, placed at stated distances from each other: if he received no injury, he was declared innocent; but if he was burnt, he was immediately pronounced guilty\*. The *trial by water-ordeal* was made either

\* The trial by fire ordeal was always made in the church. At the time appointed, the parties being assembled, the priest, in the habit of his function, took up the iron which lay before the altar, and repeating, with great solemnity, the following hymn, put it into the fire: "Blessed art thou, O Lord God of our fathers: and to be praised and exalted above all for ever. And blessed is thy glorious and holy name: and to be praised and exalted above all for ever. Blessed art thou in the temple of thine holy glory: and to be praised and glorified above all for ever. Blessed art thou that beholdest the depths, and stretchest upon the cherubim: and to be praised and exalted above all for ever. Blessed art thou on the glorious throne of the kingdom: and to be praised and glorified above all for ever. Blessed art thou in the firmament of Heaven: and above all to be praised and glorified for ever. O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye Heavens, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye angels of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O all ye waters that be above the Heaven, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O all ye powers of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye sun and moon, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye stars of Heaven, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O every shower and dew, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O all

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ye winds, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye fire and heat, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye winter and summer, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye dews and storms of snow, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye nights and days, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye light and darkness, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye ice and cold, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye frost and snow, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye lightnings and clouds, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O let the earth bless the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye mountains and little hills, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O all ye things that grow on the earth, bless ye the lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye fountains bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye seas and rivers, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye whales, and all that move in the waters, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye fowls of the air, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O all ye beasts and cattle, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye children of men, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O Israel, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever.



either by cold or by scalding water; and was chiefly practised upon peasants and slaves. In the trial by *cold water*, the suspected party had his hands and feet tied together, and in that condition was thrown into a river or pond: if he sunk, he was declared innocent; but if he swam, he was pronounced guilty. These trials were made with great solemnity, and were always managed by the clergy. The person accused was obliged to swear his innocence, and sometimes, especially if in orders, to receive the sacrament. After a charge was legally brought in, the person accused was required to spend three days in fasting and prayer. Having fasted the usual time, he was obliged to drink a draught of holy-water, to which the priest added an imprecation in case he was guilty: then the water into which he was to be thrown was consecrated by a kind of exorcising form of prayer. When *scalding water* was the test, the person accused was compelled to plunge his arm into it as far as the wrist, and sometimes up to the elbow: if he received no injury, he was declared innocent; but if he was scalded, they imagined he was guilty.—The third method was by single COMBAT. Thus, if a person were accused of any crime, and the evidence against him were not sufficiently strong to cause a trial by any of the above methods, he was allowed to vindicate his innocence by challenging the accuser to single combat. If the party accused was a female, she had the privilege of substituting a person in her room, who was called her champion.—A fourth way of trial was by the CORSED\*. In this case about an ounce of bread or cheese† was given to the party suspected; so credulous were the people of that age, that they imagined, if the party were guilty, it would stick in his throat and not digest; but if he were innocent, he would swallow it without difficulty.

One cannot but be surprized, that the Saxons and other nations, among whom these kinds of trial were common, could for so great a number of years, imagine that the above were infallible means of discovering truth from error. On the contrary, one would think, that numberless instances must have happened, which, would have shewn the fallibility of any of those methods.

#### *Of the Military Force of the ANGLO-SAXONS.*

THE feudal law, if it had place at all among the Anglo-Saxons, which is very doubtful, was not extended over all the landed property, and was not attended with those consequences of homage, reliefs†, worship, marriage, and other burthens, which were inseparable from it in the kingdoms of the continent. As the Saxons expelled, or almost entirely destroyed the ancient Britons, they planted themselves in this island on the same footing with their ancestors in Germany, and found no occasion for the feudal institu-

tions§ which were calculated to maintain a kind of standing army, always in readiness to suppress any insurrection among the conquered people. The trouble and expence of defending the state in England lay equally upon all the land; and it was usual for every five hydes to equip a man for the service. The *trinoda necessitas*, as it was called, or the burthen of military expeditions, of repairing highways, and of building and supporting bridges, was inseparable from landed property, even though it belonged to the church or monasteries, unless exempted by a particular charter¶. The ceorles were provided with arms, and were obliged to take their turn in military duty\*\*. There were computed to be two hundred and forty-three thousand, six hundred hydes in England††; consequently the ordinary military force of the kingdom consisted of forty-eight thousand seven hundred, and twenty men; though, no doubt, on extraordinary occasions, a greater number might be, and was, assembled. The king and nobility had some military tenants, who were called Sithcunmen‡‡. And there were some lands annexed to the office of aldermen, and to other offices; but these probably were not of great extent, and were possessed only during pleasure, as in the commencement of the feudal law in other countries of Europe.

#### *Of the Value of Money among the ANGLO-SAXONS.*

THE Saxon pound, as likewise that which was coined for some centuries after the conquest, was near three times the weight of our present money: there were forty-eight shillings in the pound, and five pence in a shilling§§; consequently a Saxon shilling was near a fifth heavier than ours, and a Saxon penny near three times as heavy|||. As to the value of money in those times, compared to commodities, there are some, though not very certain means of computation. A sheep, by the law of Athelstan, was estimated at a shilling; that is, fifteen pence of our money. The fleece was two-fifths of the value of the whole sheep\*\*\*; much above its present estimation; and the reason probably was, that the Saxons, like the ancients, were little acquainted with any clothing but what was made of wool. Silk and cotton were entirely unknown: linen was not much used. An ox was computed at six times the value of a sheep; a cow at four†††. If we suppose that the cattle in that age, from the defect in husbandry, were not so large as they are at present in England, we may compute, that money was then near ten times of greater value. A horse was valued at about thirty-six shillings of our money, or thirty Saxon shillings‡‡‡; a mare a third less. A man at three pounds§§§, the board wages of a child the first year was eight shillings, together with a cow's pasture in summer, and an ox's in winter||||. William

ever. O ye priests of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye servants of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye spirits and souls of the righteous, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O ye holy and humble men of heart, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever. O Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever: for he hath delivered us from hell, and saved us from the hand of death, and delivered us out of the midst of the furnace, and burning flame: even out of the midst of the fire hath he delivered us. O give thanks unto the Lord, because he is gracious: for his mercy endureth for ever. O all ye that worship the Lord, bless the God of Gods, praise him, and give him thanks: for his mercy endureth for ever." After the pronouncing of the above excellent composition, some forms of benediction over the fire and iron were used: the iron was sprinkled with holy water, and the sign of the cross was made in the name of the Blessed Trinity. This being done, the party was immediately put to the test.

\* From *Snide*, or *Snidan*, to cut a bit off; and *Corse*, a curse; because it was believed, that it brought a curse on the guilty person.

† The bread or cheese was consecrated with abundance of

ceremonies; and at the time of trial dreadful imprecations were denounced against the guilty person. As, "May this bread [or this cheese] which is given to you in order to bring the truth to light, stick in your throat and find no passage, if you are guilty: may your face turn pale, your limbs be convulsed, and an horrible alteration appear in your whole countenance. But if you are innocent of the crime laid to your charge, may you easily swallow this bread [or cheese] consecrated in your name, to the end all may know you are not guilty."

‡ On the death of an alderman, a greater or less thane, there was a payment made to the king of his best arms; and this was called his heriot: but this was not the nature of a relief. See Spelm. of Tenures, p. 2. The value of this heriot was fixed by Canute's laws, § 69.

§ Bracton de Acqu. rer. domin. lib. 1. cap. 16. See more fully Spelman of Feuds and Tenures, and Craigius De Jure Feud. lib. 1. dieg. 7. || Spelm. Conc. vol. 1. p. 256.

\*\* Inæ, § 51. †† Spelm. of Feuds and Tenures, p. 17.

‡‡ Spelm. Conc. vol. 1. p. 195. §§ LL. Ait. § 10.

|| Fleetwood's Chron. Prætorium p. 27, 28, &c.

\*\*\* LL. Inæ, § 69. ††† Wilkins, p. 66.

‡‡‡ Ibid. p. 126. §§§ Ibid.

|||| LL. Inæ, § 28.



of Malmesbury mentions it as a remarkable high price, that William Rufus gave fifteen marks for a horse, or about thirty pounds of our present money \*. Between the years 900 and 1000, Ednoth bought a hyde of land for about one hundred and eighteen shillings of present money †. This was little more than a shilling an acre, which indeed appears to have been the usual price, as we may learn from other accounts ‡. A palfrey was sold for twelve shillings about the year 966 §. The value of an ox in king Ethelred's time was between seven and eight shillings; a cow about six shillings ||. Gervase of Tilbury says, that in the time of Henry I. bread, which would suffice a hundred men for a day, was rated at three shillings, or a shilling of that age; for it is thought that, soon after the conquest, a pound sterling was divided into twenty shillings: a sheep was rated at a shilling, and so of other things in proportion. In Athelstan's time a ram was valued at a shilling, or four-pence Saxon \*\*. The tenants of Shireburn were obliged, at their choice, to pay either six-pence, or four hens ††. About 1232, the abbot of St. Alban's, going on a journey, hired seven handsome stout horses; and agreed, if any of them died on the road, to pay the owner thirty shillings a-piece of our present money ‡‡. It is to be remarked, that in all ancient times the raising of corn, especially wheat, being a species of manufactory, that commodity always bore a higher price, compared to cattle, than it does in our times §§. The Saxon Chronicle tells us |||, that in the reign of Edward the Confessor, there was the most terrible famine ever known; insomuch that a quarter of wheat rose to sixty pennies, or fifteen shillings of our present money. Consequently it was as dear as if it now cost seven pounds ten shillings. This much exceeds the great famine in the end of queen Elizabeth's reign, when a quarter of wheat was sold for four pounds. Money in this last period was nearly of the same value as in our time. These severe famines are a certain proof of bad husbandry.

On the whole, says Hume, there are three things to be considered, wherever a sum of money is mentioned in ancient times. First, the change of denomination, by which a pound has been reduced to the third part of its ancient weight in silver. Secondly, the change in value by the greater plenty of money, which has reduced the same weight of silver to ten times less value, compared to commodities; and consequently a pound sterling to the thirtieth part of the ancient value. Thirdly, the fewer people and less industry, which were then to be found in every European kingdom. This circumstance made even the thirtieth part of the sum more difficult to levy, and caused any sum to have more than thirty times greater weight and influence, both abroad and at home, than in our times; in the same manner that a sum, a hundred thousand pounds, for instance, is at present more difficult to levy in a small state, such as Bavaria, and can produce greater effects on such a small community, than on England. This last difference is not easy to be calculated: but allowing that England has now six times more industry, and three times more people, than it had at the conquest, and for some reigns after that period, we are upon that supposition to conceive, taking all circumstances together, every sum of money mentioned by historians, as if it were multiplied more than a hundred fold above a sum of the same denomination at present.

### *Of the Manners, Religion, and Customs of the ANGLO-SAXONS.*

WITH regard to the manners and customs of our ancestors, the Anglo-Saxons, little can be said: but without doubt, they brought with them from Germany their own virtues and their own vices, and transmitted

them to their posterity. Their valour, to which they were indebted for their conquest, was what they seemed to take most delight in; they were early inured to the use of arms and, it may be said, that war was their only profession. They went armed and accoutred to their general assemblies; and their method of shewing their approbation of various propositions, was by striking their javelins one against another. Their usual arms were the sword, club, battle-axe or bill, and javelin. As they had no bows and arrows, their battles were the more bloody: for when they had darted their javelins, they were compelled to advance to close quarters, where, in their dexterity in handling and wielding their arms gave them a great advantage. Among the Saxons, a man without courage was lightly esteemed, and even looked upon with contempt. This lofty conceit of martial valour was the cause of the great difficulty of their being reconciled after a quarrel. As each party dreaded the epithet of *coward*, should he make the least overture for a reconciliation, the quarrel was frequently kept on foot, from father to son, and very seldom ended but with the extinction of one of the families. It is easy to imagine, that people of this temper, accustomed from their childhood to fear neither blows nor wounds, and continually encouraged by the example of their relations, and friends, encountered the greatest dangers with the utmost resolution and fortitude. There never was any nation, that braved all kinds of danger, and looked death in the face, with greater intrepidity than the Saxons; and every body is well acquainted, that this is the character of the English of the present age.

That the Saxons were much addicted to religious worship, is well authenticated, even before they had the sublime happiness of receiving the Christian faith. When they first settled in this country, they were not only idolators, but of all the heathens, were the most attached to the service of their gods, and proceeded so far, to please their deities, as to sacrifice the prisoners they took in battle, on the altars dedicated to those idols. Upon their embracing the Gospel of peace, the same religious inclination prompted them to receive and practise, with equal fervour and zeal, the duties of the religion of Jesus, and whatever the monks, their principal teachers, were pleased to inculcate. Pity it is that their Christianity was so disfigured as it was, by the superstitious notions and practices of the monks, who sought not so much the advancement of their Master's kingdom and glory, as the enriching of themselves! As the Saxons were unacquainted with human literature, and as they were unable to discriminate between truth and error, they gave themselves up entirely to the management of those blind guides: hence their zeal for founding and endowing monasteries. They were made to believe, that the founding of monasteries was a virtue sufficient to overcome and expiate all manner of vice. This is the reason that, during the first two centuries after the conversion of the Saxons, so many were canonized, especially princes and great men. Indeed, since sanctity might be purchased by liberal benefactions to the monasteries, the rich and affluent had it in their power easily to obtain that honourable title. The fault, however, was not in those who were deceived, but in those who, knowing better, wilfully deceived them; for it is easy for any one to observe a great bias to religion in all their proceedings. This natural inclination was no doubt the reason, that many exchanged their worldly glory for the recluseness of a cloister. Among these were some of the Saxon kings. Those who are acquainted with the temper of the English at this day, will readily own, that no nation can produce more instances of real and fervent piety.

It is observable, that the Anglo-Saxons were not addicted to the vile custom of prophane swearing, which

\* P. 121.

† Hist. Ramef. p. 415.

‡ Hist. Eliens. p. 473.

§ Wilkins, p. 126.

|| Ibid. p. 471.

•• Ibid. p. 56.

†† Monast. Anglic. vol. 11. p. 528.

‡‡ Mat. Paris.

§§ Flectwood, p. 83, 94, 96, 98.

||| P. 157.



is so much practised in our days ; for in all their laws, not one is found which speaks of this practice ; and if the Saxons had accustomed themselves to it, without doubt the directors of the legislature would have taken notice of it, since we find penalties laid on those who should break the Sabbath, or not keep a fast.

The reigning vice of the Anglo-Saxons was drunkenness. They had been used to drink out of large cups, and to take great draughts, till the time of Edgar, who, willing to reform this abuse, commanded particular marks to be made in their cups at a certain height, above which they were forbid to permit them to be filled under a penalty : but this regulation did not continue long in force.

### *Of the Anglo-Saxon Language.*

THE language of the Anglo-Saxons was a mixture of the following dialects, viz. 1. the British, or Celtic ; whence the Saxons borrowed some words and phrases : 2. the Latin, which was common in Britain when the

Saxons arrived under Hengist : 3. the ancient English or Danish : 4. the modern Danish : 5. pure Saxon : 6. Norman, mixed with Danish and French. Some authors have divided the Anglo-Saxon language into three dialects : the first was compounded from the British, Latin, and Saxon, but in such a manner, that the Saxon was predominant. The only remains of this dialect, which was in use above three hundred years, is a fragment of the writings of Cedmon the monk, which Alfred inserted in his translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History. The second dialect may be called Dano-Saxon ; it was used in Northumberland, and other northern places, from the first invasion and settlement of the Danes, till the Norman conquest. The third dialect was made up of the other two and the Norman. This dialect, which was introduced chiefly in the reigns of Edward the Confessor, and William the Conqueror, has admitted of great alterations, by the additions of vast quantities of French words ; particularly after the accession of Henry the Second to the throne of England.

## B O O K III. THE NORMAN LINE.

### *From William the Conqueror to the Restoration of the Saxon Line.*

#### C H A P. I.

#### WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, *Sirnamed the BASTARD.*

WE think it necessary to begin our Third Book with an account of the affairs of Normandy, since, by the success of the Norman duke, they are, as it were, become a matter of enquiry among the English. Normandy, then, was one of the largest and most considerable provinces in France, and had been in possession of the Normans ever since Charles the Simple had been forced to deliver it up to Rollo the Dane, who was constituted the first duke of Normandy. This prince, and his immediate successors, content with what they had acquired, were less solicitous about enlarging their conquests, than they were about securing the possession of their dominions to their descendants. To this end, they frequently invited vast numbers of their countrymen to settle among them ; so that, by reciprocal marriages, they soon made the two nations one people, and their interests also one. The name of Norman, was given by the French to those foreigners, [Danes,] who settled in Neustria (for that was the ancient name of Normandy), and from that circumstance the country had its name. The first dukes made it their principal care and constant study, to gain the affections of their subjects, by securing to them, as far as lay in their power, the sweets of peace, and by governing them with justice and equity. By this prudent conduct they not only destroyed the seeds of rebellion, which might lurk in the hearts of the ancient inhabitants, but also screened themselves from the secret practices of the kings of France, who could not see, without regret, so noble a province torn from their monarchy.

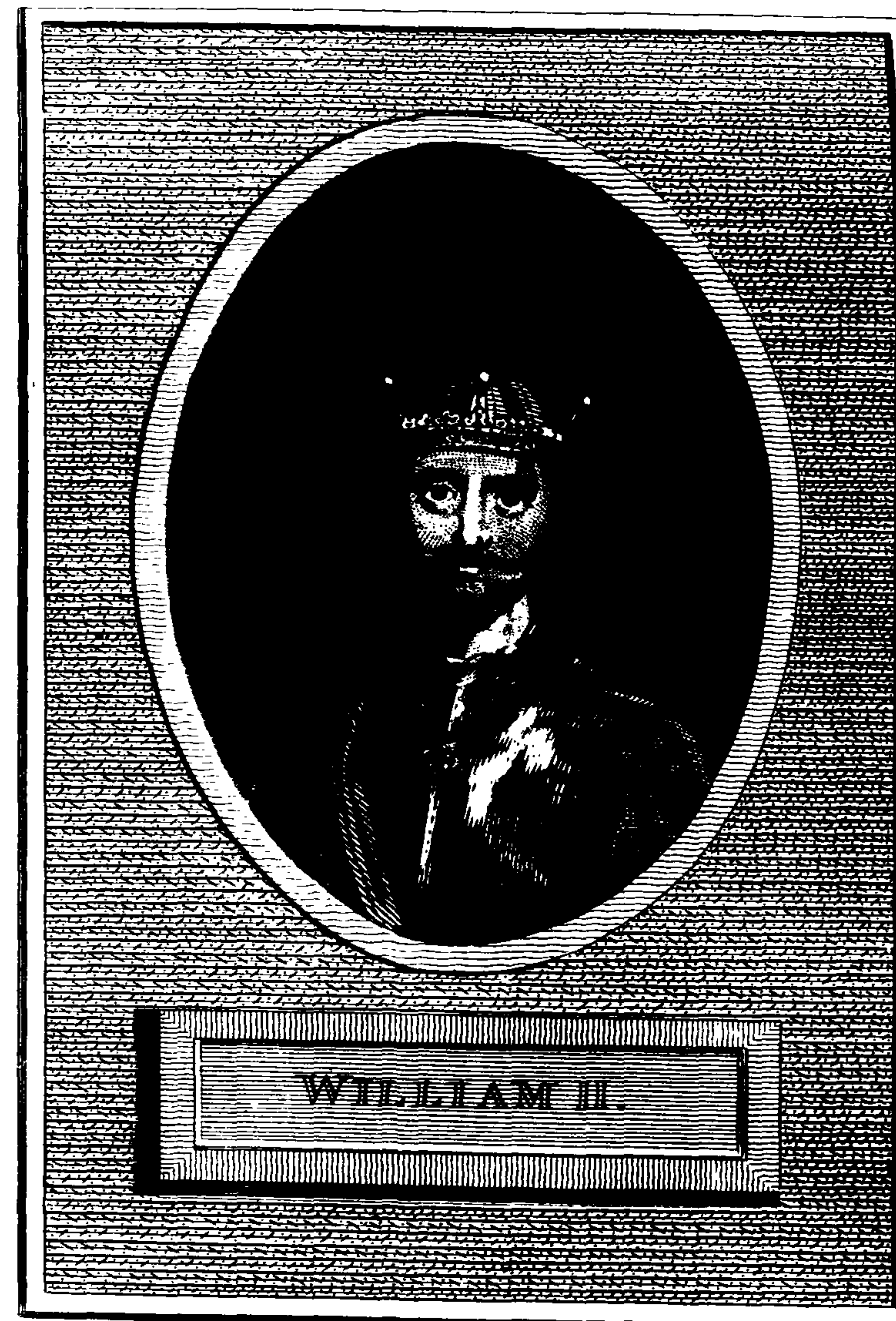
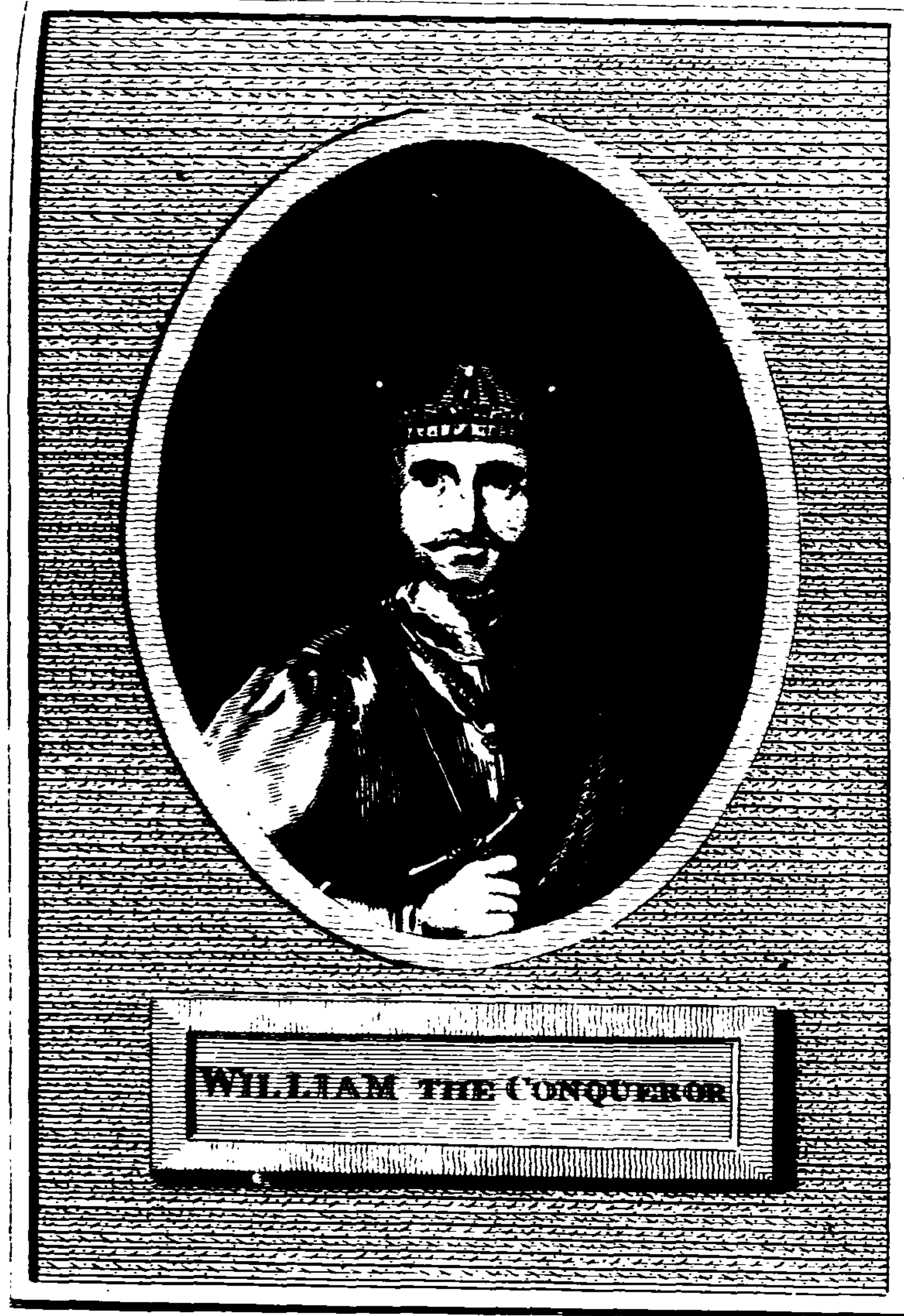
From Rollo to William the Bastard there were seven dukes, among whom Richard II. who was the fourth, was one of the most illustrious. His first wife was Judith, of Bretagne, by whom he had three sons, Richard, Robert, and William. After Judith's death he made a double alliance with Canute the Great, by giving him his sister Emma, widow to Ethelred II. king of England, and by taking himself Estrith, sister to that prince. How honourable soever this match might be

to him, the love he had entertained for a young damsel called Pavia, caused him to divorce Estrith, in order to marry his mistress. By his second wife he had William, earls of Arques, and Mauger, archbishop of Rouen.

After the death of this prince, his son Richard III. succeeded him, notwithstanding the endeavours of his younger brother Robert to supplant him. Robert not being able to accomplish his designs, was forced to desist ; or rather, according to some historians, he caused his brother to be poisoned, who, after a reign of two years, left him the possession of the dukedom, which he had so ardently wished for. Whether duke Robert's crime was never fully proved, or whether his just government blotted out all remembrance of it, he found the means to gain the affections of his people at home, by his justice and liberality, whilst his valour procured him respect from abroad. By his aid Henry I. king of France, got possession of the throne, in spite of the pretensions of Robert, his younger brother, who was supported by a powerful party. The intrigues of queen Constance their mother, who espoused the interest of her youngest son, having obliged Henry to demand the assistance of the duke of Normandy, he went to him at Rouen, and obtained at first an aid of five hundred spearmen. These were quickly followed by a more considerable body of forces, which the duke led himself into France, where he placed Henry on the throne, after he had compelled the younger brother to retire to Burgundy. Henry, full of gratitude for this signal piece of service, protested he would have it in eternal remembrance ; and to let him see he was in good earnest, he annexed to the duchy of Normandy, the cities of Chaumont and Pontoise, then in possession of the crown of France. It will not be proper here to enter into the particulars of the wars duke Robert carried on against some Norman lords who had revolted, and against the duke of Brittany, who refused to do him homage. It is sufficient to say, that he was successful in taming the rebels, and in reducing the duke of Brittany to his allegiance. This prince resolved never to marry : but we shall record one of his amours. He became passionately fond of a young damsel, with whose graceful mien he was charmed as he saw her dancing. The damsel, who was called Arlotta \*, a skinner's daughter of

\* From whence, it is said, came the word *harlot*.





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of Falaise, looking upon herself as extremely honoured by the duke's addresses, readily yielded to his solicitations. It is asserted, that the first night the king took her to his bed, she dreamt that her bowels were extended all over Normandy and England. This dream was very naturally interpreted afterwards, if it be true that it was not invented after the event had taken place. Robert had by this mistress a son called William, of whom it is related, that the moment he was born, having laid hold of some straws, he held them so fast, that they were forced to unclinch his fist before he would let them go. This made the gossips predict, that he would one day prove a great acquirer, since he began so early. Robert had his young son brought up with all imaginable care, designing him for his successor. But whilst he was busied in his education, he cherished an idea of going a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. This act of devotion was looked upon as the effect of his remorse for the murder of the duke his brother, and of his desire to atone for his crime by this kind of penance. Be this as it will, before he set out, he took all necessary measures to secure the succession to his bastard son. He was very sensible, how difficult it would be for young William to get possession, if the Normans were not prepared before-hand to acknowledge him. To this end, he summoned the states of Normandy, and communicating to them his design of going to the Holy-Land, conjured them, in case he should never return, to receive, after his death, his young son William for their sovereign. The states did all that lay in their power, to divert the duke from his journey; but finding he was not to be prevailed upon, they gave him their promise, with an oath, that in case any ill accident should befall him on the road, they would conform to his will. Still more to satisfy him, they swore fealty to William, as the presumptive heir of the duke his father. This affair being settled to Robert's satisfaction, he appointed Alain, duke of Bretagne, his relation and vassal, seneschal of Normandy, giving him power to act, in his absence, with absolute authority. After this he carried his son to Paris, and delivered him into the hands of the king of France, who took charge of his education. Before he left the court of France, he made young William do homage to the king, as if he had been in actual possession of Normandy.

The absence of duke Robert occasioned some troubles in his dominions, which obliged the duke of Bretagne to use some severity, and exert the authority he was entrusted with. But whilst he was earnestly endeavouring to restore peace and tranquillity, he was taken off by poison. This accident was soon followed by a report of the duke's being dead on the road. Notwithstanding the uncertainty of this news, it was the cause of commotions so much the more dangerous, as there was nobody in Normandy capable of appeasing them. They who had the administration of affairs in their hands, were themselves engaged in factions, which had been forming ever since the duke's departure; and by that means they helped to encrease the general confusion. Whilst things were in this ill state, some of the duke's train arrived, and confirmed the news of his death. Upon which several of the principal lords, descended from the ancient dukes, openly concerted measures how to exclude the bastard from the succession. Plausible pretences were not wanting: but the states declared, that they could not, without the guilt of perjury, break through the oath they had bound themselves by. The resolution being taken of acknowledging William for sovereign, ambassadors were dispatched to the king of France, to demand the young prince. Ever since Henry had been informed of the duke of Normandy's death, the shame of doing an ill action, and the desire of becoming master of Normandy, had kept him in suspense. He entertained hopes, that the troubles in that dukedom would ultimately turn to his advantage, and he had begun to lay his schemes accordingly. However when he found the states of Normandy had declared in favour of duke William, he thought proper to put off the execution of

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his designs, till a more convenient season. He resolved therefore to conceal his intentions, and to send home the young prince. As soon as duke William came to Rouen, the states swore fealty to him, and gave him for governor Raoul de Gace, constable of Normandy.

The troubles were not allayed by the arrival of the new duke. The lords, who laid claim to the ducal crown, did not drop their pretensions. They imagined that the preferring a bastard before them, was acting unjustly. But those who held the reins of government, were men of great prudence and interest, and were supposed to be supported by France, the claimants durst not openly avow their designs. In the interim, king Henry sought an opportunity to take advantage of these dissensions. The death of duke Robert had blotted out all remembrance of the signal service that prince had rendered him; and not being able to withstand the temptation any longer, he suddenly laid siege to the castle of Tillieres, to which he had some pretensions. This place being very strong and well stored with ammunition, would have held out a long time, if the duke's ministers had not ordered the governor to surrender, on condition the castle should be demolished. Henry very readily agreed to these terms, and commanded the walls to be actually razed, but on pretence of some ambiguous clause in the article of capitulation, he ordered them to be immediately rebuilt. This successful beginning having put him in hopes of succeeding in his enterprize, he seized upon Argentan. He then marched to Falaise, which he soon became master of. Raoul de Gace, having drawn together a powerful army, compelled him to retire; and the constable retook Falaise, the French not having had time to lay in any stores. As soon as the lords, who pretended a right to the dukedom, perceived that the king of France, instead of protecting the young duke, was making war against him, they began to stir in their own respective causes. The first that appeared, was Roger de Trefney, standard-bearer of Normandy, descended from Rollo's uncle. This lord, who had acquired great riches in Spain, where he had for many years been fighting against the Saracens, being returned home during duke Robert's absence, had put himself at the head of one of the factions that disturbed the state. He was no sooner informed of that prince's death, than he formed a design of seizing upon the dukedom. But Roger's apprehension of the king of France's assisting duke William, prevented him from pursuing his project, at that time. His fears, however, were removed by the proceedings of king Henry: and he drew together a body of forces, imagining the duke's troops would be wholly employed against France. But he was shortly after defeated and slain by Roger de Beaumont, who commanded the duke's army.

William, earl of Arques, son to Richard II. by Pavia, was not discouraged by this example. As he found in the king of France a powerful supporter, he sent a defiance to the duke. The duke now headed his army in person, and pressed him so vigorously, that he compelled him to shut himself up in the city of Arques, where he besieged him. Henry who engaged the earl in this enterprize, thought he was obliged, in honour, to raise the siege. To this end he marched into Normandy, where he received two overthrows, and was constrained at last to abandon the rebel, who, upon the city's being taken, was sent into exile.

Guy, of Burgundy, grandson to duke Richard II. by his daughter, was the next that appeared on the stage. He had concerted his measures so well, that he was within a few minutes of surprising the duke, who was then at Valognes without any guard, being entirely ignorant of what was practising against him. But a certain fool, whom the conspirators did not mistrust, having heard their design, travelled all night to give the duke notice of it, who had but just time to put on his cloaths, in order to post away to Falaise. What speed soever he might make, he was so closely pursued, that he could not have escaped, his horse not being able to carry him thither, if he had not been assisted by a gentleman,

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whom he accidentally met on the road. Supposing himself to be in danger, he applied to the king of France for aid. Henry, either out of generosity, or for some other unknown reasons, not being willing to suffer the young prince to be oppressed, brought some troops to his assistance, which enabled him to give his enemy battle. Guy being vanquished and taken prisoner, duke William, by an act of generosity, which redounded no less to his honour than the victory, freely pardoned the rebel.

William Guerland, earl of Mortagne, and another William, earl of Eu, son to a natural brother of Richard II. also attempted to dispossess the young duke; but being prevented by his expedition, they were sentenced to perpetual banishment.

The vigour and conduct of duke William, during all these troubles, made him beloved by his subjects. His neighbours began also to look upon him as a prince of distinguished merit, and as one who might in time find them employment. The king of France, in particular, grew extremely jealous of him, and blamed himself for assisting him against Guy of Burgundy; but to make amends for that oversight, he raised him up a fresh enemy, the earl of Anjou; however, he assisted him at first only privately and under-hand. Afterwards he openly espoused his quarrel, and made war against the duke, which lasted several years, but in the end turned to the disadvantage of the two allies. Duke William having gained two successive battles, they sued for peace; which the king of France could not obtain, without delivering up the castle of Tillieres, which he had got possession of during the duke's minority. It happened during this war, that as the duke was besieging Alençon, some of the inhabitants came upon the walls, with skins in their hands, by way of reproach for the baseness of his birth his mother being a skinner's daughter. He was so nettled at this insult, that he swore by the splendor of God, his usual oath, he would be revenged. Sometime after, becoming master of the town, he made good his oath, by putting out the eyes, and cutting off the hands and feet of two and twenty of the insolent burghers.

Henry died soon after this war, and was succeeded by his son Philip I. a minor, under the guardianship of Baldwin, the fifth earl of Flanders, who had just married his daughter Matilda to the duke of Normandy. The relation the regent stood in to the king as his pupil, and to the duke as his son-in-law, made him take all necessary precautions, to keep up between the two princes a good understanding, which lasted many years. Duke William took this opportunity to extinguish all remains of rebellion among his subjects. He banished great numbers, who, for the most part, retired into Poulille, to Robert Guiscard, a Norman gentleman, who made a great figure then in that country. The duke's relations, by his father's side, giving him the most disturbance, he obliged almost all of them to quit Normandy. He confiscated their estates, and enriched with them his mother's relations, who, till then, were but in mean circumstances. Robert, his brother by the mother's side, had the earldom of Mortagne given him, which William Guerland had forfeited. Odo, his brother, partook also of his bounty, and was moreover made bishop of Bayeux. Two of their sisters were married to the earls of Aumale and of Albemarle. Mauger, his uncle, archbishop of Rouen, had not only a hand in all the plots which had been contrived against the duke, but had proceeded so far as to excommunicate him, on pretence of the too near relation between him and Matilda his wife\*. As soon as the duke had got over all his troubles, he resolved upon being revenged on this prelate. To this end, having assembled all the bishops of Normandy at Lisieux, he caused him to be accused before them of several misdemeanors, particularly, his selling the consecrated chalices to expend the money in luxury. Upon these accusations, supported with all the interest the duke could make, Mauger was solemnly deprived, and Maurillus elected in his room.

Duke William having thus dispersed his opposers, his

affairs were in such a situation, that he might have spent the remainder of his days in peace, having nothing to fear either at home or abroad. But being naturally of a covetous and ambitious disposition, this tranquillity was far from contenting him. It was, no doubt with a view to some further acquisition, that he paid a visit to king Edward his cousin, who had no children, and who, perhaps, had given him some hopes of being his heir. However this be, it is generally believed, that Edward promised him, whilst at the court of England, to make a will in his favour. But although this will never appeared, and though the duke never produced any evidence for it, notwithstanding, according to all the historians, he made it the grounds of his expedition against England. And yet in the manifesto published upon his landing, he says not a word of this will or promise; so that we may conclude, no such will or promise was ever made.

Having laid a succinct, view of the affairs of Normandy before our readers, we shall now proceed with the history of our own nation under William the Conqueror. It is easy to conceive, what a consternation the English were in, after the loss of the battle of Hastings, and the death of their king. They were destitute of men, of arms, and of ammunition; but chiefly they were without a head to command them, and take care of their present wants. On the other hand, the victorious Normans were near London, which was the only place, where necessary measures could be taken to prevent the calamities the kingdom was threatened with. Harold's sons were fled into Ireland. Edgar Atheling was too young to give them any hopes of assistance in this their pressing necessity. It is true, the earls Morcar and Edwin were still alive, and were retired to London with some part of the fugitive army. But in order to take proper measures on so important an occasion, it would have required more time, than the Conqueror, in all probability, would afford them. Thus the affairs of the English were in a terrible confusion; all the methods they proposed to free themselves from danger, being clogged with insurmountable difficulties. On the other side, the duke of Normandy, desirous of taking the advantage of the terror the English were in, was already on his march towards London, that he might, by his approach, increase the trouble and confusion of the whole city. On a sudden he altered his resolution, and considered, that although the loss of a battle might have astonished the English, yet there was no appearance of their being entirely dispirited at it; that their case not being as yet desperate, they might easily bring into the field fresh armies, and try several times more the fortune of war; that provided they did so, and he should receive but one overthrow, he had no-where to retreat to, nor any opportunity of sending for succours from Normandy. These reflections made him resolve to lay siege to Dover, before he advanced any farther, in order to secure a retreat in case of necessity, and a port from whence he might easily send for supplies from Normandy. This cautious proceeding, even after his victory, is a clear evidence of the boldness, or rather rashness of his enterprise, since, had he been worsted, he would not have had a single spot in the kingdom to retire to. He marched therefore immediately for Dover, a place naturally very strong, but that was become more so by the great number of English officers and soldiers who had fled thither for refuge after the battle. For this reason, it might have held out a long siege, but so great was their consternation, that they surrendered in a few days. As soon as the duke was in possession, he ordered the town be more strongly fortified, and spent eight days there, to forward the works. After which, he directed his march towards London.

During the time that the duke lay before Dover, or was on his march towards the Thames, the trouble and confusion at London constantly increased, by reason of the various opinions, which prevented them from coming to any resolution. Some were for submitting to the duke without delay, whilst others thought it would be necessary

\* She was his first cousin, being daughter to Ed. I. ora, duke William's father's sister.



necessary to enter into a treaty with him, in order to secure the privileges not only of the city, but of the whole kingdom. Some endeavoured to place Edgar Atheling on the throne. Edwin and Morcar were at the head of this last party. But how great soever their credit might be, it was not in their power to carry their design. All they could prevail upon the citizens to do, was to shut up their gates against the duke, till such time as they fixed upon some resolution. The duke, however, approaching the city, encamped in Southwark, and was in hopes, that his approach would oblige the Londoners to a voluntary submission; and with this thought he lay still some days. This proceeding had a contrary effect to what he expected. Morcar and Edwin took this opportunity to excite the people to take arms, and sally out in order to surprize the Normans, who were on the other side the bridge. This sally, which was easily repulsed, made the duke sensible, he must go another way to work, and vigorously press this great city, which he could scarce hope to be master of, if he gave the inhabitants time to recover out of their consternation. However, he was at a great loss what to do; and we shall not wonder at it, if we consider, that although he had gained a battle, he was still very far from having attained to his ends. He was in possession but of one single castle, situated in the utmost bounds of the kingdom. All the rest of the country was against him, and there were several remote counties, where the English might draw any army together without molestation. There was no advancing towards the middle of the kingdom, and leaving London behind him, without being exposed to manifest danger, and having all communication with Dover cut off, which was so absolutely necessary for him. On the other hand, it was hardly possible for him to carry on the siege of London during the winter. Besides, the situation of the city would have necessarily obliged him to leave a considerable body of troops on the south-side of the Thames, which would very much have weakened his army. In fine, a siege of that importance, which, in all likelihood, would have lasted several months, would have given the English time to recover from their surprize, and to raise armies in other parts of the kingdom: by which means he would have been under a necessity of conquering England by little and little, as the Romans, Saxons, and Danes had been. But he was in no condition to maintain so tedious a war. He had therefore properly but one way to compass his ends; which was, to lay hold of the consternation the Londoners were in, and oblige them, rather by terror than force, to submit to his laws. With this view it was, that he posted himself at Wallingford, from whence he continually sent out detachments to ravage the counties adjacent, in order to terrify the citizens, to cut them off from provisions, and prevent them from laying in any stores. At the same time, he caused Southwark to be reduced to ashes, to let them see what they were to expect, if they obstinately persisted in the defence of the city. But perhaps all his efforts would have proved fruitless, if the clergy, who were at London, had not broken all the measures, Morcar and Edwin would have taken to crush his designs. The aim of these two lords was to place Edgar Atheling on the throne. They represented to the people, that the only way to avoid the present danger, was to emerge from that state of anarchy they were in; that, whilst there was no person, who had a right to command, it was impossible to take any just measures to resist the Normans, who were already at their gates; but that as soon as there should be a king, he would send orders into all parts of the kingdom, to levy troops, and that the duke of Normandy would then find to his cost, that the gaining a single battle was not sufficient to render him master of England; but that, in case they continued inactive they could expect nothing but total ruin and the kingdom's falling under a foreign yoke; in a word, that prince Edgar had an incontestable right to the crown of England, and they could not refuse to put him in possession of it, without being guilty of great injustice.

The majority of the people acquiesced with the earl's proposals; but the clergy openly rejected them, not judging it proper to put their estates and tranquillity to the hazard of a war, as Edgar was scarce able to protect them. On the other hand, the duke of Normandy had the name of a religious prince, and of one that was well-disposed to the church, and his enterprize had received the Pope's approbation. This was enough to cause a cabal among the clergy, who were then at London with the two archbishops at their head; they made so strenuous an opposition, that Edwin and Morcar, despairing of bringing their designs to pass, retired into the north, fully persuaded, that it would be a long time before the duke would be able to follow them thither. They were no sooner gone, than Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, repaired to the duke, who was then at Berkhamstead. He was soon followed by Aldred archbishop of York, the bishop of Winchester, and at last by prince Edgar, who suffered himself to be guided by their direction. The duke received them in a very civil and courteous manner. He granted all their requests, among which there were some that had respect to the whole nation; and it is even asserted, he confirmed his promises by a solemn oath. It is not known what the terms were these prelates obtained from the duke: but it is presumed that the church's interests were not forgotten. They however, swore fealty to the duke, as if he had been already their sovereign, and induced prince Edgar to do the same. Their example having brought over several persons of distinction, in a few days the Londoners found themselves destitute of the assistance of those they would chiefly have relied upon, in case they had determined to stand upon their defence.

The citizens were still in suspense, and as the becoming master of the metropolis, before the rest of the kingdom had taken any resolution, would decide the matter in favour of the duke, he made nearer approaches to the city, as if he intended to besiege it. Upon which the magistrates, finding they were not in a condition to defend a city, where all was in confusion and despair, resolved to meet him, in order to present him with the keys of the gates. He gave them a very favourable reception, and it is said, promised, upon oath, to preserve their privileges. They had gone too far to draw back. The duke in his whole conduct letting them see, he aspired to something more, they thought it would be their best way to anticipate his wishes, since it was not in their power to hinder the execution of them. To this purpose, after they had held a consultation with the prelates and lords, who had already submitted, they unanimously, resolved to place the duke on the throne. Accordingly, they went to him in a body, and offered the crown to him, telling him, "They had always been accustomed to live under kingly government, and they knew no one more worthy than him to govern them." The duke, forgetting on this occasion, or pretending to forget, that he had entered the kingdom in an armed manner, on account of the claim he laid to the crown, showed at first some doubt, whether he should accept of that honour. He told them, the offer they made him was of so great importance, that he desired, before he resolved, to advise with his friends. The result of which was, says Rapin, that he ought by no means to refuse the dignity, voluntarily offered him by the English, since by so doing, he would put himself out of a condition to reward his followers, who had engaged in his cause, purely out of hopes of placing him on the throne. They entreated him therefore not to reject what Providence had been so kind as to throw in his way, and what had cost him so much blood already. The duke, readily yielded to their agreeable solicitations; and acquainted the English lords and magistrates of London, "That he was ready to consent to their request." He now accepted the crown, as their gift, and tacitly acknowledged a right of election in the people of England, though the manner in which he caused himself to be elected, was no great sign of his being



being persuaded they had that right, And the duke appointed Christmas-day following for the ceremony of his coronation. In the interim, as this solemnity was to be performed at London, the inhabitants whereof he suspected, he ordered a fortress to be run up in haste, which he garrisoned with Normans. Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was then suspended by the Pope, as an intruder into that see, in the room of Robert, who was never canonically deprived. But notwithstanding this, he exercised the archiepiscopal functions, the English not being as yet convinced, that the Pope's power was of so large an extent as he would have it. However, the duke, who lay under an obligation to the Pope, and besides was willing to avoid the objections that might be made against his coronation, if performed by a suspended bishop, would not receive the crown from the hands of Stigand. Aldred, therefore, archbishop of York, was appointed for this ceremony. Before he set the crown on his head, the archbishop, addressing himself to the English, asked them, whether they would have the duke of Normandy for their king? All the people having consented by their acclamations, the bishop of Constance put the same question to the Normans, who answered in the same manner as the English had done. The archbishop of York, continuing the ceremony, placed the duke on the throne, and administered to him the oath usually taken by the Saxon kings. The substance of the oath was, "That he would protect the church and its ministers; that he would govern the nation with equity; that he would enact just laws, and cause them to be strictly observed; and that he would forbid all rapines and unjust judgements." Malmesbury adds, that he promised to behave himself mercifully towards his subjects, and govern the English and Normans by the same laws.

The first thing the new king did after his coronation, was to seize on the treasure, in 1067, which Harold had laid up at Winchester. Part of this he distributed among the principal officers of his army, and part he bestowed on the churches and monasteries, in order to gain the reputation of a pious and religious prince. The pope had also a share of the booty. At the same time, he sent to Rome the late king's standard, as a sort of homage to the Holy See, and as a testimony that the conquest of England was undertaken with the Pope's approbation. Harold's treasures being thus distributed, there was a necessity of thinking upon ways and means to fill the new king's coffers. To this end, it was intimated to the cities and corporations, and most wealthy of the subjects, that it would not be amiss to gain the good-will of their new sovereign by making him some present. Every one having cheerfully agreed to the proposal, the presents made to the king amounted to a very considerable sum.

William's moderation towards the English in the beginning of his reign, gave them reason to imagine, they were going to enjoy solid happiness under the government of a prince, who seemed to have their interests at heart. He exhorted the principal officers of his army to treat the vanquished with the moderation due from one Christian to another. He entreated them to refrain from all kinds of insult towards the English, least by their injuries they should provoke them to take up arms. As for the inferior officers and soldiers, he published severe edicts against such as should violate the chastity of the women, or give the least cause of complaint to the natives. After this he confirmed the people's privileges, and all the promises he had made respecting them. How great a regard soever the king showed for the English, he could not forbear being under some mistrust on their account, persuaded as he was, that their submission proceeded rather from fear than good-will. A few days after his coronation he retired from London to Berking, not daring to stay in

that great city, because he suspected the fidelity of its inhabitants. Imagining his security was not very great in any part of the nation, he placed strong garrisons at Hastings, Dover, and Winchester, to prevent the English from shaking of the yoke he had just laid upon them. These precautions had no ill effect on their minds. They considered them as absolutely necessary, in the beginning of so great a revolution, and were not at all alarmed at them. On the contrary, they who hitherto refused to acknowledge the new king, came and submitted to him in crowds: Edwin and Morcar, who had begun to concert measures for the defence of their country, dropped all their schemes. As they were convinced of the sincerity of the king, as well as the rest of their countrymen, they swore fealty to him at Berking. He omitted nothing that might contribute to the keeping up of these good dispositions in them. He not only assured them of his protection, but even in their presence, conferred upon prince Edgar large possessions, who was the idol of the English, and generally stiled, England's darling.

The victory of Hastings redounded too much to the king's glory, for him not to transmit the memory of it to posterity. With this view, he laid the foundations of a church and abbey, in the place where Harold was slain, and gave orders, that when they should be finished, the church should be dedicated to St. Martin, and the monastery called Battle Abbey\*. The three first months of his reign passed in this manner, to the mutual satisfaction of the English and Normans. The former believed they were no great losers by the late revolution, and the latter lived in hopes, the king would make good the promises he had made them, when they engaged in his service.

King William's cautious proceedings having procured him an universal submission, he thought his happiness would not be complete, unless he had the satisfaction of going to Normandy, and appearing there in his new grandeur. To this end, that he might prevent a revolt in England, he placed strong garrisons of Normans in all the castles: and carried along with him such of the English lords, as he most suspected. Of this number were prince Edgar, Stigand, Morcar, Edwin, Waltheoff, son of Siward, formerly earl of Northumberland, with several others of the prime nobility. Before he left England, he committed the government of the kingdom to his brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and William Fitz-Osbern. There was no end of the rejoicings among his old subjects upon his arrival in Normandy. He spent his Easter at Fescamp, where the French ambassador†, attended with a numerous retinue of nobles, came to congratulate him, in his master's name, upon his new dignity. On this occasion, the king affected to appear in the eyes of the French, with all the magnificence, he thought capable of setting off the lustre of his glory.

During his absence, Odo his brother, and William Fitz-Osbern, whom he had left regents, very indifferently abused the authority he had entrusted them with. Wholly taken up in enriching themselves, they were so far from protecting the English, who made frequent complaints to them, that they not only suffered them to be harassed by others, but they themselves oppressed them by continual acts of tyranny. On account of the oppressive behaviour of the regents, several among the English were desirous of an attempt to recover their liberty. The Kentishmen led the way in the revolt, and called in to their assistance Eustace, earl of Boulogne, who endeavoured to surprize Dover Castle; but not succeeding in his attempt, he retired to his ships, leaving the Kentishmen to the mercy of the regents, who severely chastized them. Notwithstanding this, Emeric, an English lord, to whom historians have given the surname of Forester, took up arms in the county of Here-

\* In this abbey was kept an ancient list of all the noble families that came over with king William; it was called Battle Abbey-Roll, of which Stow and Hollinghead have

given us copies, though with some little variation.

† Rodolph, the potent father in law to the king of France.



ford, and barbarously used all the Normans that fell into his hands. News of this being carried to the king, he immediately embarked for England, committing the government of Normandy to Matilda, his wife, and Robert, his eldest son. His return in the beginning of the following winter, appeased the storm his absence had raised. But these two attempts gave him so great a suspicion of all the English in general, that he began, from that time, to look upon them as so many secret enemies, who sought an opportunity to revolt. This opinion was not without grounds. When one considers his temper, and the state of the English with respect to him, says Rapin, it is easy to see, that it was hardly possible there should be that mutual confidence between them, which would have been so necessary to their common tranquillity. The king was naturally mistrustful and rigid; and his great armament had run him vastly in debt. Besides, he lay under an obligation of liberally rewarding the officers who had engaged in his service, and all this was to be done at the expence of the English. To this may be added, that he was naturally covetous, greedy of riches, not to expend, but to hoard them up. In short, his partiality to his own nation was very plain, and this prevented him frequently from giving ear to the complaints of the English against the Normans, who made a very ill use of the king's good-will towards them. On the other side, the English were extremely prejudiced against the Normans; and this prejudice, which had begun in the reign of king Edward, and been fomented by earl Godwin, and Harold his son, had still been increased since the late revolution. How great care soever the king had taken to recommend moderation to the Normans, there was no possibility of hindering them from abusing the superiority their victory had given them over the English, and from insulting them in their misfortunes. This was no very proper method to keep up a good understanding between the two nations. Besides, the king had built his right to the crown upon so slight a foundation, that the English could not but look upon him as a greedy and ambitious prince, who had formed the project of his enterprize upon England, purely out of a motive to gratify his passions. Lastly, the administration of the two regents during his absence, gave occasion to think, that they would not have carried their excesses and rapines to that height, had they not been assured of their master's approbation. However, the thoughts of the mildness of his government for the three first months of his reign, had in some measure caused these reflections to vanish, and dissipated all their fears. But when they found that, after his return, he not only neglected to punish the regents, but even to approve of their conduct, they could no longer refrain from shewing their disapprobation. They every where spread their complaints and murmurs, and the king's suspicions daily increased, insomuch that he formed a resolution to be on his guard, and use all possible means to prevent the discontents of the English from breaking out into a flame. As his temper inclined him to severity, the methods he made use of were of that nature: to which he was prompted by the Normans, whose interest it was, that he should undertake to bring the English under by force, rather than endeavour to gain them by fair means.

Not long after the king's return, Matilda, his wife, came into England, and was crowned with great solemnity. This same year she was brought to bed of a son, named Henry. Her other sons were born in Normandy, namely, Robert, Richard, and William, the eldest of whom was about twelve years of age.

The king had hitherto delayed the rewarding those who had voluntarily assisted him in his expedition against England. Besides the salaries that were due to them, they expected to be made amends in proportion to their services, and the power he had acquired by their means. His ordinary revenues not being sufficient for this, there was a necessity of having recourse to the English, whose misfortune it was to be vanquished. To this end, he bethought himself of an expedient, which could not but

be very ungrateful to them. This was to set on foot again Danegelt, which he did in the year 1068. It had been abolished by Edward the Confessor; but this renewal of it brought back to their remembrance, the calamities they had suffered under a foreign power. The English now became highly dissatisfied; and Aldred, archbishop of York, sent a messenger to represent to the king, in his name, the injury he was doing the English, and the ill consequences that might follow. The king was nettled at this remonstrance, and sharply rebuked the person who durst undertake to deliver it. It is said, Aldred was so sensibly touched with this procedure, that he could not forbear denouncing vengeance against the king and all his race. It was a great question, whether the archbishop's resentment might not occasion some troubles in the north. At least the king seemed to be of that opinion, by his sending one of his officers to him to endeavour to appease him. But the death of Aldred, which happened soon after, freed the king from his fears, and Dane-gelt was levied with all the rigour imaginable. From that time forward nothing was heard but murmurings and complaints, which, displeasing the king, caused him to consider the English but as so many rebels, as they, on their side, looked upon him under the odious idea of a conqueror.

The English now thought of some means to shake off a foreign yoke, which to them seemed insupportable. The insurrections began in the western parts, where the inhabitants of Exeter refused to take their oath to the king, and admit a Norman garrison. William, sensible of what importance it was to put a stop to this evil before it spread any further, marched in person, though in the midst of winter, to reduce Exeter to obedience. When he drew near the city, he was met by some of the principal inhabitants, who came to petition him for pardon in the name of the corporation, and to give him hostages. Whilst the deputies were with the king, the ordinary sort of townsmen having got the upper-hand, disapproved of their proceedings, and resolved to stand upon their defence. Gith, mother to king Harold, who was then in the city, buoyed up the inhabitants in their resolution, and in all probability, was the person that put them upon it. In the mean time, the king being advanced too far to retire with honour, found himself obliged to besiege the town in form, notwithstanding the sharpness of the winter. The army having made their approaches, and beginning to batter the walls, the citizens saw they had no other course to take, but to implore the king's mercy. How much soever the king was resolved to make an example of them, he yielded to the intreaties of the clergy, who very importunately craved their pardon. Gith had the good fortune to escape into Flanders with a prodigious quantity of money. To prevent their rising again, William ordered a castle to be built in the city, and left it to the care and management of Baldwin, son to the earl Gilbert, with a Norman garrison.

The king could no longer put off the payment of his debts, and the rewards he had so often promised his troops. The sums raised by the late tax, which at first were designed for this use, had been paid into the king's treasury, and he could not bear the thoughts of letting the money go again. He believed it absolutely necessary to have a reserve ready upon any sudden and unexpected occasion; especially seeing the discontents of the English gave him reason to dread a general revolt. And therefore, without meddling with that money, he had recourse to other methods, which greatly heightened the dissatisfaction of the English. He sent commissioners into all the counties, to enquire who they were that had sided with Harold, and to confiscate their estates. The English loudly exclaimed against this proceeding, which seemed to them very unjust. They alledged, that when they took up arms for Harold, that prince was in actual possession of the throne, having been elected at a time, when the pretensions of William to the crown were not even known; that before the battle of Hastings, they had never taken their oath to the duke of Normandy, and, consequently, their estates could not be liable to be



forfeited, for having borne arms against him; that, besides, supposing they were guilty, they had made ample amends for their fault by a ready submission, which the king had accepted of, having even promised to protect them in their rights and privileges. These reasons were very strong. But, at this juncture, William acted with a view to politics rather than justice. His intent was not so much to punish them for their pretended crime, as to come at a plausible pretence to raise money, and at the same time, to put it out of their power to hurt him, by depriving them of their estates; a thing he judged absolutely necessary for his safety. This was one of the most remarkable events of the Conqueror's reign; for the lands that were confiscated passed into the hands of the Normans and other foreigners, who became, by that means, more considerable in England than the English themselves. From them are descended many noble families now in being. Be this as it may, these confiscations were of great service to the king upon two accounts. First, as they put him in a capacity to pay his debts, and reward his followers: and, secondly, as they gave him an opportunity of stocking the counties with such as were devoted to him, and whose interest it was to support him on the throne.

Whilst the king was thus guarding against the English, he daily lost ground in their esteem and affections, and put them naturally upon searching after the means of recovering the estates, they had been unjustly deprived of. Edwin, earl of Chester, one of the most considerable among them, thought it his duty to attempt the restoring of the almost forlorn affairs of his country. The king had amused him with the hopes of having one of his daughters; but it did not appear that he intended to be as good as his word. On the contrary, the king seemed to want only some pretence to involve him in the same ruin with the rest. Morcar, his brother, earl of Northumberland, who was in much the same condition, readily engaged in the plot. As these two lords had a great interest in the kingdom, they soon raised an army, which was reinforced by Blethwin, king of Wales, their nephew, with a great number of troops. The king now feared a general revolt, and therefore opposed this in the beginning. In his march towards the rebels, he fortified the castle of Warwick, and made Henry de Beaumont governor, who was also the first earl of Warwick. He then built Nottingham-Castle, that he might secure a retreat in case of necessity, by the means of these two places. After having taken these precautions, he continued his march towards the north, in order to engage the rebels, or to besiege York, which had espoused their cause.

In the interim, the two earls, having been in hopes that the rest of the kingdom would follow the example of the north, were very much deceived in their expectations. The king's great expedition, and the superiority of his forces, having disconcerted their measures, they found they were not able to stand against him. In this extremity, they had but two ways to take, either to fly the kingdom, or submit to the king's mercy. They took this last course, and notwithstanding the king might be incensed, he very readily pardoned them, with a view to reclaim the English by this act of clemency. He continued his march towards York, the inhabitants whereof, in no condition to maintain the war alone, came out to meet him, and delivered up the keys of their city. By this submission, they were pardoned as to corporal punishments; but were forced to pay a large fine, and had the mortification to see a castle built in their city, and garrisoned with Norman soldiers. Archil, a Northumbrian lord, who had been concerned in the revolt, was also received into favour, upon delivering his son as an hostage. Egelwin, bishop of Durham, made his peace likewise upon the same account. The king also built castles at Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, which it was evident, were designed to keep the English in awe. Morcar, and the other Northumbrian lords, dreading he had only deferred their punishment till a more convenient season, retired into Scotland.

Earl Cospatrik was under the same apprehensions, and inspired prince Edgar with the same thoughts, who thereupon took refuge in the court of Scotland with his mother, and sisters. Malcolm Mocmoir, who was then on the throne, received them with the respect due to their rank, and considered them with regard rather to their birth than their fortune. He married soon after Margaret, Edgar's eldest sister; from whom sprang Matilda, grandmother to Henry II. king of England, in whose person the royal families of the Saxons and Normans were united.

King William, finding the English were very discontented, in order to make himself the more secure, he ordered all the English to deliver up their arms, and forbade them the use of lights in their houses, after eight o'clock; at which hour, a bell was rung to warn them to put out their lights and cover their fire, under the penalty of a great fine. This happened in the year 1069. The sound of this bell, which was called the curfew\*, was for a long time exceeding grating to the ears of the English. When they reflected on the sweets of liberty, which they had enjoyed under their ancient kings, they could not, without extreme regret, behold themselves reduced to a state of slavery. If they did not observe this order most exactly, they were immediately punished, as if they had been guilty of some heinous crime. So that this bell was a signal which, being repeated every day constantly, put them in mind of their wretched state. This act of oppression, joined to a thousand others, which they daily suffered from the hands of the king, as well as from the foreigners spread over the kingdom, rendered their lives bitter, and made them deplore their sad and helpless condition.

Whilst William was thus guarding against the secret practices of his subjects, Godwin, Edmund, and Magnus, sons to Harold, made a descent in Somersetshire. The only opposition they met with was from Eadnoth, formerly master of the horse to the king their father, who was willing to give William a proof of his fidelity, by encountering these princes. His zeal for the new king proved fatal to him, for he was slain in the battle; and the princes retired with their booty.

Notwithstanding the king's indulgence to the Normans, a vast number of them desired leave to return into their own country. The king readily granted their request, after he had fully paid the arrears due to them, and rewarded them above their expectations. All this was done at the expence of the English, on whom were levied the sums necessary to defray this charge.

Causes of complaint daily increased on both sides. The king complained, that the English appeared ready upon all occasions to rebel, and the English looking upon themselves as unjustly oppressed, loudly murmured at it. The Northumbrians were the most impatient. They could not refrain expostulating upon the least occasion, and very often ushered in their complaints with some insurrection. The turbulent temper of these people, and their neighbourhood to Scotland, giving the king room to suspect them, he resolved to appoint them a governor: and accordingly sent Robert Cumin, a Norman lord, whose rugged disposition seemed proper to tame their fierceness. They heard this news at the time a project, they had formed of calling in the Danes was just going to break out. Some of them who had taken refuge in Denmark, had persuaded king Sweyn, that it would be an easy matter for him to conquer England. They had even assured him, in behalf of the Northumbrians, that they would assist him in his undertaking. Upon this Sweyn had fitted out a fleet of two hundred sail, which was ready to put to sea, at the time Cumin with seven hundred Normans, came and took possession of his government. As his arrival might prove very prejudicial to their designs, the principal contrivers of the plot resolved to get rid of the new governor and his attendants. Though he had notice of their design, yet he thought it so little in their power to hurt him, that he would take no warning. In the meantime the conspirators having privately drawn some troops together,

\* *Couvre-feu*, or cover-fire.



together, came to Durham, where Cumin was wholly unprovided for any defence, and put him and his Norman followers all to the sword. Quickly after arrived the Danish fleet, under the command of Osborn, brother to the king of Denmark. Upon the news of which all the malecontents joined the Danish general, who had already landed his troops. Edgar Atheling, Cospatrik, Merlesweyn, and all the other lords who had retired into Scotland, brought him reinforcements, which rendered his army very formidable. As all Northumberland assisted the Danes, and the king had not in those parts any forces capable of withstanding so numerous an army, Osborn marched directly towards York. The Norman garrison there, upon the approach of the Danes, came to a resolution to hold out to the last extremity, not doubting but the king would come to their relief with all possible expedition. In hopes of this, they set fire to the suburbs at the foot of the castle, that the houses might not be of any service to the besiegers. But the fire spreading farther than was designed, great part of the city was reduced to ashes. The cathedral church, the monastery of St. Peter, and a famous library begun by archbishop Egbert, about the year 800, entirely perished in the flames. The Danes, however, took advantage of the confusion caused by this accident, and entered the city without opposition. As soon as they were masters of it, they attacked the citadel so vigorously, that they got possession of it at the first assault, and put the garrison to the sword. After this, the Danish general, understanding the king was preparing to march against him, went and encamped on an advantageous piece of ground, leaving in York earl Waltheoff, with an English garrison.

The news of this invasion somewhat shook the king's resolution. He was afraid the Danes had been called in by a general combination. Possessed with this notion, he durst not quit the heart of the kingdom, for fear his absence should give the rest of the malecontents an opportunity to rise. On the other hand, it was no less dangerous to neglect the affairs of the north, which might be attended with ill consequences. In this perplexity, he believed his best way would be to endeavour to pacify the English, by doing some acts which seemed proper to that end. He recalled several whom he had banished: he set others at liberty, and affected by some instances of severity, to repress the insolence of the Normans. His fears being somewhat abated by the good effect of these proceedings, he sent the queen and the princes into Normandy, and then marched against the Danes. He was so exasperated against the Northumbrians, that he was heard to swear by God's splendour, he would not leave a soul alive. As soon as he had entered Yorkshire, he began to put his threatenings in execution by terrible ravages. In the mean time, the Danes kept their posts, where he durst not attack them, well knowing, that by hazarding a battle, he staked his all against little or nothing. To extricate himself out of this difficulty, he had recourse to bribery; and with that view, he sent private emissaries to offer a large sum of money to the Danish general, with leave to plunder the country along the sea-coast, provided he would go off before winter was over. This negotiation having succeeding to his wish, Osborn retired in the beginning of the spring, for which he was severely punished by the king, his brother. The Danes being gone, William marched to York, in order to besiege the city, which was defended by an English and Scotch garrison, under the command of earl Waltheoff, who, by his courage and conduct, rendered the siege so long and difficult, that the king began to despair of being able to go through with it, when the want of provisions obliged the besieged to capitulate. How exasperated soever the king might be, he readily granted honourable terms to this brave governor, whose valour he had so often admired during the siege. He was not satisfied with showing him this mark of his esteem, but gave him in marriage his own niece, daughter to the countess of Albemarle. Some time after he made him also earl of

Northampton and Huntingdon, and afterwards of Northumberland. He received likewise into favour, earl Cospatrik: but he punished severely the rest of the officers and soldiers of the garrison, and laid a heavy fine upon the citizens of York. As soon as the siege was over, and the king found it in his power to be revenged on the Northumbrians, he ravaged their country in so merciless a manner, that for sixty miles together, between York and Durham, he did not leave a single house standing. He spared not even the churches, and other public edifices. This was done, says Rapin, merely to glut his revenge, and strike a terror into the rest of the kingdom. It is impossible, according to historians, fully to represent the miseries of the northern counties. The lands lying untilld, and the houses being destroyed, people died in heaps, after having endeavoured to prolong their wretched lives by eating of the most unclean animals, and sometimes even human flesh\*.

The calling in of the Danes to the assistance of the English, thoroughly convinced the king, that he should never be in peaceable possession of the crown, till he had entirely put it out of their power to execute the plots they should form against him. This made him resolve to humble all whose who had any interest with the people, so that they should not be able to make head against him. It is true, many innocent persons were to suffer in the execution of this scheme. But at that time, it is certain William had an eye to nothing but his own security, without troubling himself whether the means he made use of were consistent with justice. To accomplish his design, he suddenly removed the English from such posts as gave them any power over their countrymen. After which he seized upon all the baronies, and all the fiefs of the crown in general, and distributed them among the Normans, and other foreigners, who had followed him into England. As the latter were not so many in number as those that were deprived of their estates, he was obliged to load them with benefits, in order to take all the crown-lands out of the hands of the English. We may be satisfied by the following instances, how profuse the king was in his distributions. Robert, his brother by the mother's side, had for his share the earldom of Cornwall, where he had two hundred and eighty-eight manors, besides five hundred and fifty-eight, which he was in possession of in other counties. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, his other brother, was made earl palatine of Kent, and high justiciary of England. This prelate had one hundred and eighty fiefs in Kent alone, and two hundred and fifty-five in several other places. William Fitz-Osborn was rewarded with the whole earldom of Hereford. Hugh Lupus, the king's sister's son, was presented by his uncle with the county palatine of Chester, with all the royal prerogatives, to hold it with the same sovereign power as the king himself held his crown. Alan Fergeant, duke of Bretagne, the king's son-in-law, had all earl Morcar's estate, with the same privileges as were granted to the earl of Chester. Roger de Montgomery had first Arundel and Chichester, and afterwards Shropshire. Walter Giffard had Buckinghamshire; and William Warren, the county of Surry. Eudes, earl of Blois, was put in possession of the lordship of Holderness. Ralph de Guader, a Briton, was made earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, and lord of Norwich. Henry de Ferrars had Tutbury-Castle. William, bishop of Constance, was possessed of two hundred and eighty fiefs, which he left at his death to Robert Mowbray, his nephew. As to reckon up all the donations the king granted to the foreigners at the expence of the English, would require a volume, those few above-mentioned are sufficient to make appear, that the king's aim in these lavish proceedings, was solely to deprive the English of their estates. This year, 1070, therefore, is a memorable epocha, when, to speak in the language of the historians, England was delivered into the hands of foreigners. One may easily guess that the lords, to whom the king had distributed so many estates, suffered none to hold of them but those of their own nation. Accordingly,

\* See Rapin, book vi.



ingly, from that time, we hear no more of ealdormans, or thanes, but of counts, or earls, viscounts, barons, vavassors, and other titles taken from the Norman or French tongue, which began to be introduced into England instead of the Saxon names. So that it may be truly said, England became Norman. From the foreigners, who were then put in possession of these estates, are descended a great part of the most eminent families this day in the kingdom.

The English nobility were not the only sufferers by these proceedings of the Conqueror. The clergy had scarce any better quarter. The Saxon kings had granted to several bishops and abbots, fees exempted from all military service, denouncing in their charters imprecations against such of their successors as should dare to violate these privileges. But William, not being in the number of those princes, who look upon what their predecessors have settled as unalterable, cancelled all these immunities. Church-lands, as well as the rest, were obliged to find, in time of war, a certain number of horsemen, notwithstanding the clauses in their ancient charters to the contrary. Such of the clergy as refused to comply, only gave the king what he wanted, a pretence to turn them out, in order to place foreigners in their room. Moreover, he quartered upon the monasteries, almost all his troops, and obliged the monks to find them in necessaries. By this act of injustice, he kept his army without any charge, and had spies in all the religious houses, who had an eye over the actions of the monks.

King William had been informed, that several persons had lodged their money and plate in the monasteries; whereupon he ordered all the religious houses to be searched, and every thing of value to be carried off, on pretence it belonged to the rebels. Some historians affirm, that he did not spare the shrines of the saints and the consecrated vessels, but all were seized by his myrmidons. The great credit of the bishops and abbots still making him uneasy, he resolved to deprive those whom he most suspected. The better to colour his proceedings, he sent for two legates from Rome, who convened a council at Westminster, where every thing went to his mind. Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was degraded for having intruded into the see, Robert, his predecessor, not having been canonically deposed. The same council also deposed Agelmar, bishop of East-Anglia, who resided then at Helmham; Algeric, bishop of Durham, and some others, whom the king did not like, fell likewise a sacrifice to his jealousy. As for others, against whom the council had nothing to allege, the king, by his sole authority, banished some the kingdom, and threw the rest into prison, without giving any other reason but his good pleasure. After he had thus got rid of all those that gave him any uneasiness, he put in their room Normans or other foreigners, for all were acceptable but English. He promoted Lanfranc, an Italian, who was abbot of a monastery at Caen, to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and Thomas, a canon of Bayeux, to that of York. Three of his chaplains were made bishops of Winchester, Helmham, and Selsey; and Norman abbots were placed in the monasteries the English were ejected from.

Thus the king let the English see, by his whole conduct, that his design was to reduce them so low, as to put it out of their power ever to rise against him: but some of the principal among them thought the present a good opportunity to make a vigorous attempt to prevent their utter ruin. Fretheric, abbot of St. Alban's, was one of the most forward to inspire his countrymen with this resolution; and by the means of his interest and riches it was, that a fresh plot was laid to drive the king and the Normans out of the kingdom. Matters were carried on with that secrecy, that the conspirators on a sudden drew an army together, before the king had any notice of their proceedings. This army being grown very numerous in a few days, the abbot of St. Alban's sent for Edgar Atheling out of Scotland, and put him at the head of the malecontents, who acknowledged

him for their king, and had him proclaimed in all the places they were masters of. This bold enterprize made the king extremely uneasy, who lived in a constant dread, that some sudden revolution would deprive him of the fruits of all his labours. He communicated his thoughts to Lanfranc, the new archbishop of Canterbury, who advised him to deal more gently with the English. He even gave him to understand, that it was absolutely necessary to enter into a negotiation with the revolted, lest the flame, which was already kindled, might spread over the whole kingdom. The king took his advice, and after he had made a great many fair promises, he found the means to get the leaders to come to a conference at Berkhamstead, where they met the king. He calmly heard all their complaints, and promised to redress their grievances. He even swore on the Holy Evangelists, that he would establish the ancient laws of the realm, which went under the name of Edward his benefactor. This condescension having pacified the malecontents, they returned to the army in order to dismiss their troops, believing they had no further occasion for them. But nothing was farther from the king's thoughts, than the keeping his oath, which he looked upon as extorted. A little after, he ordered a great number of those that had taken up arms against him to be apprehended, some of them he put to death, and others were banished or sent to prison. Hereupon Edgar fled into Scotland, and the rest took refuge in Ireland, Denmark, and Norway. The abbot of St. Alban's retired to the isle of Ely, where he died with regret. When the king heard of the abbot's death, he seized upon the monastery, and took all that was valuable from its sacred walls, and would have utterly destroyed it, if Lanfranc had not prevailed upon him to desist from his design.

The severity which the king shewed to the malecontents, variously wrought on the minds of the English. Some, terrified by it, resolved to endure all things, for fear of making matters worse by fruitless attempts. Others, not so passive, determined to run all risks to free themselves from a yoke they could no longer bear. These last, in 1071, retired to the Isle of Ely, where was a rich monastery, the abbot whereof was their friend. But this was not the only reason that induced them to go thither. This place, called an isle from its being surrounded with a morass, was very strong, and seemed proper to shelter them from the king's designs upon them, when they should have got together a sufficient number of men to defend it. Edwin and Morcar chose to join them, being very sensible, they should be made the first sacrifice to the king's suspicions, and not daring to trust to his promises any longer. Some time after, Edwin having resolved to go into Scotland, where he thought he might be more serviceable to his party, was murdered on the road by his own men. Morcar, his brother, found in the isle of Ely a great many persons of quality, with Egelrick and Walter, bishops of Durham and Hereford, all resolutely bent to oppose to their utmost, the despotic power the king assumed to himself. Their number being considerably increased by multitudes of malecontents flocking to them, they chose for their leader Hereward, nephew to the bishops of Peterborough, who was esteemed the bravest and best soldier in the kingdom. He had been banished in the reign of king Edward, for some outrages he had committed in his neighbourhood, and had retired into Flanders, where his valour had gained him great reputation, and raised him to eminent posts. The death of his father obliging him to return into England, he found his estate given away to a Norman. He demanded the restitution of it, but not being able to obtain it by a legal process, he drove out the foreigner by force, and took possession. This was precisely at the time, when coming to Ely to avoid the king's resentment, he was chosen general by the malecontents. As his reputation was very great, and as those, who showed marks of courage and resolution, were as formidable to the king, as those who durst not resist him were despicable, he created in the king a great



great deal of uneasiness. The honour he had just then received, having animated him with fresh ardour, and a desire of letting them see he was not unworthy of it, he set about making all the preparations necessary for a vigorous defence, plainly fore-seeing it would not be long before he was attacked. Whilst he was laying in stores, he caused all the accessible places of the isle to be carefully fortified, and took all other precautions, which might render a siege the more difficult. William, knowing who he had to deal with, marched with all possible speed to attack him, in hopes to come upon him before he should be prepared. But Hereward had already guarded against his entrance into the isle, by ordering a castle of wood to be run up in the morass, which could not be assaulted, and which defended the only passage to the besieged. In spite of these seemingly insurmountable difficulties, William was resolved upon a siege or rather a blockade. He thought to reduce them by famine, and to have them all together at his mercy; for the same thing that prevented his approaches, was an obstacle to their flight. With this view it was, that he built a bridge over the morass two miles in length, by the means of which, he deprived the besieged of all hopes of succours. However, though he had spent a great deal of time in the siege, he was never the nearer, since the rebels had a prodigious store of provisions. These delays made him very uneasy, as well upon account of the affair in hand, as because they prevented him from marching against the king of Scotland, who had taken this opportunity to invade the northern counties. At length, when he began to despair of succeeding in his enterprize, he was advised to seize some lands which the monastery of Ely held without the limits of the isle, in order to reduce the monks to obedience through the fear of losing them. He had no sooner done this, and distributed the lands among his courtiers, than Thurstan the abbot, not being able to withstand the clamours of the monks, sought the means to recover their estates again. With this view he privately acquainted the king, that he would put him in possession of the Isle of Ely, with all those that were in it, and pay him a thousand marks, on condition, the lands that were seized were restored to the monastery. This offer was gladly accepted of, and the abbot performed his promise: but historians have not acquainted us with the manner of his procedure in this hazardous undertaking. However that be, the malecontents were constrained, by the abbot's treachery, to submit to the king's mercy. Hereward alone escaped, having forced a way with his sword through some guards that defended a certain pass. Of those that were taken in the isle, some had their eyes put out, or their hands cut off, and others were shut up in different prisons. Among these last were earl Morcar, with Egelric, bishop of Durham, who having been so hardy as to excommunicate the king, was sent to Abington, where he was starved to death. The monks of Ely were likewise chastised, though they had taken all imaginable care to perform the articles of capitulation. When they came to pay the money they had stipulated for, upon its wanting only a groat, they were forced to pay another thousand marks. This was not all, for the king quartered upon them forty knights, for whom they were obliged to find all necessaries.

During the time the king was taken up in the siege of Ely, Malcolm continued his ravages in the north, with a barbarity very unworthy a Christian prince, if it was such, as the English historians have described it. They tell us, the Scotch ripped up the bellies of women with child, cut the throats of the old men, and tossed young children into the air, to receive them on the points of their swords. But in all appearance, these things have been greatly exaggerated, as well as the number of the

English slaves that were carried into Scotland, where, it is said, there was not a house but had one. Cospatrick, who was then governor of Northumberland, not being strong enough to make head against the king of Scotland, made an incursion into Cumberland, where he revenged on the Scots, the calamities their countrymen had brought on the English. This expedition exasperated the king of Scotland, who took occasion from thence, to carry on his ravages the more furiously in Northumberland. William could not bear these insults; but the affair of Ely seeming to him of greater importance, he was willing to see it over. As soon as it was ended, he marched into Galloway, in 1072, where he only fatigued his army to little purpose. Malcolm, who was retired into Scotland, endeavoured to prolong the war, in hopes some new troubles, of which he might take the advantage, would unexpectedly arise in England. The same reason obliged William to put an end to it as soon as possible. The readiest way to do this, he thought, was to follow the Scots into the heart of their country, that the dread of a battle, which to them might prove fatal, might compel them to come to peaceable terms. This resolution succeeded as he expected, Malcolm, who was unwilling to hazard a battle in his own kingdom, having proposed to accommodate matters by a treaty, he was of opinion, he ought not to be in the least suspense whether he should put an end to a war, which the circumstances of his affairs made him look upon as extremely dangerous. The bounds of the two kingdoms were determined \* by the treaty, and Malcolm did him homage. Some English writers † pretend, this homage was done for all Scotland; but the Scotch affirm, it was only for Cumberland. And indeed that is most likely, since there is no probability that Malcolm, who had not received the least check, should stoop so low as to do homage for his whole kingdom.

Malcolm gave all the English refugees a good reception, so that great numbers of them retired into his dominions, where some of them procured settlements, which obliged them to continue there. From these are derived several considerable families at this day in Scotland. Some assert, that the English carried thither their language, with the titles of duke, earl, and baron; but Buchanan affirms, they were in use there before that time. Among the chief of the refugees was earl Cospatrick, who had been deprived of his government, under pretence of his having a hand in the death of Cumin, though he had, after that, done the king very signal services. He was succeeded by earl Waltheoff, the only English lord, for whom William had any kindness left. But he did not keep long in the king's favour for which he was principally indebted to his wife, who was the king's niece.

The French having afforded William sufficient time to settle himself on the throne of England, without giving him the least molestation, he was in hopes, since they had not taken the advantage of the late troubles in England, they would be still less inclined to disturb him, after his having entirely brought his English subjects under. But Philip's jealousy reviving, he resolved, in the year 1073, to attack Normandy; which he actually invaded. Hereupon William went over with an army wholly consisting of English, not daring to carry his Norman troops out of the kingdom. With these forces he retook Mans, and all the province of Maine, which had lately revolted, the English taking a pride in faithfully serving him in Normandy, whilst in England he treated them with great rigour. Philip not meeting with the success he expected, soon grew weary of the war, and put an end to it, by concluding a peace with the king of England. Soon after this treaty, prince

\* Hætor Boetius says, that in memory of this peace, there was a stone-cross erected in the middle of the mountains of Stanmore, in Yorkshire, which we call Rere-cross, and the Scots, Rey-cross, that is, Royal-cross, having the arms of both kings engraven on the several sides of it, which was for

the future, to serve as a boundary to the two kingdoms, the remains of which cross are still to be seen. Tindal.

† Hollingshed, and other modern authors. Ingulf says, only Malcolm did homage, without telling us for what.



Edgar, tired with living in a foreign country, came to the king, and begging his pardon, submitted himself to his will. He was favourably received, and the king allowed him a pound of silver a day. From that time he remained in obedience, without giving the king the least uneasiness. If he had any occasion to complain, it was not so much of William as of the English, who, after the death of Edward, had preferred a private person before him. It was not Edgar that William had deprived of the crown, but Harold, who in all appearance, if he had been able to keep it, would have left it to his son, without troubling himself about the rights of the Saxon prince. On the other hand, it must be confessed, that Edgar had reason to be satisfied with William's clemency, who was very willing to receive him into favour, notwithstanding the mistrust he might justly entertain on his account.

Whilst the king was in Normandy, Gregory VII. the boldest and most enterprising Pope that ever occupied the pontifical chair, sent his *nuntio* to summon him to do him homage, pretending that England was a fief of the holy see. He demanded likewise the arrears of Peter-pence, which had not been paid for several years. Some assert, that the Pope's demand as to the first article was not without grounds, and that it was the condition, on which William had obtained the Pope's approbation for his conquest of England. Others derive the Pope's sovereignty over England, from the voluntary grant of Romescot, or Peter-pence, made to the church of Rome by Ina and Offa, kings of Wessex and Mercia. They pretend it was a real tribute, by which they became feudatories to the holy see. The king, having no inclination to be tributary to the Pope, told the nuntio, that he held his crown of none but God and his sword, and that he would not make it dependent on any person living. Nay, he went further: for upon the nuntio's daring to threaten him, he published an edict, wherein he forbade all his subjects to acknowledge any Pope but whom he first allowed of, and to receive any orders from Rome without his leave. As for the arrears of Peter-pence, he promised to pay what was due, and to be more punctual for the future. This resolute answer of the king having convinced the Pope, that William was not a prince to be swayed by superstitious scruples, much less to be awed with threats, he let his pretensions drop\*.

The king's long stay in Normandy occasioned in England a fresh conspiracy, which was so much the more dangerous, as the most considerable of the Norman lords were the contrivers of it. Ralph de Guader, a Bretagne, earl of Suffolk, and Roger de Bretevil, earl of Hereford, having resolved to unite their two families, by the marriage of Ralph with the daughter of Roger, the king, for reasons unknown, put a stop to their proceedings. The earls, who durst not complete the marriage whilst the king was in England, took the opportunity of his absence to accomplish their design, in the year 1074. They made a splendid entertainment upon this occasion, to which were invited several persons of quality, and among the rest earl Waltheoff. As they knew the king's temper, they had at the same time formed a design to depose him, perceiving they had no other way to avoid the effects of his anger. This seeming to them a good opportunity to draw their guests into their plot, as soon as they saw them heated with wine, they intro-

duced a conversation about the king, and dwelt upon such subjects as were most likely to exasperate them against him. They pretended to bemoan the English, who having been all along a free people, were now reduced to a shameful servitude. As for the Normans, they stirred them up with the consideration of the king's severe government, who, by the excessive impositions laid on estates, took from them with one hand, what he had given them with the other. Perceiving they were heard with pleasure, they openly declared, it was unworthy persons of honour to be governed by a bastard, who had usurped the two crowns he was in possession of. Their discourses had such an effect upon men who, in their cups, thought nothing difficult, that, they unanimously resolved to take up arms, in order to oppose the king's return. Earl Waltheoff, warmed with wine as well as the rest, acquiesced in the measure, without reflecting on the consequences. The day after, when his drunkenness was abated, he imagined, that instead of freeing the English from oppression, they should plunge them deeper into misery. Various reflections having wrought in his mind a hearty repentance for entering into the conspiracy, he acquainted Lanfranc with what had passed. The archbishop commended him for repenting of his fault, and advised him to repair immediately to the king, and inform him of the whole matter; and even wrote to the king in his behalf. Waltheoff taking his advice, set out, and having arrived in Normandy, threw himself at the king's feet, who received him graciously, and pardoned his imprudence, after he had been informed of the particulars relating to the transaction of the day. Hereupon the king resolved to go over to England, that he might allay the trouble his absence had occasioned. His presence was not necessary; for the conspiracy was stifled almost on its birth, by the vigilance of the bishop of Bayeux, the regent. The two earls had concerted measures so ill, that they could not even join the forces each had drawn together; so that Ralph de Guader found himself constrained to retire to Norwich castle, where he was immediately besieged. As he despaired of pardon in case he fell into the king's hands, he did not think fit to see the issue of the siege, but having found the means to escape, he fled into Denmark. After his departure, his countess defended the castle for some time; but at length surrendered upon terms. She had liberty to follow the earl her spouse, who had already procured a powerful aid from the king of Denmark to support the revolvers. Accordingly, soon after a Danish fleet appeared on the coast of England. But the Danes not finding the English inclined to take up arms, returned to their own country.

William, in the mean time, returned to England, and was informed there were still some remains of the conspiracy in the Western counties. To prevent the fire from breaking out into a flame again, he marched towards those parts, and severely punished all whom he suspected to have been concerned in the plot. Some he ordered to be hanged, others to have their feet and hands cut off, or their eyes put out. Those whom he dealt most mildly with were banished the kingdom. The pardon which he had granted earl Waltheoff being counted for nothing, the earl was apprehended, carried to Winchester, publicly beheaded, and buried under the scaffold. It is said, that his riches were the principal occasion of his death, the king having a longing

\* On this occasion, king William addressed the following spirited letter to the Pope:

"To the most excellent pastor of the holy church, Gregory, William, by the grace of God, king of the English and duke of the Normans, wished health in friendship.

"Most holy father,

"Your nuntio Hubert, coming unto me in your behalf, advised me to do fealty to you and your successors, and to take better care in making good the payments of those monies which my predecessors were wont to remit to the church of Rome. One of these proposals I have consented to, the other I refused; fealty is what I never have done, nor will do, inasmuch as I have neither obliged myself to perform it by any

promise of my own, nor can I find, that any of my predecessors have ever performed it to yours. As for the monies, they have been collected in a very bad manner for almost three years, during my absence in France: but now that I am, through the blessing of God, returned to my kingdom, I have sent, by the nuntio above-mentioned, what is already collected; and shall take care, that the residue be remitted so soon as convenience will allow, by the legates of Lanfranc, our truly archbishop. Pray for us, and for the good estate of our kingdom, seeing that we have loved your predecessors, and do desire sincerely to love, and obediently to hear you, above all others."



desire to his great estate: Others add, that Judith his wife did not a little contribute to his ruin, exasperating the king against him by false reports, that she might be at liberty to marry some other person. Be this as it will, the unhappy fate of this brave earl was universally lamented. Every one thought he was too severely dealt with for so slight a crime, though he had not obtained his pardon. Some time after his body was removed to Croyland-Abbey, where it was pretended it worked many miracles, and accordingly he passed for a true martyr. The abbot of Croyland, having encouraged this belief, was ejected from his monastery, by the king's order, and Ingulf, a monk of Montevraud, was put in his room. This is the same Ingulf, who, notwithstanding his obligations to William, has not failed to attest, in his History of Croyland, the miracles wrought at Walthoeff's tomb.

Though the English were not concerned in the late conspiracy, but on the contrary had refused to join the malecontents, yet were they considered as abettors. The king on this account deprived some of their estates, and others of their liberty.

William having taking precautions to root out of the minds of the people all thoughts of revolting, went beyond sea in 1075, to take vengeance of Ralph de Guader, who was retired to his city of Dol in Bretagne. He was not satisfied with seizing all his estates in England, but was resolved to deprive him also of his hereditary possessions. With this view he besieged Dol, which he could not become master of, the defence of the besieged having given the king of France time to come to their assistance. William, failing in his design, returned to England in 1076, where, during the rest of that and the following year, nothing remarkable happened, except a council held at London, wherein was settled the precedence of the bishops. The king enjoyed then a tranquility which bid fair to be of long continuance, when an unexpected war put an end to it. Robert, his eldest son, encouraged by the king of France, pretended the king his father ought to deliver up Normandy to him, in pursuance of a positive promise, which, he said, had been made him to that purpose. Upon this foundation he attempted to render himself absolute master of the duchy, in 1077, and even treated very ill such as refused to own him for their sovereign. William, surprised at his audacity, immediately drew an army together, wholly made up of English, and passed over into Normandy to put a stop to his son's proceedings, Robert desisted not from his design upon his arrival, but vigorously opposed his father, who saw himself necessitated to carry on the war in form, finding in his own son an enemy not to be slighted. He happened one day to fall into an ambush, where he was forced to expose his person as much as the meanest officer. He distinguished himself so by his valour, that Robert, who did not know him, looking upon him as the most formidable among his enemies, assaulted him, wounded him in the arm, and dismounted him with his lance. William was in great danger of losing his life, if by good fortune Robert had not known him by some mark on his arms. Then the young prince, suddenly alighting, raised him up, and set him on his own horse, that he might escape the danger he was in. In the mean time, the English troops being roughly handled by the Normans, William was obliged to retreat in disorder. Robert's being so very near killing his father, made such an impression upon his mind, that, to show the sincerity of his sorrow for it, he submitted himself entirely to his mercy. But this generous act, says Rapin, could not regain him the king's favour, who never after had any affection for him. It is even said, that in the first emotions of his passion, he denounced his curse against him, which all the submissions of the young prince could not prevail with him to retract. However, he gave him a kind reception; but carried him into England with him, on pretence of sending him at the head of an army against Scotland. Accordingly, the next year, 1078, Robert

was commissioned to bring the Scots to reason, who had renewed the war.

He did nothing remarkable in this expedition, except the founding the town of Newcastle upon Tyne, in the same place where the abbey of Monkcester stood, famous for the austere lives of the monks. This war ended in a treaty between the two nations. Before the army was disbanded, William being desirous to make himself some amends for the charges he had been at in raising it, turned his arms against Wales, in order to chastise the Welsh for some incursions they had made into his dominions. The Welsh princes, finding they were in no condition to withstand him, voluntarily submitted, and obliged themselves to pay an annual tribute to the crown of England.

About this time William built the Tower of London, the better to secure the city in obedience, whose fidelity he had all along suspected. Some pretend this citadel was founded by Julius Cæsar; but it would be difficult to prove that Cæsar was ever at London, and more so, that he undertook this work, of which he makes no mention in his Commentaries; and without doubt he would not have omitted so material a circumstance if there had been any truth in it.

The peace with Scotland, and submission of the Welsh, introduced a state of tranquillity, which lasted some years; and the king took this opportunity to put in order the affairs of the kingdom. Ever since his accession to the crown, England had been in extreme confusion, by reason of divers alterations, as well in the government, as in the laws and methods of administering justice; but this confusion was still encreased with regard to the debts of private persons: The creditors imagined, that they who had been put in possession of the estates were to pay the debts of those that were turned out, and accordingly to them did the debtors refer the creditors for their money. But the new possessors refused to meddle with matters that were liable to so many frauds, and maintained that the king had granted them the lands free from all demands. Besides, the proceedings at law among the Normans being different from those among the English, they were at a loss how to go to work, the king not having as yet determined any thing upon that head. If he had made any regulations, it was only with a view to his own advantage, and in such cases wherein his interest might be concerned. As for private persons, it does not appear that hitherto he had given himself much trouble about them. It is true, indeed, they who have made it their business to cry up all his actions, remark the strict justice that was exercised in his reign, as an argument of his affection for his subjects. But this proof is not so strong as they imagine, since this strictness turned no less to the king's than to the people's advantage, seeing the suffering crimes to go unpunished tends greatly to the prejudice of the supreme authority. Besides, offences, for the most part, being punishable then by pecuniary fines, all the profit accrued to the king, who had deprived the earls, barons, and bishops of the share they enjoyed under the Saxon kings. However this be, says Rapin, it cannot be denied but William's reigning passion was a greedy desire to heap up riches. He was never weary with inventing the means to gratify his covetous temper. We have already seen how much he impoverished the English; but in this he acted as much or more for the advantage of the Normans and other foreigners than for his own. He therefore judged it reasonable that the foreigners who were proprietors of estates in England, should be liable to the same impositions as the English. But that he might proceed in due proportion, he had a mind to know the value of every private person's estate. To this end, he ordered an exact survey to be taken of the lands, goods, and chattels of all his subjects. This survey contained the number of acres in each man's estate, what he was obliged to pay in the Saxon reigns, and how much he had been taxed of late years since the revolution. Moreover, what stock each had of horses, cattle, sheep,



sheep, &c. how much ready money in his house, what he owed, and what was owing to him. All this was set down in great order in a book, called *Domesday-Book*. This general register, which some term the *Great Terror of England*, was put in the Exchequer, or King's Treasury, to be consulted occasionally; that is to say, as Polydore Vergil expresses it, when they had a mind to know of how much more wool they might still fleece the English flocks. The strict orders the king gave to take this survey with all possible exactness, were punctually executed, the commissioners, as well as private persons, having great reason to dread an exemplary punishment, in case they used any fraud, or were guilty of the least connivance on this occasion\*.

It may be easily imagined, that this survey was not taken purely to satisfy the king's curiosity. The taxes that were afterwards laid upon almost all the effects of private persons, sufficiently prove, that his intent was to leave the English no more than was absolutely necessary for their subsistence. This monarch, looking upon England as a conquered country, imagined he was the great proprietor of all the lands in the kingdom, and that the vanquished were to deem what he was pleased to leave, as a signal favour. Accordingly, he raised large revenues; so that they amounted annually to four hundred thousand pounds sterling, which sum, according to a moderate computation, is equal now to five millions. Besides these settled revenues, he received a great many fines, which were very frequent in those days. But what is further remarkable in this matter, is, that none of this money was employed in paying the army that was kept on foot. In the distribution of the lands taken from the English, he had taken care to charge them with the maintenance of his troops. The new proprietors were far from refusing to accept of their estates upon that condition, since they were indebted solely to his liberality for them, they not having any right to them. By this means there subsisted, without any manner of charge to him, sixty thousand men, ready to march upon the first notice.

William having settled his revenues, he sought means to gratify his fondness for hunting, which caused him to commit many unjust acts. This does not properly distinguish him, says Rapin, from many other princes, who look upon the infractions of the Game-Laws as the most capital of crimes, and would more readily pardon the killing of a man than of a stag. The prodigious desolation William ordered to be made in Hampshire, in 1079, by dispeopling the country for above thirty miles in compass, demolishing the churches and houses to make a forest for the habitation of wild beasts†, was an act very unworthy of a king. According to Matt. Paris he made no recompence to the owners of the lands or houses thus destroyed. This tract of land, called before *Ytene*, was afterwards termed the *New-Forest*.

The king's fondness for Normandy caused him to endeavour to abolish the Saxon Laws, and establish the Norman in their room. Finding a total alteration of the laws likely to create disturbances, under the pretext of revising them, he made several innovations both in the English laws and the methods of administering justice. He would not suffer the bishops to preside at the Shire-gemots or county-courts, but assigned them a

court of their own. His pretence for so doing was that ecclesiastical matters might not be intermixed with the civil. But the true motive was, because he had a mind to cut off the bishops from their share of the fines and mulcts. He erected also, in 1080, several courts before unknown to the English, and which were very inconvenient to them. They were not only ignorant of the rules and practices of these courts; but as they always attended the prince, the suitors were obliged to follow him wherever he went, in order to carry on their actions. Amongst these courts there was one, however, which became very advantageous to the people; since it was designed to moderate the rigour of the laws by equity; this was the Court of Exchequer, which is still in being. The king was not satisfied with obliging the English to try their causes in these courts, but forced them to make use of the Norman language, and did all he could to abolish the English tongue. With this view he erected in all the cities and boroughs schools where Norman was taught, and obliged parents, under heavy penalties, to send their children thither. Those who had any concerns at court, and spoke not Norman, were looked upon as persons that had no complaisance for the king. The most effectual means he made use of to bring the English under a necessity of learning Norman, was the publishing his laws in that tongue, the ignorance of which was no sufficient excuse for any who broke them.

There are those who affirm that William, notwithstanding his endeavours, could not introduce it into England. On the contrary, they maintain, that the Normans, by degrees, learned to speak English, their small number being carried away by the bulk of the nation. Others, who are of a contrary opinion, endeavour to make appear, that the Norman tongue was established upon the ruins of the English. But it is a difficult matter for either to make good their assertions. Thus much is certain, that the language spoken in England after the conquest, was not exactly the same with what was used in the time of the Saxon kings. However, it cannot be said that the Normans learned English, or the English Norman, but rather, that out of these two languages were formed a third, which partook of both. Nevertheless, all publick acts were in Norman till the time of Edward III.

What has hitherto been said concerning the oppressions of the English, is sufficient to show, they did not complain without cause. They were reduced extremely low, and could not remain silent whilst they beheld the Normans enriched by their spoils. A single instance will make appear, how much they were pillaged by those who were in greatest credit with the king. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, half-brother to William, after an abode of fifteen or sixteen years in England, thought himself rich enough to purchase the papacy. With this view he had bought a stately palace at Rome, where he designed to go and reside, and to convey thither all his treasures, that he might be ready upon the Pope's death to put his design in execution. In the mean time, as he was willing to conceal his intentions, he took the opportunity to begin his journey in 1082, during the king's brother's absence in Normandy, and accordingly went to the Isle of Wight, where his ships lay ready for him. Contrary winds having prevented him from embarking as soon as he expected, he was forced to re-

\* This survey was begun in the fourteenth, and finished in the twentieth year of his reign, the king having sent as commissioners some of the greatest earls or bishops, who by the verdict or presentment of juries, or certain persons sworn in every county and hundred, noted down the particulars above-mentioned, according to the value in the time of king Edward, expressed in *Domesday-Book* by T. R. E. that is, *Tempore Regis Edwardi*. As this survey was chiefly intended to give the king a true account of his own lands or demesnes, and also what was held by the tenants in chief or of the crown, in every county the king's name is first set down, and then all the great men in order that held in chief. All England, except Westmoreland, Cumberland, Northumber-

land, was described, with part of Wales, and the description or survey written in two books, called the *Great and Little Domesday-Book*, now in the Exchequer. The little book contains only Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. This being the highest record in the kingdom, it was then (and is to this day) a decisive evidence in any controversy in which there may be occasion to make use of it.

† There were thirty-six parish churches demolished. In this forest are now nine walks, and to every one a keeper; two rangers, a bow-bearer, and a lord-warden. On the north side of Malwood-Castle is the oak that buds on Christmas-day, and withers again before night.—Camden Add. to Hampshire.





Odo, Earl of Kent and Bishop of Bayeux seized by his brother William I for having aspired to the papal dignity.



main some time in the isle. His stay there broke all his measures. William having received intelligence of his design, came over to England, and surprized him when he was going to sail. He ordered him to be seized immediately; but finding fear and respect hindered his officers from doing their duty, he laid hands on himself. In vain did the prelate plead the privileges of his order. The king told him, he seized him not as bishop, but as earl of Kent, and commanded him to be put in prison. This seizure was quickly followed with a confiscation of all his effects to the king's use, numberless extortions and rapines having been proved upon him.

The year 1084 was remarkable for the death of Matilda, William's queen, and the king's preparations against an invasion he was threatened with. The English, who had taken refuge in Denmark, had persuaded Canute, king of that country, that their countrymen waited only for an opportunity to throw off the Norman yoke. This seeming to him a favourable juncture, he formed a project to conquer England, to which kingdom he had some pretensions, and which appeared to him plausible enough, being backed with force. With this view he fitted out a fleet, and levied the troops, whose numbers plainly showed he had some great design in hand. Those preparations made William somewhat uneasy; advices from Denmark putting it past doubt that this armament was designed against him. As he durst not confide in the English, he brought into the kingdom a numerous army of foreigners, and laid upon his subjects a tax of six shillings for every hyde of land, which was three times as much as Danegeld used to be. Whether Canute was diverted from his design by the preparations that were making in England, or by some other unexpected circumstances, we do not pretend to declare; but certain it is, he laid aside his design of making a descent on England. William, for his part, disbanded his army; but the money that was levied for their pay was not refunded. On the contrary, he imposed a new tax, on account of the Order of Knighthood he had a mind to confer on Henry his youngest son. The Norman custom of making the prince presents, when he knighted any of his sons, tended too much to the king's benefit not to be introduced into England, where it was never practised before.

Edgar Atheling, in the year 1085, resolved on going into the East to bear arms against the infidels. The king having readily granted him leave, he set out attended with two hundred knights, who having lost their estates in England, were willing to make their fortunes elsewhere. After he had spent two years in the eastern parts, where, it is pretended, he signalized himself by many brave actions, he returned to England, having refused the estates and honours offered him by the emperor of Constantinople.

Edgar's departure having made William easy upon his account, every one imagined he would for the future turn his mind to peace, which he had been a stranger to almost from his very birth. Besides, he was grown so corpulent, that a quiet life seemed absolutely necessary for him; but he was far from thinking so. On a sudden he made extraordinary preparations, in 1086, which plainly showed he had some great design in view. And indeed, quickly after, he set out for Normandy, in order to make war upon France; but Philip prevented the evil he was threatened with, by offering proposals which were followed by a truce. William, whose corpulency was extremely troublesome to him, having taken this opportunity to go through a course of physic, a jest of king Philip's occasioned the breaking

of the truce. This prince, having asked one that was come from Rouen, "Whether the king of England was delivered yet of his great belly?" William, being informed of the matter, sent him word, that as soon as he was up again, he would come and offer in the church of Notre-Dame at Paris, ten thousand lances by way of wax-lights\*. His words were soon, followed by deeds; for marching in the very hottest part of the summer, in 1087, he ravaged the Vexin in a terrible manner, and then laid siege to Mantes. He was incensed to that degree, that after he had taken the city, he reduced it to ashes, without sparing the churches, in one of which two hermits were burnt. The warmth of the season, and the great fire, which he stood very near, to see his orders put in execution, threw him into a fever, which interrupted his progress. This was attended with another accident, no less fatal to him. Whilst he was on the road, in his return to Rouen, having a mind to leap a ditch on horseback, he so bruised the rim of his belly against the pommel of the saddle, that the violence of the blow very much increased his fever. After this accident, not being able to mount his horse, he was carried in a litter to Rouen, where his disorder increased: finding his end approach, he began seriously to look back on all the past actions of his life, and to view them in a different light from what he had hitherto done. He ordered large sums to be given to the poor and to the churches, particularly towards the rebuilding those he had burnt at Mantes. He set at liberty all the prisoners, among whom were Morcar and Ulnoth†. This last, who was brother to king Harold, had been detained in prison in Normandy from his childhood, having been given in hostage by earl Godwin to Edward the Confessor. It was a very difficult matter to obtain the like favour for the bishop of Bayeux the king's brother, because he had sworn never to release him. However, he was prevailed upon by the importunities of the bishop's friends. His distemper daily increasing, put him out of all hopes of recovery; and therefore ordering his principal officers to stand round his bed, in spite of his weakness, he made them a long discourse, wherein he dwelt much on the great reputation he had gained by his warlike actions. Nevertheless, he could not forbear owning, that he had unjustly usurped the crown of England, and was guilty of all the blood spilt upon that occasion. He added, that as he durst not bequeath a crown, which of right belonged not to him, he left it to God's disposal; but if he could have his wish, William, his second son, should wear it after him. In his will, which he made just before he died, he left the duchy of Normandy to his eldest son Robert, not so much out of affection, as because he foresaw great obstacles in the execution of his will should he do otherwise. Henry, his third son, had for his share an annuity of five thousand marks‡, with all his mother's effects. This was all his portion. It is said, the young prince complaining of his being so ill provided for, the king told him, by a prophetic spirit, that he should one day be king of England, and exceed his brother in glory and riches. But one can hardly believe, that God should communicate himself to a prince so base as he was.

Though the dying king had left his crown to God's disposal he omitted nothing that lay in his power to secure it to his second son. He even wrote upon that head to Lanfranc a very pressing letter, which he ordered his son William, even before his death, to carry himself. No doubt, he thought that prince would meet with too strong an opposition in England, in case necessary measures were not taken before-hand, to gain

should have some blood to wade through before he should be able to take possession of the crown. With this view, contrary to the orders of his father, he commanded that they might be still confined.

† Vitalis says, he left him only five thousand marks in money.

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\* Alluding to the custom of lying-in-women, in those days, who were wont to offer lighted candles at their churching.

† William Rufus, who succeeded the Conqueror on the throne of England, thought, that if Morcar and Ulnoth were set at liberty they might join the English against him; and, consequently, by their being at the head of an army, he



the consent of the Normans and English. Having thus settled his temporal affairs, he caused himself to be removed to the village of Hermentrude, (on the other side the Seine, over against Rouen,) that he might be more at liberty to think of his spiritual concerns. Here it was that this prince ended his days, on the 9th of September, 1087\*, in the sixty-first year of his age, after he had reigned fifty-two years † in Normandy, and twenty-one in England‡. If we may believe some of his historians, he expressed on his death-bed, a hearty sorrow for all the injuries he had done the English. His body was removed to Caen without any ceremony, and deposited in the abbey-church, which he himself had founded, and where he had chosen to lye §. Robert, his eldest son, being then in Germany, and William in England, his youngest son Henry took care of his funeral. The corps was but poorly attended for so great a prince, his officers having abandoned him before he expired, some to make their court to Robert, others to William. Thus lived and died William I. surnamed the Bastard and Conqueror, if the last title may be justly attributed to him, which all historians do not agree to. They that maintain he is justly styled so, found their opinion upon his having no manner of right to the crown of England, as well as upon the severity of his government, which was all along arbitrary. Others affirm, that his election entirely cancelled his right of conquest. The uncertainty of this matter gives occasion to compare him, in this respect, to the emperor Augustus, of whom, it is said, he came to the empire neither by conquest nor usurpation, nor inheritance, nor election; but by a strange mixture of all these together. But however this be, or in what manner soever William may be accused or justified upon this account, he kept possession of the throne he got into, by such politic methods, as are practised by the most able princes, but which are seldom consonant to justice and equity.

The character of this prince has been variously drawn by historians; some viewing him only as a conqueror of a great kingdom, have extolled him to the skies for his valour and prudence, and slightly passed over the rest of his actions. Others considering the same conquest as no better than an usurpation, and reflecting chiefly on the means he made use of to preserve it, have not scrupled to represent him as a real tyrant. It is certain, they may be all in the right, since this monarch had a great mixture of good and bad qualities. He was reckoned one of the wisest princes of his time. Ever vigilant and active, he showed as great resolution in executing, as boldness in forming his designs. He saw danger at a distance, and generally endeavoured to prevent it. But when that could not be done, no man faced it with greater intrepidity. On the other hand, his covetous temper, and partiality for his countrymen, put him upon doing many things, which can in no wise be justified. In his younger years, he was handsome, and very well proportioned. He had rather a stern and majestic, than a mild and pleasing countenance; but yet, he could

sometimes put on such sweetness and gentleness in his looks, as were hardly to be resisted. We may guess at his great strength and vigour, from historians assuring us, none but himself could bend his bow. The same historians are very much divided concerning his chastity: some tell us he was very much addicted to women in his youth, while others assert, that his little inclination that way gave occasion of calling his manhood in question. Some affirm, that after he was married, he never gave his queen any cause to be jealous. Others assure us, he kept for his mistress a clergyman's daughter, whom Matilda caused to be ham-strung. Be this as it will, after he was seated on the throne of England, it is observed, hunting was his sole diversion. His family affairs were perfectly well regulated: but his expences were not in proportion to his greatness and riches. Nevertheless, upon solemn occasions, he loved magnificence, and took a pleasure in appearing in all his grandeur. Seldom did he fail of being crowned anew every year, at the three great feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, which he generally spent at Gloucester, Winchester, and Westminster. During these festivals he kept a splendid court, was much more easy of access, and liberal of his favours. The great men of the kingdom were usually about him, whilst these solemnities lasted; but one can hardly be persuaded, it was in order to hold a Wittenagemot or parliament, as some affirm. And indeed, there is no likelihood, that after he had deprived the English of their estates, he should leave them in possession of the greatest of their privileges. It is still less likely, that he would transfer this right over to foreigners, since he was at liberty to grant them the English estates on what terms he pleased. Now it is certain, that his temper was such, that he would never voluntarily render himself dependant on its own subjects. However this be, if the Saxon Wittenagemot subsisted in his reign, one may at least affirm, its authority was very much curtailed, and its nature very different from what it had been. There are historians, who mightily cry up this prince's clemency, on account of his being very often satisfied with punishing the English rebels, by the confiscation of their estates. It cannot be denied but what they say is true, with regard to persons of the first rank. Indeed, except earl Waltheoff, who was publicly beheaded, and Egelrick, bishop of Durham, who was starved in prison, we do not find any of the principal English lords put to death in this reign. But we cannot, with justice, say a word of his clemency with respect to persons of a lower rank. He put great numbers of them to death, caused their eyes to be put out, or the hands and feet to be cut off of many others, and condemned vast numbers to perpetual imprisonment for very small crimes. All the historians unanimously upbraid him with the death of earl Waltheoff, as an action the most heinous, since he beheaded him for a crime he had already pardoned.

William had by Matilda, daughter to the earl of Flanders, four sons and five daughters. Robert was duke

\* This year, as well as being remarkable for the death of king William, was also marked by a dreadful famine which raged in England, and was one of the melancholy consequences of that general despondency which had seized on the oppressed English, who, having no longer any property they could call their own, lost the spirit of industry, neglected the culture of the lands, (knowing they toiled for others, and not for themselves,) and thought that scarcity was an evil they might bear as well as slavery: this universal neglect begat famine, famine diseases, and both of them in conjunction mortality; so that an incredible number died in the course of a few months. To add to their calamities, many of the principal cities of the realm were partly reduced to ashes; the greater part of London, together with St. Paul's cathedral, among the rest, fell a sacrifice to the devouring flames. This year also, says Mat. Paris, the body of Gawen, the nephew of the British king Arthur, was found on the coast of Wales; it was about fourteen feet long.

† Hume, ch. iv. says, that William the Conqueror died in the fifty-fourth year of his reign over Normandy.

‡ The dying king, having raised his weak body on his pil-

low, heard the sound of the great bell in the metropolitan church of Gervase, near Rouen, and demanding the cause, one replied, that it then rung prime to our Lady; whereupon, with great devotion, lifting his eyes towards Heaven, and spreading abroad his hands, he exclaimed; "I commend myself to that blessed Lady Mary, mother of God, that she, by her holy prayers, may reconcile me to her dear son, our Lord Jesus Christ." And with these words, it is said, he yielded up his soul into the hands of his Creator. Vide Life of William I. Harl. Miscell. vol. II.

§ An extraordinary adventure rendered the funeral of this monarch very remarkable. Just as they were going to lay him in his grave, Anselm Fitz-Arthur, a Norman gentleman, stood up and forbade the burial in that place, claiming the ground as his inheritance, and alledging, that the deceased had built the church upon it, without paying him for it. Upon which they were forced to stop, according to the laws of the country, in order to examine into the validity of his pretensions; which proving well grounded, Henry was obliged to make him satisfaction, and then the corps was interred.



of Normandy. Richard was killed by a stag in the New-Forest, or, as others say, he caught, as he was hunting, a distemper of which he died in his father's lifetime. William mounted the throne of England, and was succeeded by Henry, his brother. Cicely, his eldest daughter, was abbess of the nunnery of Caen. Constance was married to Alain Fergeant, duke of Bretagne. Adela was wife to Stephen, earl of Blois, by whom she had a son of the same name, who was afterwards king of England. Margaret, who was promised to Harold, died young. Alphonso, king of Galicia, married the fifth, whose name was Eleanor. She is said to have remained a virgin after marriage, and being entirely devoted to the service of God, to have spent her days in the constant exercise of prayer\*.

## C H A P. II.

## WILLIAM II. SURNAMED RUFUS.

**T**HIS prince, surnamed Rufus from his having red-hair, arrived in England before the news of his father's death. Pretending orders from the king, he secured the fortresses of Dover, Pevensey, and Hastings, whose situation rendered them of the greatest importance; he also got possession of the royal treasury at Winchester, amounting to about sixty thousand pounds, by which he hoped to encourage and increase his partisans. Archbishop Lanfranc, who had been the prince's preceptor, assembled a few bishops, together with some of the principal nobility, proceeded to crown the new king on the 27th of September, eighteen days after his father's decease. We may readily conclude, that William Rufus was indebted for his good fortune, to Robert's disobliging the king, his father, who never forgave him for the revolt mentioned under the Conqueror's reign. The only good quality remarkable in William was his great courage, which was hardly to be distinguished from a brutish fierceness. He was extremely ill-natured, which often prompted him to commit actions unworthy a prince. Bred up to arms from his youth, and at a court where he continually beheld instances of severity and absolute power, he was a perfect brute in his behaviour and manners. To these ill qualities he joined a great indifferency for religion, and his whole conduct showed, he neither troubled himself about honour nor honesty. He was as greedy of money as his father, but with this difference; the father heaped up money purely for the sake of hoarding, and very unwillingly parted with it; whereas the son loved it not but to squander it away in vain expences, wherein he was ever guided more by caprice than reason. However, in the beginning of his reign, as it was his interest to hide his inclinations, for fear of alarming his subjects, he put on a mask for some time. It was even observed with pleasure, that he affected to be guided by the counsels of Lanfranc, who was universally esteemed and beloved. Whilst the confidence he placed in this prelate was of service to him with regard to the English, it occasioned such troubles from another quarter, as shook him on his throne. Odo, his uncle, bishop of Bayeux, who was lately delivered out of prison, was chagrined at the power and favour of Lanfranc. He had harboured in his breast a secret animosity against the archbishop, ever since his advising the king to seize him, just as he was upon the point of departing for Rome. The private hatred, joined to a desire of ruling again as he had done formerly, spurred him on to contrive the means to depose the king, and place the crown on the head of Robert, who was lately returned to Normandy. He wanted not a pretence to countenance his enterprize; for Robert's birth-right furnished him with a plausible one. As soon as he had resolved upon the matter, he drew into the plot some of

the principal Norman lords, in 1088. - This step being taken, and several more being gained over to his party, it was not difficult to persuade the English to partake of their schemes. As they were deprived, for the most part, of their estates, they imagined the commotions would ultimately turn to their advantage. In order to confirm both English and Normans in the resolution they had taken, Odo represented to them, that there was no living happily under the government of a capricious and brutish prince, who had neither religion nor honesty; that they had reason to dread the worst, if they gave him time to establish himself on the throne; and therefore, if they delayed to take proper measures to screen them from the evils that sat brooding over their heads, it would perhaps be too late, when they should have an inclination to do it. He added, that justice itself required, that the crown should be given to the first-born, to which he had a very lawful right, and of which he had not deserved to be deprived. These considerations were backed with assurances of the uprightness and generosity of Robert. He set off his mild and gracious disposition, which put them in hopes of enjoying under his government, the tranquillity they so earnestly wished for. The English promised to do their utmost to help forward the design, provided Robert would exert himself likewise, and bring over succours from Normandy; and the Norman lords bestirred themselves so heartily, that they quickly gained over to their party, almost all those who had any interest with their countrymen. As soon as the bishop was secure of the assistance of those of his own nation, whom he judged much more capable of serving Robert than the English, he acquainted that prince, that nothing was wanting but his presence with a body of Norman troops, to put him in possession of the crown his brother had unjustly usurped. As this news could not but be very agreeable to the duke, he was not long resolving upon so advantageous a proposal. But as his coffers did not contain a sufficiency to defray the expences of so great an undertaking, he was under the necessity of borrowing a sum of money of his brother Henry, and mortgaged to him the whole country of Cotentin for his security. This being done, he sent his uncle word, he would not fail of coming to England with all expedition, and desired him to get all things ready for the execution of their designs.

As soon as the Norman lords received intelligence of Robert's resolution, they began to take up arms. The bishop of Constance, with Mowbray his nephew, made themselves masters of Bath and Barkley-Cattle, and fortified Bristol in order to make it their chief magazine. Roger Bigod, in Norfolk, and Hugh Grentmainsil, in Leicestershire, seized upon several places. Roger de Montgomery, William bishop of Durham, Bernard of Newark, Roger Lacy, and Ralph Mortimer, secured Worcestershire. In a word, there was not a lord among the conspirators but what fortified himself in some city. Had Robert come over at that time, in all likelihood he would have dethroned his brother. But his natural slothfulness, and the unnecessary things he had laid out his money upon, made him lose that favourable opportunity. On the contrary, William, who was of a quite different temper, omitted nothing to stifle the conspiracy, whilst his brother's indolence afforded him time. The most effectual means, he made use of, was the gaining the English to his side, in which Lanfranc's interest was very serviceable. This prelate, who in the late reign, had behaved with a becoming deportment towards the English, used all his influence with them, to induce them to stand by the king at this critical moment. By his solicitations he brought back to their duty, such as had already a hand in the conspiracy, and persuaded the rest to continue firm to the king. So that, in a very little time, William was enabled to send out a fleet, whilst with an army of Englishmen, he marched against Odo

\* Rapin, book vi. but Hume, in his History of England, ch. iv. says, that the name of the fifth was Agatha, who died

a virgin, but was betrothed to the king of Galicia. She died on her journey thither, before she had joined her bridegroom.



his uncle, whom he justly looked upon as the ringleader of the rebels. The prelate had fortified himself in Kent, and had made himself master of Rochester and Pevensey. As soon as he was informed of the king's approach, he shut himself up in Pevensey, where he was in hopes he should be able to hold out, till such time as the duke of Normandy should come to his assistance. But as he was more hot than courageous, and had for want of foresight, even neglected to provide things necessary for his defence, the castle was taken in a few days by the furious assaults of the king. Odo could obtain his pardon upon no other terms, but the getting Rochester to surrender, where the chief of the Norman lords had shut themselves up, under the command of Eustace, earl of Boulogne. To this purpose he was conducted to the gates of Rochester, where he pretended he was willing the governor should deliver up the city. But Eustace observing by his looks, that he did not speak from the bottom of his heart, detained him prisoner, and so furnished him with a plausible excuse for the breach of his promise. William despairing of becoming master of Rochester by the means of Odo, found himself obliged to lay siege to it. He was six weeks before the town without making any progress, the besieged still making so brave a defence, that he already began to think of abandoning the enterprize; when a contagious distemper, which daily swept off numbers of them, constrained them to come to a capitulation. It was no easy matter to agree upon the terms; at length, after a great many debates, the king granted them the liberty to march off with their horses, without any hopes of ever enjoying their estates and places again. The bishop of Bayeux, being by this means reduced to a low ebb, retired to the duke of Normandy, who committed to him the administration of the affairs of the duchy. Robert, instead of assisting his allies with forces proportionable to the greatness of his enterprize, contented himself with sending over a single ship with some soldiers, who were all taken and drowned.

The king, having become master of Rochester, marched his army towards Durham, to chastise the bishop, who was one of the rebels. As the garrison at that place was of no great strength, the city soon surrendered, and the bishop, with all that had taken arms against the king were banished. Thus this conspiracy, which seemed to have so dangerous an aspect, was crushed by the vigour and good conduct of William, who equally made use of prudence and force to bring the rebels to reason. He not only had gained over, by his address, Montgomery, but also several other Norman lords, whose defection gave a great blow to Robert's party. By his secret emissaries, he had made them sensible, that they were mightily in the wrong to act against him: that seeing they held their estates by virtue of no other right, but what he had acquired the crown by, it was manifestly their interest to stand by him. On the other hand, he gave an instance of the greatest prudence in beginning with his uncle's destruction, who was the author of the conspiracy.

The English who had showed themselves ready to assist him in his necessity, expected to be rewarded in proportion to their services. But it was not long before they perceived, they flattered themselves with vain hopes. Whilst he stood in need of their assistance, he gave them fair words: but as soon as he saw himself well settled on the throne, he forgot his promises. He even began to oppress them with several impositions; in which he showed still less moderation than the late king. He was gently admonished of these proceedings by Lanfranc, who could not forbear putting him in mind of what he had promised. Hereupon William was extremely offended, and asked him, in an angry tone, and with an oath, "Whether he thought it possible for a king to keep all his promises?" From that time the archbishop's favour with the king declined. But his disgrace was of no long continuance; as he died shortly after, lamented by both nations, as one of the most worthy prelates that had been promoted to the see of

Canterbury, ever since the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity.

Whilst Lanfranc was alive and at court, the presence of so venerable a man was some check to the king's vicious inclinations; but as soon as that prelate was dead, he threw off all restraint. He was avaricious without frugality; covetous and prodigal at the same time, continually scraping up money without ever filling his coffers, he was always under a necessity of inventing new ways and means to raise money. One of his methods, never before practised in England, was to seize upon the vacant benefices. He was not satisfied with having the first fruits, but appropriated the whole profits to himself for several years together without filling them; and after he had carried off every thing that was convertible into money, he sold them so pillaged to such as bid highest, without troubling himself about their merit or capacity. As soon as the archbishopric of Canterbury was vacant by Lanfranc's death, he seized upon the temporalities, and kept them in his hands four years. He did the same with the bishopric of Lincoln, and all others that became void in his reign. These proceedings occasioned loud clamours among the clergy; but the king paid no attention to their dissatisfaction. It was in vain that they carried their complaints to the pope; the court of Rome not being in a condition to intermeddle in this affair. The church was rent by a schism, wherein England was not as yet engaged: besides Urban II. to whom the English clergy made application, was then taken up with projecting the recovery of the Holy-Land, in which enterprize he had formed a design of engaging all the princes of Christendom. It was not possible, therefore, for the pope, nor consistent with his interest, to find the least fault with William at such a juncture.

The king of England having made extraordinary preparations for war, the design of which Robert never suspected, he made a descent in Normandy, in 1090. He quickly became master of St. Valeri, Albemarle, and some other places, whilst Robert was unprovided to oppose this powerful invader. The necessity the duke was in of applying to a foreign power, obliged him to implore the protection of the king of France, who came in person to his assistance; but he was not much the better for these succours. William found the means to make Philip his friend, who retired without effecting any thing, leaving Robert exposed, as before, to the insults of his brother. By the retreat of the king of France, the duke's affairs were in a worse condition than ever, for having depended upon his aid, he had taken no other measures. William took from him several other places, and bribed some of the burghers of Rouen, who promised to deliver up the metropolis of Normandy into his hands. In the interim, Robert was reduced to great necessities; he had nothing to depend upon, but the assistance of Henry his youngest brother: but he had scarce any reason to expect any favour from him. Henry was exasperated against the duke for having taken possession of Contentin, without paying the debt he had contracted with him, and was preparing to do himself justice by force of arms. Nevertheless, upon Robert's promising to make him satisfaction, as soon as the war was over, he dropped his design, and even espoused his cause. His assistance came very seasonably, to extricate the duke out of his danger. Henry having been informed of the plot that was contriving at Rouen, suddenly entered the city, and seizing Canon, the chief of the conspirators, he threw him headlong from a tower. By this bold stroke, he quashed the conspiracy, which had it succeeded, would have occasioned to Robert the loss of his capital, and, in all probability, of his whole dominions.

The union of the two brothers, and the ill success of the plot at Rouen, put a stop to William's progress, who quickly after, in 1091, was obliged to conclude a peace with the duke. The articles of the treaty were, that Robert should deliver up to the king the country of Eu, and



and towns of Fescamp and Cherburgh, with all the places he was in possession of on the coast of Normandy. William, for his part, obliged himself to assist him in reducing to obedience the province of Maine which had revolted, to restore to the Normans all their confiscated estates in England, and to grant some certain fiefs to his brother in the same kingdom. Lastly, it was agreed, that if either of the two brothers died without heirs, the survivor should succeed to all his dominions. This treaty was solemnly sworn to by twelve barons on each side, and the brothers seemed thoroughly reconciled.

Henry was not so well pleased with the treaty as his brothers were, because he was not taken notice of; and besides, he found that Robert was not disposed to keep his word with him. Incensed at this treatment, he thought it lawful to right himself by some other means, and on a sudden surprized St. Michael's Mount\*. This unexpected transaction disconcerted Robert, who being unwilling to leave a place of that importance in the hands of his brother, desired William's assistance to retake it. Though William had no concern in this affair, he readily joined Robert in besieging, or rather blocking up this place. Whilst the two brothers lay before St. Michael's Mount, William, as he was riding alone at some distance from the camp, saw two horsemen coming from the mount. As he was naturally of an impetuous temper, he rode up to them, in order to try to take one of them prisoner, that he might be informed of the state of the place. The soldiers, finding they had to deal with a single person only, defended themselves, and at the first encounter killed his horse under him, which fell upon him in such a manner as he could not get up. This accident would have cost him his life, if the moment one of the soldiers was going to dispatch him, he had not cried out, "Hold, rascal, I am the king of England." Upon which, they were struck with fear and respect, and having helped him up, they gave him one of their horses. He nimbly vaulted into the saddle, and then addressing himself to him that had dismounted him, "Come," said he to him, "thou shalt be my soldier for the future, and shalt enjoy the reward of thy valour." Henry by holding out, was greatly distressed for want of water; and as he was acquainted with Robert's good-nature, he did not despair of some relief from that quarter, by representing to him, that it would be more glorious to subdue him by arms, than by thirst. Robert sent him immediately a tun of wine, and permitted him to fetch as much water as he stood in need of. William upbraided him as guilty of folly in acting thus; when Robert replied, "What, is the quarrel between us and our brother of that importance, that we should desire he should die with thirst? We may have occasion for a brother hereafter: but where shall we find another when we have destroyed this?" But William, not at all pleased with this generous act, which to him seemed very ill-timed, quitted the siege, and returned to England. Robert, however, persisted to carry on the siege, till he caused his brother to surrender upon terms. Henry having liberty to go where he pleased, wandered up and down for some time without any fixed abode, attended only by a chaplain, and three or four domestic servants.

Robert, about this time, banished Edgar Atheling out of Normandy, and William forbade him ever returning into England. The cause of his disgrace is altogether unknown; it is barely asserted, that he retired into Scotland, his only refuge in his misfortunes.

During the time William was in Normandy, Malcolm Macmoir, king of Scotland, had taken the advantage of his absence, to make an incursion into Northumber-

land, whence he carried off a great booty. The northern people were much disgusted at the king's staying beyond sea, while his frontiers were being plundered by foreigners. As soon as he returned, he made great preparations to be revenged of the king of Scotland; but fearing Robert, his brother, who had taken St. Michael's Mount, would seize upon his castles in Normandy in his absence, he desired him to join him. He pretended, that his valour and experience were necessary to put an honourable end to the war; but to engage him by a more powerful motive, he promised, as soon as the affair was over, he would punctually perform his part of their late treaty. Robert being prevailed upon, came over into England, and accompanied him to Scotland. The success of this war did not answer William's preparations; for the greatest part of the fleet, he had fitted out to annoy the coasts of Scotland, was destroyed by a storm. His army also was greatly diminished in marching over the morasses and mountains. The want of provisions, and the badness of the roads, together with the loss of many men, made him heartily repent of this expedition. He would have been very hard put to it by these accidents, had not Malcolm been apprehensive that this war, which had drawn the enemy into his country, might in the end be attended with ill consequences. And, therefore, choosing rather to oblige William to leave Scotland by fair means, than venture to drive him thence by force, he sent him proposals, which, being gladly accepted of, were quickly followed by a treaty of peace. The conditions were, that Malcolm should pay William the same homage his father had done: that twelve manors, he had been in possession of in England before the rupture, should be restored to him, and that William should pay him yearly twelve marks for all his other claims. Prince Edgar, who had been employed in this negotiation, having behaved to the satisfaction of both parties, William and Robert received him into favour, and gave him leave to return into England. The duke of Normandy expected, as the war was over, that the king, his brother, would in good earnest think of satisfying him. But perceiving he endeavoured only to amuse him, he returned home in great anger, taking prince Edgar along with him.

Whilst William was in Scotland, Robert Fitz-Hamon, gentleman of the bed-chamber, conquered Glamorganshire in South-Wales. He had served Jestyn, lord of Glamorgan, against Rees, king of Wales, on certain terms, which the Welsh lord refused to stand to, after the war was ended. The breach of faith having put Fitz-Hamon upon resolving to right himself by arms, he drew his friends together, attacked Rees, slew him in the fight, and seized upon his country. Twelve knights, who had accompanied him in this expedition, were rewarded, each of them, with a manor, which they and their posterity enjoyed†.

The next year, 1092, Prince Henry took by surprise Domfront, a small town in Maine, where he retired, in expectation of some better fortune.

The frequent irruptions of the Scots into the northern parts of England, having convinced the king of the necessity of stopping their progress by a strong barrier, he ordered the city of Carlisle to be rebuilt. This city, which had been destroyed by the Danes, and for two hundred years together, lain in ruins, was peopled again, and endowed with great privileges, which it enjoys to this day‡. The episcopal see of Dorchester was removed to Lincoln, and that of Wells to Bath about this time, with the king's consent, which could not be without a large pecuniary fine to the king.

The king having become an absolute monarch, levied

\* St Michael's Mount is at present a small town, with an abbey and fortress. It is seated on the rock Tumba, near which is the rock Tumbella, on the confines of Brittany.

† There is a book written on this subject by sir Edward Stradling, or Sir Edward Manfel, (for it is ascribed to both) wherein you have the names of the twelve knights, among

whom were, Richard Granvil, Pain Torbevil, Oliver St. John, Robert de St. Quintin, William Stradling, names still in being. See Camden. Glamorganshire.

‡ Carlisle stands near the confluence of the rivers Eden, Peterill, and Caude. William Rufus sent a colony of husbandmen to this place, who tilled the adjacent lands.



taxes and impositions every day on divers pretences. Nothing happened but what the king deemed a sufficient cause to exact money from the cities, boroughs, and private persons, without showing any more favour to the Normans than to the English. None daring to make a stand against these oppressions, the people waited for no other remedy to their evils, but the death of the king, which they heartily desired. A distemper, which seized him at Gloucester, in 1093, put them in hopes their prayers were going to be heard; and he himself thought his end drew nigh. The approach of death, and the exhortations of the bishops that were about him, made him reflect on his past life, which was followed by some signs of sorrow and repentance. He appeared firmly resolved to correct the mismanagements in the government, if it pleased God to restore him to his health. The bishops taking the advantage of these good motions, admonished him to fill the vacant benefices. They represented to him what great obstacles he laid in the way of his salvation, by applying the church's revenues to uses contrary to what they were designed for. The condition he was in, made him readily comply with whatever they desired of him. He nominated Robert Bloet, one of his counsellors, to the bishopric of Lincoln, and pitched upon, for archbishop of Canterbury, Anselm, abbot of Bec, in Normandy, who was then at the English court. It was with great difficulty, that Anselm was prevailed upon to accept of this dignity. He was a zealous assertor of the rights of the church, and as he knew William was not over-scrupulous in these matters, he dreaded the taking upon him a burden, which to him seemed too weighty in such a reign. However, the persuasions of the bishops, and seeming repentance of the king, brought him at length to a compliance. Before he was consecrated, he requested the king, that he would be pleased to restore to the church of Canterbury all that belonged to it in Lanfranc's time, which was positively promised him. In the mean time, William finding he was out of danger, and perceived he daily gathered strength, he put off matters, in order to avoid the restoring the church-lands. At length, as the archbishop pressed him continually upon this score, he frankly declared, his intent was that they, to whom he had granted the said lands, should enjoy them, they and their posterity. He even told the archbishop, he expected his concurrence; but Anselm would never be brought to this compliance, which he looked upon as a prevarication. This gave rise to the great contest between the king and him, which occasioned a great deal of trouble to both of them. William, whose repentance proceeded entirely from the fear of death, finding himself perfectly recovered, forgot all his promises, and pursued his old course again. The prisoners he had commanded to be freed, were, by his order, more closely confined, and those that had been set at liberty, were again thrown into prison. Extortion, injustice, and rapine, lifted up their heads as high as ever. The administration of justice was in the hands of such, as took more care to enrich themselves, than to discharge the duties of their respective offices: all were poor, but those who had the care of the public money. There was a necessity of sacrificing honour and conscience, in order to be in favour at court; and none but informers met with encouragement. These disorderly doings put many honest men upon resolving to quit the kingdom, and seek elsewhere that tranquillity they could not find in their native country. But even the liberty of doing this, which they imagined, they could not be abridged of, was taken from them by an edict, whereby all persons were forbid to go out of the kingdom without the royal approbation.

\* Boethius and Buchanan say, that Malcolm having reduced the castle of Alnewick to extremity, the besieged were forced to surrender, and only desired, that the king, in person, would receive the keys of the gates, which were brought by a soldier upon the top of a lance, who standing within the wall, thrust the point of the lance into the king's eye as he was going to take them. Upon which Edward, his son, falling too rashly

During the time England was in this wretched condition, Malcolm, king of Scotland, came to Gloucester, according to an agreement he had made with William, to settle some matters, which had been left undetermined in the late treaty. As soon as the king had notice of his arrival, he acquainted him, that he expected, in the first place, he should do him homage. Malcolm replied, he was ready to do it on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, according to custom. William, not satisfied with this answer, haughtily told him, that he would have it done in Gloucester, it not being the vassal's place to appoint where he was to do his homage. Hereupon Malcolm returned home without seeing him, enraged at the treatment he had met with. He soon began his revenge by invading Northumberland. This was the fifth time he had ravaged that country, revenged on the innocent subjects, the wrongs he pretended to have received from the sovereign. Robert de Mowbray was then governor of the northern parts. He was a person of great courage and conduct, and finding the king's forces were at too great a distance, he undertook to put a sudden stop to the calamities his government lay under. He drew together a body of troops with such expedition, that he fell on the Scots at a time they thought themselves most secure. This unexpected attack having thrown the Scots into disorder and confusion, they easily gave ground. Malcolm, and Edward his eldest son, distracted at seeing their army thus running away, and being desirous to endeavour to rally them again, were both slain upon the spot. The Scotch historians pretend, that the English owed their victory to a notorious piece of treachery\*. This fatal battle was the occasion of numberless evils to Scotland quickly after. Malcolm had with him a general called Walter, to whom, as a reward for his services, he had given the office of steward, or great master of his household. From this officer sprang the family of the Stuarts, who for a long time swayed the sceptre of Scotland, and for above a century that of England†. Margaret, king Malcolm's queen, and sister of Edgar Atheling, survived the melancholy news of the death of her husband and son but three days. Though Malcolm had left three sons, besides, of a fit age to govern, the Scots placed the crown on the head of Donald his brother. This prince was no sooner on the throne, but he drove all the English out of the kingdom. Among whom was Edgar Atheling, who taking with him the sons of Malcolm, his nephews, retired into England.

Towards the end of the summer, Donald, at the head of his army, made an irruption into England, where he avenged Malcolm's death in a cruel manner. As soon as William had notice of it, he sent an army into the north under the command of Duncan, natural son to the late king of Scotland. At the approach of these forces, Donald hastily retired into his kingdom; but was so closely pursued, that he could not avoid coming to a battle. As his army was much inferior in number to that of the English, he was defeated, and forced to betake himself to one of the Hebrides. This blow having thrown the Scots into great consternation, Duncan took the advantage of the juncture, and procured his own coronation in the room of Donald's.

About the same time, new troubles arising in Wales, the English army marched thither. The war proved fatal to the Welsh, who lost part of their country, after Rees their king had been slain in a battle.

The affairs of Scotland and Wales being ended to William's satisfaction, it was not long before he sought fresh occasions to exert his activity. Robert, his brother, being dissatisfied that the articles of their treaty

upon the enemy, received a wound, of which he soon after died.

† Camden says, Malcolm made Walter steward of the whole kingdom of Scotland, and that he was son to Flean, by Nesta, daughter to Griffith ap Llewelin, prince of North-Wales. Flean was the son of Banquo, slain by Macbeth.



were not yet performed, was making preparations for war, which William apprehended were designed for the retaking of the places he was in possession of, by virtue of the same treaty. Therefore, without troubling himself about settling them, he resolved to lead an army into Normandy to secure his fortresses, and make new conquests. As he went to his ships he passed through Hastings, where he visited Battle-Abbey, and ordered the church to be consecrated, which was dedicated to St. Martin, as the king his father had commanded. Upon his arrival in Normandy, in 1094, he wanted to hold a conference with his brother, wherein he endeavoured to amuse him with fresh promises. This interview proving of no effect, they agreed upon a second, in the presence of the twenty-four barons, who had sworn to see the treaty put in execution. William's sole aim was to overawe the barons, that they might throw all the blame on his brother. But finding, that instead of doing so, they openly declared themselves in Robert's favour, he broke off the conference, and commenced hostilities. He quickly became master of some places, the governors whereof he had bribed. But afterwards, Robert having received succours from France, retook Argentan, and made the garrison, consisting of eight hundred men prisoners. After that, he besieged the castle of Holms, which surrendered at discretion. These successes made William sensible, that he should be a loser by the war, if the French troops continued in his brother's service. Having learnt that Philip was to be moved by presents, he resolved to try the same way he had formerly succeeded in. But after the excessive taxes he had laid on the kingdom, it seemed impracticable to raise the sum he then wanted. Therefore, under pretence that there was an urgent occasion for succours, he sent orders into England to levy, with all possible expedition, twenty-thousand men. In doing this, care was taken to press for soldiers, such as were well to pass, or to whom it was very inconvenient to leave their families. When these levies were just going to embark, the high-treasurer acquainted them from the king, that they might, every man, repair to his own home, upon paying ten shillings a-piece. This news was so acceptable to these soldiers lifted against their wills, that there was not one but what was overjoyed to be released at so easy a rate. By this means, William raised the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling, with which he bribed the French to retire, who were so great a bar to his progress. The going off of the auxiliaries brought Robert's affairs to a very bad pass. In all probability, it would have occasioned the loss of all his dominions, if the king had not been obliged to return into England, in 1095, to quell the Welsh, who were ravaging Shropshire and Cheshire. He left Normandy with extreme regret, after he had been reconciled to his brother Henry, who came over with him.

Upon his arrival in England, he marched into Wales, where he rebuilt the castle of Montgomery, which had been demolished. At his approach, the Welsh, according to custom, retired among the mountains, where it was impossible to attack them. As he was not well acquainted with that rugged country, he lost so many of his men in obstinately pursuing the enemy, that he was at last compelled to retire, without being able to effect much. Notwithstanding these difficulties, he resolved upon a second expedition, the same year, after he had reinforced his army with new levies. But hardly had he entered Wales, before he was called off from his enterprise, by affairs of greater importance, which more nearly concerned him.

Robert de Mowbray, who had gained a signal victory over the Scots, raised an insurrection in the north, with a view to depose William, in order to set the crown on the head of Stephen, earl of Albemarle, nephew to William the Conqueror. He drew into this conspiracy

a great number of lords, who, as well as he, were disgusted at the harsh and slighting usage they met with from the king. William received the news of this transaction as he was marching into Wales; but the Welsh war seeming to him of little importance, in comparison of the storm that was gathering, he altered his course, and marched towards the north. His design was to crush the head of the malecontents, before the rest could join him. The conspirators, having foreseen he would march that way, had laid an ambush for him, which he would infallibly have fallen into, if William de Tunbridge, one of the rebels, had not given him notice of it. The stratagem failing, William continued his march, and besieged the castle of Banborough, where Mowbray was. This place, which was very strong and well-stored with necessaries, holding out longer than was expected, he resolved to change the siege into a blockade, that he might be at liberty to go in quest of the other conspirators, who were already in arms. To this purpose, he built near Banborough, a fortress, which he called Mal-voisin (or Bad-Neighbour,) because it took away all possibility of throwing any succours into the castle. Some time after, Mowbray going out upon a false information\*, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the besiegers. As soon as the king heard of it, he ordered the prisoners to be led close up to the walls of Banborough, and in case the besieged refused to surrender, to have his eyes put out before their faces. Having gained his ends by this order, the castle was delivered up upon terms, and Mowbray was confined to Windsor-Castle, where he remained a prisoner thirty years. His companions in the revolt met with no better treatment. Roger Lacy was ejected from all his estates. Hugh, earl of Chester, redeemed his life for the sum of three thousand pounds sterling. The count of Eu, having chosen to vindicate his innocence in single combat against his accuser, and being overcome, was condemned to have his eyes put out, and to be castrated. William, of Ardres, accused of the same crime, was sentenced to be hanged, though he protested his innocence with his last breath. All the rest were condemned to divers punishments, not so much as one escaping. The king was no sooner out of this trouble, but he fell into another, occasioned by the renewing of the quarrel between him and the archbishop of Canterbury. He had no great regard to the immunities of the church, which Anselm strenuously required. He had even presumed to acknowledge Urban II. for lawful pope, though he very well knew that William was rather inclined to Clement, his antagonist. In vain was it represented to him, that by a law made in the late reign, no person was to acknowledge a pope without the king's consent. This argument had no force with him, who pretended, that the king had no right meddle with ecclesiastical affairs. The king, for his part, was not of a humour to give way to his subjects; and as he began to treat him somewhat roughly, Anselm desired leave to go to Rome. William at first denied him, but at length consented, being very glad to get rid of him. However, not to let him go off without some further marks of his displeasure, he sent an officer to him, who overtaking him just as he was going to sail, ransacked his baggage, and took away all the money he could find, pretending that it was against the law to carry the coin out of the kingdom. After Anselm's departure, the king seized upon the temporalities of the archbishopric, and enjoyed them as long as he lived. This prelate continued some time at Rome, where he did all that lay in his power, to stir up the pope against the king. But at length, finding that Urban did not care to espouse his quarrel, he retired to a monastery at Lyons, where he remained till William's death.

In the year 1096, pope Urban II. disclosed the grand design which had a long time been forming. It was

\* Vitalis says, some soldiers belonging to Newcastle upon Tyne, promised to give him entrance into the town, if he would come thither privately with a few followers. Upon

which he went out one night with thirty soldiers, but being betrayed by his own men, was pursued and taken by the garrison of Mal-voisin.



the famous *Crusado*, which was undertaken to recover the Holy Land from the Saracens\*. Peter the Hermit, first set this project on foot; pope Urban II. declaimed upon it at the council of Clermont, and numberless persons of all nations and ranks in Europe, were desirous of embarking in it. The badge of those that engaged in this undertaking, was a red cross wrought in their habit, and appearing on their shoulders; from whence they were called the *croises*, or the *crossed*, and the expedition, the *crusade*. Their motto was, "It is God's will." The heads of the *croises* were, Hugh of France, Godfrey of Boulogne, Raimund of Toulouse, count of St. Giles, Robert earl of Flanders, Baldwin earl of Hainault, Bohemond prince of Tarentum, Tancred his nephew, and Robert duke of Normandy. The last was extremely desirous of making a figure in this war, which made so much noise in the world: but he wanted money to defray the charge he was obliged to be at. The only means he had to supply this defect, was to borrow a sum of the king, his brother, and engage Normandy for the payment†. William gladly received the proposal; but as his kingdom was exhausted by the great levies of money he had already raised, he was forced to have recourse to new methods. The way he judged the most ready, was to desire the richest of his subjects, particularly the nobility and clergy, to furnish him with the money he stood in need of. His request being equivalent to the command, such as were unwilling to comply, were compelled to it, without respect of persons. This compulsion gave the lords a pretence to treat their vassals in the same manner, and oblige them to contribute to the king's wants. Several ecclesiastics, not having the sum demanded ready by them, were, or pretended to be, under a necessity of melting down the church-plate, and even the shrines of the saints. As soon as Robert was gone, William having taken possession of Normandy, demanded of the king of France the French-Vexin, which he pretended belonged to the duchy. This demand occasioned a war, which having nothing remarkable in it, ended the next year in a treaty of peace.

In the year 1097, king William resolved upon the conquest of Wales; and therefore made, on some other pretence, extraordinary preparations, imagining he could not fail of success, as he thought of taking the Welsh unprovided. He even resolved to extirpate all the males of that nation, whose neighbourhood had hitherto been very troublesome to the English. But the honour of this conquest was not reserved for him; though by the assistance of some deserters, he had penetrated a good way into that difficult country, by which he lost more of his own, than he destroyed of the enemies men: so that he was forced once more to drop this undertaking, without having done any thing considerable.

In 1098, a new revolution in Scotland, made him resolve upon sending an army thither under the command of Edgar Atheling. Donald, whom we have seen driven out of Scotland, having found the means to get footing there again, had in his turn compelled Duncan to leave the kingdom, and settled himself on the throne. Edgar Atheling, by help of the English army, placed young Edgar his nephew, and son to Malcolm Macmoir, on the throne of his ancestors. William could not undertake this expedition in person, on account of the revolt of the province of Maine, which had obliged him to go thither and lay siege to the capital. During the king's absence, Wales was again exposed to the insults of the English, or rather Normans, who began to be confounded with the English. Owen, a Welsh lord, father-in-law to Grifith and Cadagon, kings of Wales, having been disoblged by his sons-in-law, privately invited the earls of Cheller and Shrewsbury into his country, promising them a great booty. The two earls having levied some troops, were received by Owen into Wales, where they committed unspeakable cruelties. The two

kings, thus taken unawares, were forced to fly into Ireland, and leave the country to the mercy of the English. Their flight having given their enemies an opportunity of marching on, they penetrated as far as the Isle of Anglesey, where they destroyed all with fire and sword. Whilst they were exercising their cruelty, Magnus, king of Norway, who had just made himself master of the Isle of Man, happened to come thither, and having a mind to land, the English endeavoured to prevent him: and the earl of Shrewsbury was slain in the skirmish. His death was looked upon as a just judgement, for the horrid barbarities he had committed in the isle. This accident having thrown the English into disorder, they were constrained to retire from the shore. Magnus, after he had landed, and found they had left him nothing to plunder, went on board again, and the English carried off their booty. These little advantages, says Rapin, were not capable of balancing the evils the English underwent the same year. There happened a great scarcity, occasioned by bad weather, which lasted several months, and the king laid heavy taxes upon them, in order to defray the expences of some public buildings. He not only rebuilt London-bridge, which had been carried away by an unusual flood, but raised a new wall round the Tower, and built a great hall at Westminster, two hundred and seventy feet long, and seventy broad. How spacious soever this hall might be, William, at his return from Normandy found fault with its being so small, saying, it was scarce fit to be called a bed-chamber, in comparison of what he had designed it to be.

About Midsummer, 1099, William, as he was hunting in New Forest, was told by a messenger, that Hely count de la Fleche, had surprised and taken the city of Mans, and was then besieging the castle, which would soon be forced to surrender, if it were not timely relieved. This news obliging him to break off his sport, he sent the messenger back, ordering him to acquaint the besieged, he would be with them in eight days. At the same time, he turned his horse's head towards the sea-side, crying out, "He that loves me, follow me," and arrived at Dartmouth that very day, where he was desirous to embark immediately. But the wind was so contrary, that the master of the ship represented to him, that he could not put to sea without manifest hazard. "Tush," replied the king, "set forward, thou never yet heardst of a king that was drowned:" and compelling him to sail, he safely arrived at Barfleur. On the morrow, he sent for the troops he had in Normandy, to attend him on the road to Mans, and in a few days marched to the relief of the besieged. By this prodigious expedition, he surprised the besiegers in such a manner, that he not only relieved the castle, but took the count of Fleche prisoner. Exulting at his success, he could not forbear jesting on the misfortune of his enemy. But the count, far from being cast down at what had happened, fiercely replied that "He had no reason to glory in an advantage which he had gained by surprise, and that, were he at liberty again, he would let him see, that he should not find it so easy a matter to vanquish him another time." The victorious king, hearing these bold words, in point of honour, set his prisoner free upon the spot, telling him, "He desired no return, but exhorted him to do his worst." After this transaction, returning to England with the same expedition, he pursued his diversion, which this affair had interrupted.

The same year, the *Croises* took Jerusalem by storm, and put forty thousand Saracens to the sword. When they met to elect a king, to govern the country conquered from the Infidels, the majority of the leaders of the Christian army voted for Robert duke of Normandy. But this prince, for reasons unknown, refused their offer. Upon which, the famous Godfrey of Boulogne was chosen, who by his valour and conduct had much contributed to the success of that expedition.

\* See a particular account of the wars in the Holy Land, in a note, under the year 1191, in the reign of Richard.

† The sum which Robert borrowed, according to various historians, was ten thousand marks.



*Engraved for Robertson's "History of England."*



*Edm. Heath - del. J. M. D. - sculp.*



In the year 1100 William, earl of Poitiers, animated by the example of so many princes that had engaged in the Holy War, resolved to lead a powerful reinforcement to the Croises. As he could not put his design in execution without great expence, he applied to the king of England for the requisite sum, offering to mortgage his dominions for his security. William having, without hesitation, accepted of so advantageous a proposal, got ready the money against the appointed time. He designed to carry it himself to the earl, that he might at the same time, be put in possession of his dominions, consisting of Guienna and Poitou, two of the richest provinces in France. Whilst he was preparing for his voyage, he had a mind to take the diversion of hunting in the New-Forest, where an unforeseen death put an end to all his projects. Towards the evening William having wounded a stag, was pursuing the game full-speed, when Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, shooting at the same stag, pierced the king through the heart, upon which he fell down dead, without speaking a word. The murderer, though conscious of his own innocency, fled for it, without any body's endeavouring to seize him. Every one was busy about the person of the king, whose body was laid in a cart, which accidentally came by, and carried to Winchester, where it was interred next day. Henry, his brother, dreading the measures he had taken to secure the crown might be retarded, dispatched the funeral as soon as possible, which was celebrated without much ceremony, no one lamenting the loss of a prince so little beloved. Thus fell William Rufus, on the 2d of August, in the year 1100, in the forty-fourth year of his age, after a reign of twelve years, ten months, and twenty days. His tragical death, in the place where one of his brothers, and a nephew of his perished, by no less extraordinary accidents, gave occasion for many reflections. It was publicly talked, that God was pleased to take vengeance of the Conqueror's family, for his destroying and laying waste the country in so prodigious a manner, in order to make the New-Forest. But there was no need to have recourse to his father's faults; the son had enough of his own, to take off their wonder at his perishing by an uncommon death. And historians in general, have not scrupled to rank William Rufus among those princes, who add but little lustre to the throne of England.

This prince had all the vices of his father, without any of his virtues. William I. made some amends for his faults by a religious outside, his great chastity, and commendable temperance; but by the character given of his son, it appears, that he was neither religious, nor chaste, nor temperate. He was profuse to his favourites and soldiers, and magnificent in his buildings and habit. It is said, that his valet bringing him one day a new pair of breeches, which cost but three shillings, he fell into a passion, and ordered him never to bring him a pair but what cost at least a mark. It is added, he was contented with a pair not worth so much, being valued to him at a mark. If we may believe those who have given us an account of his life, he had neither honour nor conscience, nor faith nor religion, and that he took a pride in appearing as such. It is related, that one day fifty English gentlemen, accused for hunting and killing the king's deer, having passed through the trial by fire-ordeal untouched, he swore, that "He could not believe God was a just judge, since he protected such a sort of people." Eadmer, who lived in his time, says, the king took money of the Jews at Rouen, to compel such as had been baptized, to return to Judaism\*. Malmesbury adds, that William ordered some bishops

and rabbins to meet together, and dispute in his presence about religion, and that he had promised the rabbins, he would be circumcised, if their arguments seemed to him stronger than those of the Christians. It is true, indeed, the historian says, that it is to be supposed, he did this with a view to ridicule them. He is charged with denying Divine Providence, and openly maintaining, that prayers addressed to saints were vain and impertinent†.

His ordinary revenues were probably the same with his father's. But as he ran into a great many more needless expences, he encreased them oftentimes by extraordinary impositions and taxes, which were very frequent in his reign. To these he added the profits of the vacant benefices, which brought him very large sums. At the time of his death, he had in his hands the archbishopric of Canterbury, the bishoprics of Winchester and Salisbury, and twelve rich abbeys, besides abundance of other church preferments of less note. When he had enjoyed the incomes of these benefices for some years, and had a mind to dispose of them, he never regarded the merits of the persons, but only the sum they bid for them. However, it is related, that one day two monks striving to outbid one another for a rich abbey, he perceived a third standing by, of whom he demanded, how much he would give? The monk replied, he had no money, and if he had, his conscience would not suffer him to lay it out in that manner; whereupon the king told him, swearing by St. Luke's face, which is said to have been his usual oath, that he deserved it better than the other two, and that he should have it for nothing.

Ranulph Blambart, a man of a mean birth, was his high-treasurer, and the person that invented the greatest part of the ways and means the king put in practice to extort money from his subjects. He was rewarded for his services with the bishopric of Durham, which William conferred upon him a little before his death.

Among his charitable works are reckoned, the hospital he founded at York, and a church he built at London in Southwark, for the use of the Medicant friars.

This prince was of a middle stature, but looked shorter than he was, by reason of his corpulency. His hair a deep yellow, inclining to red, his eyes of two different colours, speckled with small black spots. He was generally of a very ruddy complexion. Though he was far from being eloquent, he talked a great deal, especially when he was angry. His countenance was severe, and his voice strong, which he would exalt sometimes, on purpose to frighten those he was speaking to. He is said, however, to converse affably enough with his courtiers, who easily found the way to soften his fierce temper.

During the reign of William Rufus, several extraordinary accidents happened. In 1092, a dreadful fire destroyed a great part of London. The sea also rose to a wonderful height, and overflowed part of the coast of Kent, and swept away abundance of people and cattle. This inundation covered the lands that formerly belonged to earl Godwin in the reign of Edward the Confessor; and this place, which ever since has been called Godwin's Sands, is famous for innumerable shipwrecks.

Malmesbury observes of the reign of William Rufus, that notwithstanding men's minds were turned to war, yet excess and sensuality prevailed in a very scandalous manner among the nobility, and even among the clergy. Vanity, lust, and intemperance reigned every where. The men appeared so effeminate in their dress and conversation, that they showed themselves men in nothing but their daily attempts upon the chastity of women.

\* This story is thus related: "A young Jew being converted, as is said, by a vision of a saint, his father presented the king with sixty marks, intreating him to make his son return to his old religion. The king sends for the young man, and commands him without more ado to turn Jew again, which he refusing to do, and wondering the king, who was a Christian, should propose such a thing to him, he  
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"was bid to be gone. The father perceiving the king could do no good with his son, desired to have his money again. "Nay, said the king, I have taken pains enough for it all: "however, that thou may'st see how kindly I will use thee, "thou shalt have one half, and the other half thou can'st not "in conscience deny me for my pains." Eadmer, p. 47.

† Vide Rapin, book vi.



## C H A P. III.

## HENRY I. SURNAMED BEAUCLERK.

ON the death of William Rufus, Henry bent his course towards Winchester, where the crown and sceptre, with the royal treasure, were kept, and would fain have taken possession of them; but he was stoutly opposed by Roger de Bretevil, one of Robert's partizans. This lord alledged, that he was bound, by oath, to acknowledge the duke of Normandy for king, in case William died without issue. That besides, the law of nature gave Robert a right, which could not be justly disputed. During this contest, several other lords being arrived at Winchester, there was quickly a great concourse of people, who came from all parts to know the situation of affairs at this important crisis. If the choice of a king had solely depended upon the lords that were then assembled at Winchester, the duke of Normandy would, no doubt, have been approved. But Henry gave them not time to take necessary measures to accomplish their design. As he observed that the people were on his side, he seized the opportunity, and, drawing his sword out of the scabbard, he declared, no man should take possession of the crown. The dispute still growing higher, the lords that were present thought fit to retire into a private room, to consult more calmly on the matter. Whilst they were debating, the people made the name of Henry rebound in their ears by their loud acclamations, and gave them reason to dread, it would be extremely dangerous for them to support Robert. Therefore, preferring their own safety to justice and equity, they resolved, in order to prevent a civil war, which seemed unavoidable, if they persisted in asserting the rights of the duke of Normandy, that Henry should be placed on the throne. This satisfied

the prince, that his authority was sufficiently established. Without waiting for the confirmation of the estates, he immediately set out for London. On the morrow after his arrival, Maurice, bishop of that city, in pursuance of this hasty and irregular election, put the crown on his head, after having administered to him the usual oath, on Sunday, August 5, 1100.

Henry's pretended election having interrupted the natural order of the succession, it was highly necessary he should begin his reign in such a manner as might give his subjects room to imagine his government would be for their benefit. In the first place, to gain the affections of the people, he set about reforming his court, where the king, his brother, had suffered many abuses to creep in. The courtiers, for the most part, sure of going unpunished, were wont to tyrannize over the people in a shameful manner. Not content with loading them with all kinds of cruel and unjust oppressions, and with secretly attempting the chastity of the women, they publicly boasted of these things; so far were they from any fear of punishment. To cure these disorders, Henry published a very severe edict against all offenders in general, but particularly against adulterers. As for those that abused their power in oppressing the people, he ordered them to be put to death without mercy. Some who were already notorious upon that account, were driven from court, and Ranulph, bishop of Durham, the detested minister of the late king, was thrown into prison. If these proceedings caused the English to have a good opinion of the new king and his government, what he did soon after was no less acceptable to them. To convince them that he really intended to perform what he had promised, he abolished the *Couvre-feu*\*, which they looked upon as a constant badge of their servitude. This favour was followed by the grant of a charter, wherein he confirmed divers privileges they had enjoyed under the Saxon kings, and renounced all those unjust prerogatives the two late kings had usurped†.

In

\* See p. 98.

† As the inhabitants of this country received vast benefits from this charter, and as it was the ground-work of the celebrated Magna Charta, granted by king John, we shall here present our readers with a copy of it.

1. *Henry's Charter to all his faithful Subjects.*

"Henry, by the grace of God, king of the English, to all his barons and faithful subjects, both French and English, greeting.

"Know ye, that by the mercy of God, and by the common council [with the assent \*] of the barons of the kingdom or England, I am crowned king of the said kingdom; and because the kingdom hath been oppressed by unjust exaction, I, from the love of God, and the regard I bear you [all], in the first place, free the holy church, so as that I will neither sell nor farm out, nor upon the death of an archbishop, bishop or abbot, will I accept any of the church's property, nor aught from any of its tenants, until a successor enters upon the same. And I banish all the evil usages with which all the kingdom of England has been [unjustly] oppressed; part of which evil usages I here set down.

"If any of my barons, earls, or of my tenants, holding of me, shall die, his heirs shall not be obliged to redeem his land, as was the custom in the days of my brother, but shall relieve the same by a just and lawful relief. In like manner shall the tenants of my barons relieve their lands from their lords, by a lawful [certain] and just relief.

"And if any of my barons, or other my subjects, have a mind to give a [their] daughter in marriage, or sister, or niece, let him treat with me; but I will neither accept any part of his fortune for such licence, nor will I prohibit his disposing of her, unless it be to my enemy. And if any of my barons, or other of my subjects should, at his death, leave a daughter his heir, I will dispose of her with the advice of my barons, together with her lands. And if, upon the death of her husband, a wife shall survive without children, she shall have her [own] dower and marriage portion; neither will I give her to a husband, but with her own consent; but if the wife be left with children, she shall then have her dower and marriage portion; nor will I give her to a husband but with her own consent, provided the wife shall keep her body in chastity, and

\* These words are wanting in one copy of this charter in the Red Book of the Exchequer, and interlined in another; they are likewise wanting in both copies exhibited by Matthew Paris.

either the wife, or some other relation, who is to deal justly, shall be guardian of the children and of the estate. And I command my barons, that they act conformably hereunto towards the sons, daughters, and wives of their tenants.

"The common mintage money, which was taken throughout cities and counties, and was not in use under king Edward, I absolutely forbid to be taken for the future. If any minter, or other person, be taken with false money, let right justice be done upon him.

"All fines and debts due to my brother I forgive, excepting my just farms, and those bargains which concerned the inheritance of others, or for those effects which justly concerned other persons: and I forgive all bargains which any man has made, with regard to his right of inheritance.

"And if any [of my barons or tenants] shall be ill, so that he dispose of, or give his money, I will that such disposition stand good; but if he, prevented by war or sickness, shall not give or dispose of his effects, let his wife, children, or parents, or his lawful tenants, divide it among themselves, as shall seem best to them.

"If any of my barons or tenants forfeit, he shall not give a pledge for favour of the [whole] fine, as he did in the time of my father or brother; but according to the measure of the forfeit, so shall he be fined, in such manner as fines were laid on under those my predecessors, who reigned before my father and brother; but if he shall be convicted of treason, or wickedness, let him make satisfaction as shall seem just."

2. *Concerning the Confirmation of king EDWARD's Laws.*

"I do hereby pardon all murders committed before my coronation; and those which shall be committed hereafter, shall be satisfied for according to the law of king Edward.

"I have, by common consent of my barons, retained to myself the forests, in like manner as my father held them.

"I grant, of my own free gift, to my knights (i. e. tenants by knights service), who defend their lands by their habergeons, (i. e. their arms) that their demesne land shall be free from all unjust guilds, or taxes, and all works: [that their fidelity may be in proportion to my kindness] that since they are called of so great a burden, they may the better provide themselves with horses and arms, and so be made fitter and more ready for my service, and for the defence of the kingdom.

"I restore to you the laws of king Edward, together with these amendments, made by the advice of my barons."

a 11







In fine having granted a general pardon for all crimes committed before his coronation, and remitted all arrears and debts due to the crown, he added a very material article, which was no less satisfactory to the Normans than English, which was, the confirmation of the laws of king Edward, that is, of the laws which were in force during the reigns of the Saxon kings, and which were entirely laid aside or expressly abolished after the conquest. The native English were well pleased with the restoration of their ancient laws; and the Normans were no less gainers by it. Hitherto they held their estates at the will of the Conqueror, consequently were liable to be ejected at his pleasure; but by this charter, which confined the royal authority within its ancient bounds, they were settled in their possessions, and screened from the violence of arbitrary power. Henry being acquainted with the dissatisfaction of the English at the banishment of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, for his vigorous opposition to the late king's oppressions, was willing to appease them on this point, and with that view, wrote a letter to the archbishop, in 1101, who was still at Lyons, inviting him to return to his diocese. At the same time telling him, he designed to be guided by his directions, and to entrust him with the administration of affairs. Anselm, to whom this news was quickly carried, returned into England, and the people greatly rejoiced. The arrival of this prelate was no less agreeable to the king. He had need of him in an affair, which could not be managed without his assistance. As his design was to gain the affections of the English, he believed nothing would contribute more towards it, than his marrying Matilda, daughter to Malcolm, king of Scotland, by Margaret, sister to Edgar Atheling. Indeed this alliance could not but be very grateful to the people, seeing it would be the means of restoring the royal family of the Saxons to the crown.

Henry had already demanded the princess of king Edgar, her brother: but he met with a great obstacle in his way. Matilda had been educated in England in the monastery at Wilton, where she had put on the veil. It is true, it was alledged in her behalf, that she had not vowed virginity, nor taken up the veil, but as a safeguard to her honour, which was supposed to be in danger at the beginning of the conquest. But this reason did not seem sufficient to the two kings to justify their proceeding any farther in this matter, though they were both equally desirous of the match. Every one knew Matilda had put on the veil, and it was generally believed, she had vowed chastity. Some affirm, even that she excepted against her marriage, as unlawful, and add, that when pressed upon the score of reasons of state, she yielded to the entreaties of her brother and lover, and cursed the line that was to spring from her, as abominable in the sight of God. The decision of this matter, which appeared so difficult, being left to the archbishop of Canterbury, he would not undertake it alone; but called in the assistance of a council, which met at his palace at Lambeth. This assembly being entirely inclined to the king's side, the reasons for Matilda's being at free liberty to marry, were so well managed, that the council declared the intended marriage to be good and lawful. Pursuant to this declaration, it was quickly after solemnized to the general satisfaction of both kingdoms. Whilst these things were transacting, duke Robert was returned to Normandy, and had taken possession of his dominions without any opposition. Though Normandy was mortgaged to the late king, Henry did not think fit to dispute the matter with his brother, at a time, when he himself was apprehensive of being attacked upon the account of England. Duke Robert, in his way home from the Holy Land, had made some stay in Apulia, where he married a wife, which delay had given his

brother an opportunity of securing the crown of England. He was no sooner arrived, but he openly showed his discontent at having been thus supplanted, and firmly resolved to attempt the recovery of what he had been deprived of during his absence. The bishop of Durham, who, having found the means to escape out of prison, was retired to Normandy, did not a little contribute to confirm him in his resolution. Moreover, several Norman lords, who had consented to Henry's election out of a kind of compulsion, began to contrive how to place Robert on the throne. As they knew him to be a mild and good-natured prince, they imagined they should enjoy much greater happiness under him than under Henry, who appeared to be a person of more vigour and resolution. The rumour of Robert's preparing to assert his rights, wrought variously on people's minds. Some were for continuing steadfast to the king, and keeping the oath they had taken to him; while others, though satisfied with the king's first proceedings, yet resumed their former inclinations for the duke his brother, insomuch that Henry was in great perplexity. If he was loth to trust to the fidelity of the English, they were no less doubtful of the sincerity of his intentions. What they had experienced from the two late kings, gave them but too much reason to dread, that the part he had hitherto acted was only to amuse them and prevent their assisting his brother. In this uncertainty, Anselm's assistance was of great use to Henry in fixing the English, who seemed to float between the two parties. The archbishop, glad to show his gratitude to the king, assembled the chief of the English and Norman grandees, and so positively assured them that the king would make good all his promises, that they seemed very well satisfied. And yet it was no sooner known, that the duke of Normandy was going to embark for England, but the greatest part of the nobles declared for him and part of the fleet followed their example. This gave the duke an opportunity to land at Portsmouth, where he was received without any opposition. He was not ignorant how the English stood affected. Such as came over to him every day, assured him, that their countrymen were well-wishers to his cause. They even told him, that the king would be deserted by the whole nation, who looked upon their oath of allegiance, as an involuntary act. In the mean time, Henry took all the measures he thought requisite, to frustrate the designs of the duke his brother, by making use of Anselm's credit, on whom the people seemed to rely. As soon as the army was ready to march, the archbishop came and called the principal officers together, to whom he represented in so lively a manner, the heinousness of breaking their oath of allegiance, that he confirmed them in their duty to such a degree, that they unanimously promised to hazard their lives and fortunes in defence of the king. Robert, who expected matters would have gone quite otherwise, plainly saw, this turn would prove very prejudicial to his affairs. He had not so much depended on his own forces, as on the assistance of the English. In hopes that the majority would abandon the king in order to join him, he had proceeded so far, as to threaten such as persisted to support the interest of the usurper; for so he stiled his brother. But when he found the body of the nation declared for the king, and the army had just renewed their oath of allegiance, he was sensible his design would prove fruitless. Thus falling from his hopes, he closed in with the proposals of peace the king had sent him. An accommodation appeared to him so much the more necessary, as he perceived, that even those that at first had been the most zealous to support him, began to waver. Things standing thus, and the two brothers being equally desirous to come to a treaty, the lords of both parties met together to consult upon

"If any one has taken any thing from me, or from any other person, he shall forthwith restore the same, without making satisfaction; and he upon whom any such thing is found, shall make strict satisfaction to the owner.

"Given in presence of the archbishops, bishops, barons,

earls, sheriffs, and nobles, of all the kingdom of England, on the day of my coronation."

N. B. The words inclosed within brackets thus [ ], are the supplements taken from Matt. Paris, the Red Book of the Exchequer, the Rochester copy, and others.

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the means. The result of the conference was, that Henry should keep possession of the crown; and he promised for his part, to deliver up to Robert the castles in Normandy, that were garrisoned with English, and to pay him yearly the sum of three thousand marks. It was also stipulated, that if one of the two brothers died without children, the other should be his heir. This agreement being signed and sworn to by twelve lords of each side, the armies were disbanded. Robert staid two whole months at the court of England, living in perfect amity with his brother. This accommodation was very advantageous to the king; but he could not forget the hazard he had run. As he was apprehensive his enemies might hereafter make fresh attempts to dethrone him, whenever an opportunity offered, he resolved to be beforehand with them, by ruining them one after another. Accordingly, soon after the treaty, he attacked, in 1102, on divers pretences, Hugh de Grentmaison, Robert de Pontefract, and some others, who plainly perceived, that their greatest crime consisted in the goodwill they had borne the duke of Normandy. He was particularly exasperated against Robert de Belesme, because he had shown him the least respect, and still continued to discover his desire of exciting new troubles. This young lord, who was son to the late earl of Montgomery, boldly exclaimed, that Henry was an usurper, and that it was a dishonourable thing for the Normans as well as for the English, to suffer him to take the crown from his elder brother. He was not satisfied with talking thus indiscreetly, but rendered himself formidable, by fortifying his castles in Shropshire. The king, who had determined to ruin him, was not displeased to find so favourable an opportunity as this nobleman had given him to effect his purpose by his imprudent proceedings. To complete his destruction, he had set spies about him, who feigning to come into his measures, observed all his actions, and took care to have such things said to him before suborned witnesses, as tended to render him criminal. When the king thought he had evidence enough against him, he ordered him to be accused of five and forty articles, the least of which was sufficient to make his guilt appear. Belesme being obliged to appear in court, asked leave for time to prepare his answer, which being granted him, he took the opportunity to make his escape and retire to Shrewsbury, where he hoped he should be able to defend himself by the assistance of the Welsh; who had espoused his cause. When he had resolved upon this, he buoyed himself up with the hopes of succours from several other lords, who seemed to be entirely of the same mind with himself. But whether he had been imposed upon, or whether they did not think him a fit person to be at the head of such an enterprise, he found himself abandoned by all, and by that means saw, though too late, the vanity of his projects. The king having proclaimed him a traitor, marched against him with so superior a force, that in few days he became master of Shrewsbury, where the rebel dared not wait his coming. After which, he took all his other castles, and compelled him to quit the possessions the earl his father had held in England, and to retire to Normandy. Henry confiscated his estate, and involved his brothers in the same punishment, notwithstanding their innocence, so desirous was he of rooting out the whole family.

Archbishop Anselm, in the year 1103, had two projects which he wished to enforce: the first was, to oblige the clergy to live unmarried, and the second, to wrest from the king the investiture of bishops and abbots. To effect this, he convened a synod, where he procured all the married priests to be excommunicated, though they were very numerous at that time. Henry, who was not much concerned in this matter, being unwilling to give the archbishop any disgust, the decree passed in the synod, notwithstanding the struggles of the inferior clergy to the contrary, who in vain tried to ward off that blow. Anselm having succeeded so far, set about the other, and would have proceeded to excommunicate the bishops that had been invested by the king; but here the king's

interest was too much concerned, not for him to oppose to the utmost of his power the abolishing a prerogative, his predecessors had enjoyed without molestation. But how much soever he exerted himself on this occasion, he could not prevent some bishops, who had received their investitures from him from resigning their bishoprics through fear of excommunication. On the other hand, Anselm refused to consecrate such as were nominated to their bishopric by the king, unless he would give up the right of investitures. This new claim which the archbishop boldly asserted, finding himself backed by the court of Rome, occasioned between him and the king a quarrel, which continued on foot several years. As Henry would not recede from his prerogative, Anselm affirmed, that for his part, he could not submit without betraying the cause of God. All hopes of an accommodation being taken away by the obstinacy of both parties, the archbishop resolved to carry his complaints to Paschal II. who then sat in the papal chair. He was attended in his journey by the prelates who had resigned their bishoprics, and upon his arrival at Rome, instantly demanded of the pope, that he would be pleased to restore them by his authority: "Then," says M. Paris, "the holy see, whose clemency is open to all the world, provided care be taken to prepare it beforehand by a certain dazzling metal, restored the bishops, and sent them back to their respective churches." The king being informed that Anselm was gone to Rome, dispatched thither ambassadors to plead his cause. Herbert bishop of Norwich, and Robert, of Litchfield, were pitched upon for this purpose, and set out for Rome, in company with William de Warelwaft, an ecclesiastic of great learning, who was to assist them with his advice. Though these ambassadors maintained the king's cause with a great deal of zeal and resolution, Paschal would abate nothing of his pretensions. The affair was carried on so far, that the king was upon the point of being excommunicated. On the other hand, the archbishop was deprived of his temporalities, during his being out of the kingdom. At length, after a great many contests for near three years together, both parties happening to be in such circumstances, as made them equally wish to see an end of the quarrel, the pope gave the bishops leave to do homage to the king, and Henry gave up the point of investitures. Thus the business was brought to a conclusion.

In the year 1104, duke Robert paid a visit to the king his brother, with a view to press the payment of his pension; but Henry knowing his brother's mild and generous temper, caressed him in such a manner, that he persuaded him to desist from his demands. This unreasonable piece of generosity cost the duke very dear, since it proved the occasion of his ruin in the end. His easy and liberal temper had all along spoiled his designs. His wants, which daily increased, made him sensible of his oversight in not insisting upon the pension, which he might justly demand of his brother. He complained that his easy nature had been abused; and as he impudently added to his complaints, some menaces, he gave Henry a handle to act openly against him. The king did not want much spurring on to break entirely with his brother. Ever since he found himself in peaceable possession of England, he began to look with a greedy eye on Normandy, and was extremely desirous of annexing it to his crown. Robert's ill conduct confirmed him in the hopes of becoming master of that duchy; and as he waited only for a favourable opportunity to put his designs in execution, he did not fail to lay hold of the first that presented itself.

It is above related, that Robert de Belesme, after he had lost his estates in England, was retired to Normandy; where he was no sooner arrived, than he endeavoured to be revenged on the king, by distressing such of his subjects as had lands in those parts, under a pretence of making himself amends for what the king had taken from him in England. The duke's indolence in not opposing these outrages at first, rendered this lord the more fierce and presumptuous. He committed so many



many violences, that complaints were exhibited against him from every quarter. At length, Robert, roused by the people's murmurs, resolved to chastise him, and levied an army to put a stop to these disorders; but had the misfortune to be vanquished. The rebel, puffed up with his success, and spurred on by his audaciousness and ambition, formed a project of becoming master of the whole duchy. Whilst he was carrying on his design, he was strengthened by the eldest of the conqueror's two half-brothers. Nor being satisfied with the earldom of Cornwall, he pretended, that the king ought to give him up moreover the earldom of Kent, which his uncle the bishop of Bayeux had enjoyed. But not meeting with the success he expected, he behaved in an insolent manner to the king, and even threatened him. His behaviour caused the king to dispossess him of the earldom of Cornwall, as a punishment for his rashness. Whereupon, not being able to stay any longer in England, he retired into Normandy. Here he joined Robert de Belesme, and strengthened his party in such a manner, that the duke was eager to strike up a peace with them on terms very dishonourable to a sovereign prince. This peace, instead of restoring tranquillity to the country, served only to increase the insolence of the two earls, who contemning the duke's orders, continued daily to commit ravages insupportable both to the nobles and people. At length, some of the chief men of the country, finding themselves thus oppressed by these two tyrants, without any hopes of protection from the duke, entered into a resolution in 1105, of applying to the king of England for redress. Their suit was very welcome to Henry, who only wanted a pretence to interfere in the affairs of Normandy, that he might have an opportunity of seizing the duchy. But as his design was detestable in itself, he endeavoured to give it the face of justice, by endeavouring to make appear that he acted from another motive. To this end, he wrote a letter to his brother, wherein he represented to him, that his conduct gave the Normans just cause of complaint, since he protected persons who ought to be looked upon as enemies to the public; that the peace he had concluded with them, leaving the country exposed to their ravages, his subjects could no longer consider as their sovereign, a prince from whom they could expect no protection; that he entreated him therefore to redress the grievances the Normans complained of, or not to think it strange, that in case he would not, he should himself espouse the cause of those that made their application to him. To these remonstrances, he subjoined some complaints of certain injuries, which he pretended had been done to himself, and demanded speedy satisfaction.

Henry, under the specious pretence of relieving the Normans, oppressed his own subjects, by an exorbitant tax. He pretended, he was obliged to wage war with the two tyrants of Normandy; a war, wherein the English were not at all concerned. Notwithstanding his fair promises to the people, this tax was levied with all the rigour imaginable, even to the imprisoning such as refused, or had not ability to pay it. As soon as his preparations were finished, he went to Normandy with a numerous army, carrying with him large sums of money, with which he bribed the nobles and governors of the strong holds. The posture of affairs affording the king better opportunities than he could expect at any other time, he seized upon Caen and some other cities. The duke of Bretagne and the earl of Anjou even permitted him to garrison some of the frontier towns, for fear of drawing upon themselves the brunt of the war, designed against Robert. On the other hand, they that had invited him over to their assistance, plainly foreseeing that if the quarrel was made up, it must need tends to their prejudice, never ceased exhorting him to push on his conquests, and make himself master of all Normandy. They represented to him, that it was the only way to ease them of the oppressions they lay under, seeing they could expect no assistance from their sovereign. The bishop of Seez, sworn enemy to the two earls, who

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had ejected him from his diocese missed no opportunity of stirring up Henry to go through with his undertaking. One day, as he was with him in the church of Carenton, he caused him to take notice how full the church was of goods, which the people had brought thither to secure them from the plundering tyrants. This gave him occasion to make a long harangue, wherein he represented to him, that the rise of all their miseries was owing to the carelessness or connivance of the duke; and added, that the country would never be restored to its former tranquillity, till they had another master. In fine, he conjured the king to take upon him the government, and free the Normans, the ancient subjects of his family, from the wretched state they were reduced to. Henry listened attentively to this discourse, and pretending to be touched with compassion for the Normans, promised to exert his utmost to procure them the relief they expected at his hands. However, he expressed an extreme regret at being forced to deprive his brother of his dominions, who, by reason of his incapacity, was running headlong into destruction. Pursuant to his resolution, which he pretended to have taken up through necessity, and in compliance to the intreaties of the Normans, he continued the war.—Robert made but a weak defence, because not having in the least suspected the king's designs, he had no time to prepare himself to oppose his brother: so that Henry returned to England with a design to raise, during the winter, the money and forces he should require to finish the work he had so successfully begun. The duke of Normandy, finding his affairs in a disagreeable situation, came to England in 1106, where he sued for peace; but Henry was deaf to all his intreaties, as his intent was to lay hold of the present juncture, to become master of Normandy; therefore, nothing could prevail upon him to come to an accommodation, which would have very much curtailed his designs. For this reason, he obstinately refused to enter into any negotiation, and thought he dealt very kindly by his brother, in permitting him to return home. Robert finding nothing was to be done, departed full of rage and vexation, and threatening highly what he would do; which Henry little regarded. Henry, however, doubting the sincerity of the English, and fearing lest they should assist the duke his brother, began to renew his promises. To this end, he convened the great council or parliament, and endeavoured, to make appear to the assembly, the justice of his undertaking. He represented to them, "That Robert's refusing the kingdom of Jerusalem had drawn down on his head the vengeance of God, by whom, ever since that time, he had been visibly forsaken, as a prince unworthy of his care, after he had slighted so great a favour. He aggravated the oppressions the Normans groaned under, and strove to make the English believe, it was incumbent on them to take in hand the defence of a miserable people. He desired the lords to consider his own peaceable temper, and how patiently he had taken his brother's menaces, to which he had made no other return but brotherly and gentle admonitions. He dwelt very much upon the duke's ill qualities. He displayed his excessive profuseness, which made him a continual burden to all the world. Moreover he accused him of an extreme arrogance, and of having on all occasions shown an utter contempt for the English nation. He assured them, for his part, that he persisted always in his resolution of governing according to just laws, of which the charter he had granted them was an undeniable argument. In fine, he added, that provided he was sure of the hearts and affections of the English, he valued nothing that his enemies could do against him." This speech had the effect he expected from it. All the lords, finding themselves honoured by the confidence he placed in them, and flattering themselves that he would make good his promises, unanimously assured him they would give him all the assistance their lives and fortunes could afford.

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Henry, on account of this declaration, persuaded the English to grant him a supply of fresh subsidies, by the means of which he made a considerable addition to his troops. As soon as the season permitted, he set sail with a numerous fleet, in order to complete the conquest of Normandy. He opened the campaign in 1107, with the siege of Tinchebray, where the earl of Mortaigne, who had sided with the duke, had brought a strong reinforcement. As this place was of great strength, and well provided with necessaries, it held out long enough for Robert to come to its relief. Ever since the duke had parted from the king his brother, without being able to prevail with him to come to an accommodation, he had joined the earl of Mortaigne, and Robert de Belesme, who had led all their forces to his assistance. The king of France had also sent him some troops, and several Norman lords were come over to his side, as soon as they had perceived that Henry was not acting so much for theirs as his own sake. All these succours having enabled the duke to give his brother battle, he marched towards him with that resolution. The two armies were pretty equal in numbers. Robert had more foot, but not so many horse by a great number as the king. Thus each side might flatter themselves with the hopes of success. However, the battle, which was fought under the walls of Tinchebray, lasted not very long. The Norman horse being put in disorder at the first onset, and the foot not being able to maintain the fight without their aid, the whole army was entirely routed. The duke of Normandy, perceiving there was no possibility of rallying his troops, and not being able to bear the thoughts of turning his back, chose rather to be taken than show the least signs of cowardice. Edgar Atheling, the earl of Mortaigne, four hundred knights, and ten thousand soldiers, had the same fate. As the battle of Hastings had made the Normans masters of England, so this put the English in possession of Normandy. Prince Edgar, who had often been the sport of fortune, was immediately set free, and went and passed the residue of his days in England, where he died of extreme old age. The duke of Normandy, and earl of Mortaigne, were not so favourably dealt with. The earl was shut up in the tower of London, and the duke in Cardiff-Castle in Wales, where he remained a prisoner to his death, which was not till twenty-six years after.

This victory having made the king master of all Normandy, he returned in triumph to England. Upon his arrival, his first care was to make some regulations for his court, where for a long while, several abuses had crept in, which called for a reformation. In the former reign, when the king took a progress, those who followed the court, committed all manner of outrages in the places where they lodged. They shamefully extorted what they pleased from their hosts, and made attempts on the chastity of the women, without any one's daring to contradict them. Coiners of false money were grown very numerous and bare-faced, being sure of the protection of the great, who set them at work in their houses, where nobody durst search for them.—These disorderly doings not having ceased upon the king's edict in the beginning of his reign, he published a second with still greater penalties. This was a necessary piece of severity in order to check the licentiousness spread over the kingdom, by the connivance offences of this nature had hitherto met with.

Notwithstanding the fair promises of Henry, at the

beginning of his reign, to maintain the people in their privileges, and to govern them according to the rules of justice and equity, being elated with his successes, he began, in 1108, to treat the nobles with arrogance, and gave himself but little trouble about his own charter, nor corrected any of the abuses that had crept into the court. He had no regard for any body but Anselm. The trouble that prelate had given him, made him look upon all occasions of quarrelling with him as so many dangerous quick-sands, which he was resolved to avoid. But his precautions served only to render Anselm more haughty and imperious than he was before their contests. The archbishop, finding the king out of fear of engaging in fresh disputes, refrained from meddling with ecclesiastical affairs, took this opportunity to prosecute, with the utmost rigour, the priests who obstinately persisted in keeping their wives. His disgrace and long absence had made them hope, they should at length be freed from his persecutions. But he quickly let them see, that when once he had begun a thing, he did not do it by halves. Some time after his return, he called a synod, where at his instance, severe penalties were decreed against all clergymen, who continued to live in a state of matrimony. Some were actually deprived of their livings. But so far was this rigour from having any good effect, that it only proved the occasion of the clergy's committing real crimes, instead of the pretended disorders of a matrimonial state.

The same year Lewis the Fat, who had justly succeeded his father Philip, as king of France, looking upon Henry as a very formidable neighbour, since his becoming master of Normandy, endeavoured to lower his over-grown power. To this purpose he designed to make use, as his instrument, of William, surnamed Crito, son of Robert, a young prince of great hopes, but under age. How careful soever he might be to conceal his intentions, Henry having had notice of them, went suddenly over to Normandy, where he ordered his nephew to be taken into custody, to prevent any insurrection upon his account. Lewis, by this proceeding, perceiving that his design was known, put off the execution of it to another opportunity. In the mean time, the young prince, having made his escape out of prison, by the means of his tutor, was carried to Paris, and other courts, where he in vain solicited for aid and assistance to recover the duke his father's dominions. The neighbouring princes stood too much in awe of Henry to venture upon espousing his cause. As for the Normans, though many of them were well inclined to the son of their sovereign, and several even contributed privately towards his maintenance, they durst not openly declare in favour of his scheme.

After Henry had spent the winter and part of the summer in Normandy, he returned to England, in 1109, where soon after, ambassadors came to him from the emperor Henry V. to demand his daughter Matilda in marriage. He very joyfully received the proposal, and as soon as the terms were agreed upon, the wedding was celebrated by proxy. As the princess was very young, it was not till the year following that she was sent to the emperor her spouse with a magnificent retinue, and a very considerable sum of money for her portion. The necessity of his paying his daughter's marriage portion\* furnished the king with a pretence to lay a tax of three shillings upon every hyde of land; which must have raised an immense sum†.

Before the marriage was solemnized, death had taken

\* Some historians (Brady. p. 270. and Tyrrel, vol. 11. p. 182.) heedlessly make this sum amount to above eight hundred thousand pounds, and Rapin, book vi. makes it amount to eight hundred and twenty-four thousand, eight hundred and fifty pounds, of our present money: the fallacy of which will appear, when we consider, that five hydes, in general, made a knight's fee, of which there were about sixty thousand in England, and consequently near three hundred thousand hydes; therefore, at the rate of three shillings per hyde, the sum would amount to forty-five thousand pounds, or one hundred

and thirty-five thousand of our present money. *Vide* Rudborne, p. 257. In the Saxon times there were computed only two hundred and forty three thousand six hundred hydes in England. See Hume, ch. 111. and vi. and above, p. 59.

† The custom of raising money for the marriage-portions of the king's daughter, was introduced by this prince, and very carefully kept up by his successors, who found it too beneficial to let it drop. Hence may be seen, how much innovations of this kind, which have the force of a law from one single precedent, are prejudicial to a free people.



out of the world Anselm\*, archbishop of Canterbury. As soon as he was laid in his grave, the king seized upon the revenues of the archbishopric, and kept them in his hands for five years. The clergy were in hopes that the prosecution, they had endured whilst he was alive, would end with his death; but the court of Rome was no less zealous to support what the archbishop had done purely by their orders. Besides the king, who was very unwilling to break with the pope, strictly enjoined what had been established. So that the clergy were compelled to lead, in appearance, continent lives, by being debarred from marrying. But this was the occasion of their committing the most enormous crimes.

The year 1110 was memorable for the restitution of learning at Cambridge, from whence it had been long banished. According to the general opinion, Edward the Elder, had formerly founded an university there. But the town had suffered so much in the Danish wars, that the study of the sciences fell to decay, and never lifted up its head again till the time we are speaking of.

The following year, Henry crossed the sea, in order to stop the progress of Fulk, earl of Anjou, who had drawn over the city of Constance in Normandy, to revolt. Elias, earl of Maine, who had espoused the interest of Fulk, having been taken prisoner in a battle, was put to death. Henry thought this instance of severity necessary to strike a dread into the Normans, whose revolting he was apprehensive of, well knowing, that the king of France would be ever ready to give them assistance.

Before he went to Normandy, Henry had admitted into England great numbers of Flemings, who by the inundation of the sea in their own country, were compelled to seek elsewhere for new habitations. He planted them at first in the waste parts of Yorkshire†. But upon the complaints made to him after his return, he removed them to the country conquered from the Welsh, about Ros and Pembroke. Their posterity continue there to this day, retaining so much of their old customs and language as distinguishes them plainly from the Welsh, and shows they are of foreign extraction.

Henry had no time to make any long stay in England; for the year after, he went again into Normandy, upon the king of France's stirring up a fresh war there, by persuading the earl of Anjou to take up arms again. This war gave him some trouble; but he happily surmounted all difficulties. Lewis had even the mortification to see the earl of Anjou fall off from his party, who, by that means, got the advantage of marrying his daughter to prince William, son to Henry. During the king's stay in Normandy, he had the satisfaction of having his most inveterate enemy Robert de Belesme fall into his hands, who was sent into England, and detained in prison all his life. These troubles being over, Henry returned to England, where he lived in peace during the five following years, no one giving him any disturbance except the Welsh, who now and then made some inconsiderable incursions into England.

In the year 1114, the pope and clergy prevailed upon him, to permit the vacancies in the church to be filled, particularly the see of Canterbury, the revenues of which he had now enjoyed five years. As soon as he had given his consent, a synod was convened, where Ralph, bishop of Rochester, was unanimously chosen archbishop, to the great satisfaction of the people, by whom he was mightily esteemed. Thurstan, one of the king's chaplains, was nominated to the see of York. At the same time all other vacancies were filled up, but with such partiality to the Normans, as gave the English

cause to complain of the unjust measures which had been taken. As the Welsh grew more and more troublesome on the frontiers, Henry determined to root them out entirely. Pursuant to this barbarous resolution, he entered Wales with a numerous army, which he divided into three bodies, in order to surround them on all sides. But upon his approach, they retired to their mountains, and it was not possible for him to attack them in their advantageous retreat. However, he was determined to confine them there a long time; but finding there was no drawing them from their place of security, he consented to make peace. As soon as he was returned to London, he received news of his daughter Matilda's marriage being consummated, and of her coronation at Mentz.

In 1115, Henry went over to Normandy, where he persuaded the states to swear fealty to prince William his son, who was then twelve years of age. The year following, he did the same in England, in order to secure the crown to his family. To this end, he summoned a general assembly at Salisbury, where all that were present promised to acknowledge prince William for their sovereign, after the death of the king his father, and took their oath accordingly.

Ever since Lewis the Fat came to the crown of France, he had never ceased creating Henry trouble, either by countenancing the malecontents in Normandy, or by stirring up the neighbouring princes against him. Although he generally took care to act underhand, yet Henry was not ignorant of his being at the bottom of all the intrigues of his petty enemies, and therefore, to be revenged on him, he resolved to pay him in his kind. Theobald, earl of Blois, his nephew, son to his sister Adela, being disgusted at the king of France, Henry stirred him up to revenge, in 1117, and having persuaded him to take up arms, lent him a powerful assistance. Lewis, on his part, invested William Crito, son to Robert, with the duchy of Normandy, and promised to aid him with all his forces to take possession of it. Backed with the assistance of France, and of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, the young prince attempted to wrest Normandy out of the hands of the king his uncle. His army having been reinforced by a considerable body of troops brought him by the earl of Flanders, he entered Normandy, in 1118, with a design to put William in possession of the duchy.

As soon as Henry was informed of his enemy's designs, he made great preparations for the war, of which the English were obliged to be at the whole charge. When all things were ready, he crossed the sea, and having joined forces with the duke of Bretagne and earl of Blois, he advanced towards the enemy to give them battle. But Lewis not thinking fit to stay his coming, chose to retire, confounded at his having laid his measures so ill, and at his projects being defeated by Henry's expedition. Instead of maintaining what he had taken in hand, he sent proposals of peace to Henry, which were not accepted, but on condition Gisors should be delivered up, which he had taken. After the signing of the treaty, Henry returned into England, to prevent the entry of a legate, the pope had sent without asking him leave. Queen Matilda died some months after ‡, to the great grief of all the English, as well on the score of her merit, as because she was descended from the family of their ancient kings. In the mean time, the king of France had not dropped his first design. Henry having neglected to raze the walls of Gisors, according to the articles of the late treaty, Lewis took occasion

\* This archbishop was a very learned prelate for the age in which he lived; but was, at the same time, haughty and bigotted to the last degree. It is very reasonable to suppose, that his zeal for the court of Rome, his firmness in the matter of investitures, and his labouring so heartily all his life, to establish the celibacy of the clergy in England, gave him a title to a place in the calendar.

† They were first settled in Northumberland, and from thence removed to Wales, says Florence of Worcester,

Anno 1111. The Flemings-way, a work of theirs, is seen in Pembrokeshire, extended through a long tract of land.

‡ She died on the 13th of April, 1118, and was interred in Westminster Abbey. It appears by a roll in the Exchequer, that the sheriffs of London had the care of her funeral; and by their accounts passed in the said roll, the crown was charged fifteen shillings and two-pence halfpenny, for oil expended in burning upon her tomb.



from thence suddenly to invade Normandy, and commit there great ravages. However, Henry lay still in England, and seemed to take no notice of this insult, till one of his courtiers having taken the freedom to represent to him, how much he wronged his own reputation, he answered him, without the least emotion, that he had learned of the king his father, that the best way to vanquish the French, was to let their first heat cool a little. But to show what he did proceeded not from fear, he soon after passed over into Normandy with a powerful army, and offered his enemy battle. Lewis readily accepted his challenge, and the two armies engaged. During the fight, a French cavalier named Crispin, attacked in person the king of England, and struck him twice on the head with such force, that although the king had a helmet on, he was all over blood; but this did not hinder him from continuing the combat. The sight of his blood rousing his courage, he discharged so furious a blow at his adversary, that he tumbled him from his horse and took him prisoner. This action raised such an emulation among his troops, that at length, after a sharp fight, the enemy was obliged to quit the field. The standard of France was taken and sent in triumph to Rouen. Some time after, the two kings came to a second battle, the success whereof was doubtful, each side spreading a report that they had the advantage. This war, however, proved a very smart one, and found the two monarchs full employment. Whilst acts of hostilities were continued on both sides with equal warmth, Lewis endeavoured to take the advantage of the stay, pope Calixtus II. then made in France, to embroil his enemy in new troubles. He was in hopes that the pope, who was of the house of Burgundy, would be easily induced to favour his designs. With this view, though without acquainting him with his intentions, he prevailed upon him to convene a council at Rheims, to which the English bishops were summoned. Henry, not suspecting the cause of the convention, permitted them to be present without any scruple. He only ordered them to salute the pope in his name, to hearken to his apostolical precepts, but to take heed that they brought not any new inventions of the court of Rome. The council consisted mostly of French bishops, some of whom having been informed by the king, of the reasons which prompted him to cause the council to be summoned, made heavy complaints against Henry. They even proposed to excommunicate him, for the unjust detention of the person and dominions of the duke of Normandy his brother, who, as one of the crusade, was under the church's protection. This proposal would doubtless have been approved by the majority, but the pope, who was unwilling to break off his good understanding with Henry, set it aside, by taking upon himself to exhort him to do justice to his brother. Some time after Calixtus came to Gisors, where he had a long conference with the king, whom he acquainted, that it was the council's desire that Robert should be restored to his dominions. Henry replied, that he had not taken Normandy from his brother, but from a pack of dissolute fellows, who were squandering away the inheritance of his ancestors, which Robert had delivered them up. He added, that he had not proceeded upon his own head, but by the solicitations of the nobility, clergy, and people of Normandy, who had earnestly besought him to prevent the utter ruin of the churches. He took care to back his reasons with magnificent presents, which wrought so upon the pope and the cardinals that attended him, that at their return, they declared, they had never met with a more eloquent prince. Thus Calixtus, throwing up the interests of the imprisoned duke, used his endeavours to strike up a peace between the two kings, in which he succeeded the following year.

\* This prelate was of an unblameable life, but so great a stickler for the prerogatives of his see, that he would not suffer the least infringement even in things of the smallest consequence. For instance, on the solemn festivals, when the

Peace being concluded, Henry was impatient to return to England, from whence he had been long absent. He therefore embarked at Barfleur, in 1120, with a numerous retinue. William his son, who was then sixteen years of age, took with him on board his ship all the young nobility, to render his passage the more agreeable. As he sat out last, his inclination prompted him to endeavour to overtake the king his father; and with that view he promised the seamen a reward, if his ship arrived first. This idle emulation was, in all probability, the cause of the misfortune that befell him. As the pilot, in order to get before the king, kept too near the shore on the coast of England, the ship struck upon a rock and split. In the fright this accident caused, the seamen's first care was to hoist out the boat, in order to save the prince, and indeed, by their diligence, they had put him out of danger. But as he was making off, the cries of Matilda, his natural sister, prevailed with him to row back to take her in. His approach having given several others an opportunity to leap in, the boat sunk with its load, without any possibility of saving the prince. Of all that staid in the ship, there were but very few that saved themselves by swimming. From these it was, that the circumstances of this tragical accident came to be known. Among the rest that perished in the waves, were, besides the prince, one of his natural brothers called Richard; Matilda his sister, countess of Perch; Lucia the king's niece, the earl of Chester, and several lords. It has been computed, that about two hundred persons perished by this misfortune. This dreadful accident had such an effect on the king's mind, that he was never after seen to smile. However, his extreme desire to repair his loss, made him resolve, in 1121, upon marrying Adelicia, daughter to Geoffrey, earl of Louvain. But he had not the satisfaction he expected from this marriage, she never proving with child.

The same year, the Welsh made an incursion into Cheshire, under the conduct of Griffin their king. They burnt several castles, and committed such ravages that they drew upon themselves an invasion from the English. Henry, at the head of his army, over-run part of their country; but being desirous one day of securing a certain pass he fell into an ambush, where he lost a vast number of his men, and was hit himself by an arrow on his breast-plate. This accident, and the fear of not being able to end the war so successfully as he wished, having prevented him from proceeding any further, he came to terms with Griffin, and a peace was concluded, by which Griffin was obliged to give hostages to Henry, together with a thousand head of cattle, to make him amends for the charges of the war. Not long after, death took out of the world Ralph \*, archbishop of Canterbury. The metropolitical see continued vacant till the ensuing year, when Corbet, abbot of St. Bennet's, was elected by a synod at Winchester.

In the year 1123, Robert de Mellent, lord of Pont-Audemer, created Henry fresh troubles, which obliged him to pass over once more into Normandy. This lord, who was in great credit with the Normans, and secretly countenanced by the king of France, had undertaken to restore William Crito to his dominions. He had brought his project to that forwardness, that the country was just going to revolt, if the king had not suddenly come thither. On his arrival, he laid siege to Pont-Audemer, and took it. After which, he added some works to the castles of Caen, Rouen, and Arques, and reinforced the garrisons. These precautions put a stop to the Normans, who did not think themselves able to go on with their design. In the following year, Robert de Mellent, and the earl of Montfort, his associate, kept the field with some troops; but being drawn into an ambush, they were both taken prisoners, and the rest remained in peace.

king was wont to wear his crown, he would not let him put it on himself, pretending, that on all occasions, it was the archbishop of Canterbury's office to do it.





*James del.*

*Sanders sculp.*

*Prince William son of Henry Endeavouring to save his Sister Matilda after being Shipwrecked.*

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In 1125, while the king was in Normandy, cardinal John de Crème, the pope's legate\*, came to England. The design of his coming, was to put the finishing stroke to the reformation of the pretended great abuse of the clergy's marrying, which they still did, notwithstanding all the endeavours to the contrary. A synod being convened at London, he procured several rigorous canons to be passed against such ecclesiastics, as persisted in keeping their wives†. These canons, however, were not capable of putting a stop to this pretended licentiousness, though the king strictly enjoined the observance of them. But Henry's aim was not so much to prevent the clergy from marrying, as to obtain from the pope, by his seeming zeal, a power to put in execution the decrees of the councils on this article, as he had in the year 1119. When once he was invested with this authority, he gave the priests leave, without any scruple, to keep their wives; but mark the sinister view by which he acted: unless a certain sum of money was produced, no dispensation could be had! After the king had been married about six years, there was no appearance of his having what he desired, on offspring by his second marriage: but to secure the succession to his family, he resolved, 1127, upon getting his daughter Matilda, who since the emperor's death was returned to England, acknowledged the presumptive heir to the crown. This princess, being descended, by the mother's side, from the ancient Saxon kings, was endeared to the English, who were not as yet inured to the Norman yoke. On the other hand, for want of a prince of their own nation, it was the interest of the Normans to place on the throne a grand-daughter of William the Conqueror, to whom they were indebted for all their possessions in England. The case standing thus, the king, imagining he should succeed in his design, assembled all the immediate vassals of the crown. Among the barons present at this great council, were Stephen, earl of Boulogne, nephew to the king, and David, king of Scotland, on account of the fiefs he held in England. All the members of the assembly having consented to the king's proposal, David and Stephen were the first that took the oath of allegiance to Matilda, in case the king her father died without any male issue. This affair being transacted to the king's satisfaction, he married the empress Matilda to Geoffrey Plantagenet, son to Fulk, earl of Anjou, who had delivered up his dominions to his son, in order to go and take possession of the crown of Jerusalem, upon the death of Baldwin II. his father-in-law. The king in making choice of earl Geoffrey for his daughter, had consulted his own interest more than Matilda's inclinations. This princess, who was widow to an emperor, thinking she debased herself in marrying the earl of Anjou, was with reluctance brought to consent to it. But the king her father had used some violence to bring her to a compliance. As he continually apprehended that William Crito his nephew would, with the assistance of Lewis, take Normandy from him, he thought he could not do better than secure Geoffrey in his interests, that he might be always ready to assist, in case that duchy should be attacked by an enemy. If Matilda showed some reluctance to comply with her father's will, the English and Norman barons seemed no less dissatisfied with this alliance. They imagined, they ought to have

been consulted in an affair, the consequence whereof was the giving them a king.

It was not without reason that Henry was apprehensive of a league between Lewis and William Crito. The king of France no longer concealing his design of putting the young prince in possession of the duke his father's dominions, invested him, in 1128, with the earldom of Flanders, that he might the better enable him to wage war with the king his uncle. To prevent his enemy's designs, Henry went two ways to work with equal success. The first was, to carry the war into France. The second to stir up the Flemings to revolt against their new earl, and assist Theodoric of Alsatia, who pretended a title to Flanders. Pursuant to this scheme, he entered France with a powerful army, whilst, on the other hand, the towns in Flanders boldly declared against his nephew. Alost was the first William undertook to reduce to obedience, by a siege, which lasted long enough to give his rival time to come to its relief. William, having intelligence of Theodoric's approach, went to meet him, and having gained a complete victory over him, returned to carry on the siege. The defeat of the landgrave of Alsatia would have put it out of the power of the besieged to hold out any longer, if, in one of their sallies, William had not received a wound, of which he died in a few days. This young prince had a good share of natural courage, and several other good qualities. But in order to avoid the misfortunes, the duke his father had drawn upon his own head by his profuseness, he ran into the contrary extreme. This failing, joined to some acts of violence he had committed in Flanders, and his immoderate love of women, gained him the hatred of the Flemings, and disposed them to listen to the solicitations of the king his uncle. The unlucky accident of this prince's sudden death, and the English army being in France, obliged Lewis to drop his projects, and come to terms of accommodation with Henry.

In the year 1130, Henry went to Normandy, where he staid the greater part of a year. His chief business was to have an interview with pope Innocent II. whom at length he owned for the true pope, though Anacletus his rival, was master of Rome. The principal difficulty in this affair, was France's having acknowledged Innocent, and for that very reason Henry's having an inclination to side with Anacletus. But Innocent found the means to manage him so dexterously, that he got him to own him for pope, which did not a little turn to his advantage. Henry, when he returned to England, brought along with him his daughter Matilda, who upon some disgust was parted from the earl her husband. Upon his arrival, he called a general assembly, where the oath of fealty to the empress was renewed, after which she went back to her husband, who desired her to return.

The year 1132 was remarkable for the founding of an episcopal see at Carlisle, and the burning great part of London. As the houses were mostly built of wood, this city was frequently subject to the like accidents. The ensuing year, 1133, a new occasion of joy quite blotted out the remembrance of this misfortune. Matilda was brought to bed of a prince, named Henry, after his grand-father. Immediately after the birth of this prince, the king assembled all the great men, and made them

\* The legates *a latere*, as they were called, were a kind of delegates, who possessed the full power of the pope in all the provinces committed to their charge, and were very busy in extending, as well as exercising it. They nominated to all vacant benefices, assembled synods, and were anxious to maintain ecclesiastical privileges, which never could be fully protected, without encroachments on the civil power. If there were the least concurrence or opposition, it was always supposed that the civil power was to give way: every deed which had the least pretence of holding of any thing spiritual, as marriages, testaments, promissory oaths, were brought into the spiritual court, and could not be canvassed before a civil magistrate. These were the established laws of the church; and where a legate was sent immediately from Rome, he was sure

to maintain the papal claims with the utmost rigour: but it was an advantage to the king to have the archbishop of Canterbury appointed legate, because the connection of that prelate with the kingdom tended to moderate his measures.

† The legate severely inveighed against the priest's marrying, alledging, "It was a horrid sin for a priest to rise from the side of a harlot, and then to make the body of Christ?" yet the next night (having said mass that very day) he himself was taken in bed with a whore. H. Huntingdon, who was himself a priest, and the son of a priest, and living at this very time, (after an apology for making so bold with the fathers of the church,) is the first that gives us this story at large, and concludes, that "the thing was too notorious to be denied, neither ought it to be concealed."



take their oath again to the succession, in which the new-born prince was included. This was the third time he made them swear: however, they kept not their oath the better for that. Matilda had two sons more, namely, Geoffrey and William, whom we shall have occasion to take notice of in a future part of our history. Towards the latter end of the summer, the king went over for the last time to Normandy. The day he embarked there was an eclipse of the sun, and two days after a great earthquake, in which flames of fire issued out of the rifts with great violence. Robert, his elder brother, died before him at the castle of Cardiff, where he had been a prisoner twenty-six years\*. He was buried at Gloucester in the choir of the cathedral, where his tomb is still to be seen †.

King Henry did not long survive his brother Robert; for about the latter end of November, 1135, he was seized with a violent illness, of which he died in about seven days. It is said, he was the occasion of it himself, by eating to excess of some lampreys, a fish he was remarkably fond of. He was then at the castle of Lyons, near Rouen, a place he much delighted in. When he found his end approach, he sent for the earl of Gloucester, his natural son, and earnestly recommended to him the concerns of the empress his sister, without saying a word of the earl of Anjou, his son-in-law, with whom he was displeased. After this, he made his will, wherein he left to his domestics above sixty thousand pounds sterling. He ordered his debts to be punctually paid, and all arrears due to him to be remitted. He died on the 1st of December, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his reign ‡. His body was greatly mangled, in order to be emblamed §, after the rude manner of those days, for it was his desire to be buried in England, in the abbey of Reading.

There was observable in this prince a great mixture of good and bad qualities. He was very courageous, and of a great capacity, both in military and civil affairs. His prudence in the administration of his government appeared chiefly in that, during his frequent journeys to Normandy, there never was any insurrection in England, though there was no want of dissatisfied people. He was exceeding regular in his diet; never was he known to be guilty of any excess in eating or drinking, except that one time which cost him his life. He was inexorable to all malefactors, being persuaded, that severity was absolutely necessary to curb the licentiousness introduced in the late reign. His education had been of a quite different nature from that of William Rufus: the latter having had no learning at all, while Henry had been brought up to letters, and had made great progress in his studies. Hence he was called Beau-Clerk, that is, the Scholar, because in those days, none but ecclesiastics troubled themselves about literature, and princes least of all others. He retained all his life a relish for the sciences, which he had imbibed in his youth. He had even built a palace at Oxford, where he often retired to divert himself with the conversation of the learned. He was a handsome man, and his free and open countenance, together with his affable manner and agreeable conversation, prepossessed at first sight all the world in his favour. These excellent qualities would have gained him the name of an accomplished prince, had they not been sullied with many faults, among which cruelty, avarice,

and an inordinate love of women, were the most predominant. The first appeared from his barbarous usage of his elder brother; the second from his exorbitant and too frequent taxes on the people; and the third, from the great number of bastards he had by several mistresses. In order to make amends in some measure for his misdemeanors, he founded the episcopal sees of Ely and Carlisle, and the abbeys of Reading, Hyde, Chester, with the priory of Dunstable. This was the method of atoning for offences, much in vogue in those days, which being easily practicable by the rich and powerful, was, during the times of papacy kept on foot. Among his other buildings was a magnificent palace at Woodstock, to which he adjoined a large park, inclosed with a stone wall, which is affirmed to be the first park in England; though there were afterwards so great a number, that there were computed more in this kingdom than in all Christendom besides. The charter this prince granted the nation, upon his accession to the crown, is one of the most remarkable particulars of his reign, during which England enjoyed a prodigious plenty of all things. For a shilling a person might buy as much corn as would serve one hundred men a day; and for a groat, which was also the price of a sheep, as much hay and oats as twenty horses could eat at the same time. It is true, indeed, money was then much scarcer than at present, which may be one reason, why provisions in general were so cheap during the reign of this prince.

Henry left only one legitimate daughter, namely, the empress Matilda, and twelve || natural sons. Among whom, Robert, earl of Gloucester, made the greatest figure, as well on account of his personal merit, as for his steady adherence to the empress his sister, as we shall see in our account of the following reign.

In the reign of Henry I. Chichester, with the principal monastery, was reduced to ashes; and a large tract of buildings contained between West Cheap in London and Aldgate, was also burnt down.

#### C H A P. IV.

#### S T E P H E N.

**B**Y the measures which king Henry took, he imagined he had secured the succession of the crown to the empress his daughter. The triple oath, by which he had bound the lords spiritual and temporal, seemed to him a sufficient bar to their ambition. The three last kings, by shutting out the English from their favours, in order to lavish them on the Normans, were in hopes of being able, by that means, to secure the succession of the crown to their posterity. Herein they were mistaken; for by heaping estates and honours on their relations, instead of gaining their children so many friends, they created them so many rivals. By strengthening the party of the foreigners against the English, they fomented the ambition of the former, and put it out of the power of the latter to support the royal family, when it stood most in need of protection.

Among those that had shared the late king's favours, Stephen, earl of Boulogne, his nephew, was the most considerable. Adela, his mother, daughter to William the Conqueror, had brought the earl of Blois her hus-

\* He was a prince of great courage, and for some time, of great reputation. His easy, careless, and profuse temper, made him lose twice the opportunity of acquiring the crown of England, which he had a better claim to, and perhaps was more deserving of, than his brothers. He was surnamed Courte-hose, either because he wore his breeches very short, or because his legs were not long enough in proportion to the rest of his body. Some give him the surname of Courteous, not having understood the meaning of the word Courte-hose, and because that name was suitable to his generous temper.

† He lies in the middle of the choir, in a wooden monument. Huntingdon says, he died through grief at being obliged to wear a cast-off coat of the king his brother's.

‡ Hume, ch. vi. assigns the cause of his death to the same means, that of eating lampreys to excess: but Rapin, by some mistake, fixes the time of his death on the 2d of September, though several good historians have determined as above.

§ Gervase of Canterbury, gives us the barbarous manner of emblaming the king's body. They cut great gashes in his flesh with knives, and then powdering it well with salt, they wrapped it up in tanned ox-hides to avoid the stench, which was so infectious, that a man who was hired to open his head, died presently after.

|| Authors are divided in their opinions respecting the number of king Henry's natural sons; Hume, ch. vi. assigns seven to him, though several other writers have given him twelve.



band, four sons, of whom Theobald, who was the second, succeeded his father, the eldest being incapacitated by some natural defects. Stephen, the third son, was sent into England, to the king his uncle; and Henry, the youngest, was a monk in the monastery of Clugni. The good qualities of Stephen quickly gained him the esteem and affection of the king, who took a pleasure in making him rich and powerful. With this view he conferred on Stephen, the land that were taken from the earl of Mortaigne, and having sent for Henry from the monastery of Clugni, made him abbot of Glastonbury, and some time after, bishop of Winchester. The king's favours having gained the two brothers great credit and interest in England, they formed so strong a party, that they thought it in their power to take the advantage of the disaster that happened in the royal family by the death of prince William. It is true, that when the late king was desirous of securing the crown to Matilda, Stephen was the first that swore allegiance to her. Upon the marriage of Matilda with the earl of Anjou, Stephen turned his thoughts towards the acquirement of the kingdom after his uncle's decease. To this end, by the means of secret emissaries, he fomented the disgust this match had given the nobility, and procured an assurance beforehand of the assistance of those, who were best able to support him in his pretensions to the throne. He acted, however, with so much circumspection, that his uncle never suspected his intentions. On the contrary, a little before his death, he conferred on him a fresh mark of his affection, by marrying him to Matilda, only daughter and heiress to the earl of Boulogne, by which means he became more powerful, and in greater credit than he was before.

The bishop of Winchester, Stephen's brother, by his intrigues, gained the clergy over to his interests. This body was then so powerful, that such of the lay-lords as were not in his party did not think themselves in a condition to oppose the design which they saw was going forward, of placing Stephen on the throne, since all the bishops declared in his favour. During these transactions Henry died in Normandy, and Stephen repaired to England to back his pretensions with his presence. Supported as he was, he found no great difficulty to carry the prize from an absent princess, whose capricious and haughty temper had already raised a great prejudice against her. The nobility had the opinion of the archbishop of Canterbury on the oath they had taken to Matilda; and his declaration was, that the oath they had bound themselves to Matilda was null and void, as being directly contrary to the customs of the English, who had never suffered a woman to reign over them. The bishop of Salisbury maintained, that they were discharged from their oath, because Matilda was married out of the realm, without the consent of the barons, whose intent was, when they swore fealty, not to have a king who was not of the race of William the Conqueror. In short, entirely to remove all scruples, Hugh Bigod, who had been high steward to the late king, swore on the Holy Evangelists, that before he died, Henry had disinherited Matilda, and nominated his nephew Stephen for his successor. This was enough to colour over the disloyalty of the barons: and on these weak grounds they proceeded to reject Matilda's right, which they had thrice sworn to maintain, and to crown Stephen the 22d of December, 1135. Thus this princess was deprived of the crown, by the means of those whom the king her father thought the most firmly engaged to her interest. So true it is, that the precautions, suggested by human prudence, are not to be depended upon at all times!

Stephen was thirty-one years old at the time of his coronation, and in great esteem with the nobility. His title was so weak, that to get the barons to support it, he promised them more privileges than they had enjoyed in the reigns of the Norman kings his predecessors; and without doubt, more than he ever designed to grant. This, indubitably, was the reason of their proceeding with that eagerness to his election. Stephen, therefore, willing to do any thing for the obtaining a crown, which

might justly be disputed with him, had engaged to reform whatever had been amiss in the three foregoing reigns, and the bishop of Winchester, his brother, had passed his word for him. This juncture was too favourable for the barons of the realm to let it slip, without taking the advantage of it. When they came to give the new king his oath, they required a great deal more of him than of his predecessors. The import of his oath was, "That he would, within such a time, fill up the vacant bishoprics, and leave the temporalities in the hands of some ecclesiastic, who was to take charge of them till the vacancy was filled. That he would not seize the woods of any clerk or laymen, upon frivolous pretences, as his predecessors had done; but would be content with the forests, which had belonged to the two Williams, and would make restitution of such as Henry had usurped. Lastly, that he would abolish Danegelt, which was insupportable to the nation, and having been taken away by king Edward, was restored by the Norman kings." The bishops, on their part, took an oath which was no less uncommon, seeing they swore allegiance no longer than he should continue to maintain the church in her privileges. The lay-lords acted with the same caution, if we may judge by the oath of the earl of Gloucester, natural son to the late king. He swore fealty to the king, but on condition he would preserve his estates and honours entire, and observe the covenants made with the barons. Stephen promised to do all they required of him, and moreover to grant an authentic charter for the security of the liberties of the nation, and the privileges of the church.

The first thing the new king did after the coronation, was to repair to Winchester, and take possession of the treasures Henry had laid up there; they amounted to a hundred thousand marks, besides plate and jewels. With this money he levied an army of Breagnes, Picards, Flemings, and other foreigners, whose assistance he thought he might stand in need of, he not having as yet any great confidence in his own subjects. At his return from Winchester, he went to meet the corps of the late king, which was bringing from Normandy, in order to be interred at Reading, according to his own directions.

With a view to gain the good-will and esteem of the people, Stephen convened a general assembly at Oxford, in the year 1136, where he signed the charter he had promised to grant; in which he acknowledges "his being elected king, by the assent of the clergy and people. He confirms all the liberties, privileges, and immunities of the church, and contents that all ecclesiastical causes and persons shall be tried by the clergy. He promises not to meddle, in any manner, with the temporalities of vacant bishoprics, or estates belonging to the ecclesiastics. He abolishes all the game-laws enacted since the conquest, and all the forest-laws. Lastly, to gain entirely the affections of the English, he revives the ancient Saxon laws." This charter was very advantageous for the people, if it had been punctually observed; but as W. of Malmesbury remarks, just as the English had elected Stephen purely for their own interest, so this prince granted all they required, rather to amuse them, than to bind himself with fetters of parchment. The truth of this remark is visible from the behaviour of the king a few months after. The archbishopric of Canterbury becoming vacant by the death of Corbet, the king seized upon the revenues, and kept them in his hands above two years. But this is not all. The same archbishop died intestate, and the king seized upon his effects, pretending it was his prerogative so to do. Thus his charter and oath were violated. Though the beginning of Stephen's reign was peaceable, the tranquillity was of no long duration. Suspecting some people in the kingdom were about to raise disturbances, he rightly imagined the safer way would be to gain them over to his interest by bribes. With this view he conferred titles and honours on several persons, and alienated abundance of the crown-lands, to such as might be serviceable to him. In the mean time, his bounty had not the effect he proposed to himself



self. Those that partook of his favours, looked upon them as their due reward; whilst others that were neglected, grew disgusted at it, which in the end proved very fatal to him. But his greatest oversight was the suffering the barons to fortify their castles, by which means he put it in their power to revolt whenever they pleased. In a little time, there were above a thousand fortified castles in divers parts of the kingdom.

In the year 1137, Baldwin de Redvers, earl of Devonshire, revolted. The earl being highly offended, that the king should deny him some favour he had asked, boldly declared he would obey him no longer. Pursuant to this resolution, he fortified his castle at Exeter, where he acted as sovereign, exercising a tyrannical power over all that were under him. The Welsh, at the same time, made an irruption into the frontiers, from whence they carried off a great booty; so that Baldwin's revolt was very dangerous to Stephen. The king, neglecting the inroads of the Welsh, laid siege to Exeter, which, after some time, he became master of, pursued the rebel to the Isle of Wight, and compelling him to fly from thence, banished him the realm; but pardoned all the rest, that had a hand in the revolt. This act of grace proved very prejudicial to him, as it served to render the discontented party the more bold and daring. The Welsh war ended not so successfully; for in a battle fought near Cardigan, the king's troops were defeated, and very few escaped. It is said, the English soldiers were struck with such a panic, that they even suffered themselves to be taken prisoners by women.

Whilst these things were transacting in Wales, David, king of Scotland, made an incursion into the northern counties of England, under the pretence of revenging the wrong done to the empress's niece. He immediately became master of Carlisle and Newcastle; and pushing on his conquests, he advanced as far as Durham. Stephen, with all expedition, marched into the north to repel the king of Scotland. As the particulars of this war are variously related by the historians of the two nations, who agree in nothing but the conclusion of it, we shall just observe, that by the treaty of peace, the king of Scotland was to have Carlisle, and prince Henry his son, the earldom of Huntingdon, for which he did homage to the king of England. The reason of the son's being invested, was because the father refused to accept it on that condition, alledging, he had sworn to acknowledge no other sovereign in England but Matilda, in case king Henry died without issue male.

The king was no sooner returned from his northern expedition, but he fell into a lethargy, which every one imagined would cause his death. They were so possessed with this notion, that it occasioned in England, as well as in Normandy, such troubles as were not easily allayed. The king's friends were disheartened, and Matilda's party gained ground by the rumour that was spread of the king's having resigned his last breath. On the other hand, the Welsh looking upon this as a favourable juncture, renewed the war, whilst the earl of Anjou entered Normandy, in order to take possession of that part of the king his father-in-law's inheritance. But, this prince was become so odious to the Normans, that to avoid being under government, they called in Theobald, earl of Blois, Stephen's elder brother. Theobald, embracing the opportunity, came to Lisieux, where the earl of Gloucester delivered him the keys of Falaise. The earl remembering the last commands of the king his father in behalf of Matilda, had, with great reluctance, taken his oath to Stephen.

During these transactions Stephen recovered from his indisposition; the great men, who had expected the king's death, were already divided into several factions, from whence he foresaw, it would be difficult to disengage them. Theobald, his brother, creating him the most uneasiness, he resolved to attack him in the first place, before he should be able to make an alliance with the king of France, who alone was capable of supporting him. To this end, he entered Normandy, carrying

with him large sums of money, which was generally found to prevail; and several of the chief men of the country abandoned the earl of Blois. Having so far succeeded, he entered into an offensive league with France, which put it out of the power of his enemies to do him any material injury. However, as Lewis could not, without some uneasiness, see England and Normandy in possession of the same person, Stephen delivered up the latter to Eustace, earl of Boulogne, his eldest son, who did homage to the king of France for it. Theobald finding he was not strong enough to stand against the two monarchs, thought best to retire. But he neglected not to send word to the king his brother, that although he was forced to give way, yet he dropped not his pretensions as eldest, both to Normandy and England. His actions ill agreed with this haughty message; for not long after, he renounced his pretended right for a pension of two thousand marks a year. The union of the two kings had the same effect with regard to the earl of Anjou, whose claim, as husband to Matilda, was much stronger. It is true, he made some attempts upon Normandy. But after he had tried in vain to gain it by force of arms, he was fain to accept of, as a favour, a pension of five thousand marks.

Stephen, soon after the settling of the Norman affairs, received intelligence, that the king of Scotland had made an irruption into Northumberland; that king having been invited by the English barons to support the empress's right. Whilst David was ravaging the northern borders, some English lords had seized upon Bedford, and, in all appearance, designed not to stop there. Upon news of this, Stephen came back to England; and, though it was in the midst of winter, 1138, he laid siege to Bedford, and never quitted it till he became master of the place. After which, he marched into Scotland, whither David had retreated. Whilst he was taken up in revenging on the Scots the mischiefs they had done the English, he was called home by an insurrection of almost all the barons. The malecontents complained, that he had broke his promises in many particulars relating as well to the people, as to the church. But this pretence was only made use of as a cloak for their private resentments. The true reason of their disgust was, their not being rewarded in the manner they expected. Ever since his accession to the crown, they had continually teased him with their requests, though he had endeavoured one time by arguments, another time by promises, and very often by actual grants, to satisfy the most importunate; but this was not sufficient to secure their allegiance, which was wholly grounded upon the hopes they had all entertained of having the same honours, the same estates, and the same posts; which was an impossibility. Robert, earl of Gloucester, was at the head of the revolvers. He had artfully laid hold on this juncture, to form a party in favour of the empress's sister, strong enough to place her on the throne, and was said to have embarked in this enterprize at the instances of certain monks, who represented to him, how much he hazarded his salvation in obeying an usurper, contrary to the oath he had sworn to Matilda. Hence it is evident, the monks were deep in the plot. As soon as Robert found he was backed by a sufficient strength, he went to the empress, and informed her of what he had done in her behalf. After this, he wrote an abusive letter to Stephen himself, wherein he upbraided him for the breach of his oath to Matilda, and charged him with having occasioned him to be guilty of the same crime. To this letter he added a manifesto, wherein he treated Stephen as an usurper, and declared war against him. The king returned him no answer, but confiscated all his great estate in England. Matilda's party, however, daily growing stronger by the accession of the most powerful among the barons, the earl of Gloucester came into England, and got possession of Bristol. At the same time other lords seized upon several castles that the former kings had caused to be erected for the security of the crown, but on this occasion greatly endangered it. Stephen, finding himself thus compelled to wage war with



with his own subjects, retook and razed several of these castles. Though he had great reason to be daunted at so general a defection, yet he supported himself with his army of foreigners, showing, on all occasions, marks of an extraordinary courage, and a steady resolution to lose his life with his crown. He could not enough admire, that the very persons who had shown the most zeal to place him on the throne, should be the first to pull him down\*. The king imagined the revolt was occasioned by the caprice and fickleness of the barons. They had made several complaints, which were not entirely without grounds; for the king had not punctually kept to the terms of his charter. The extraordinary favours he had bestowed on foreigners, particularly on William de Ypres, his favourite, gave his subjects a plausible cause to complain. The severity he had used upon the breaking out of the rebellion, in seizing upon the persons and estates of some of the barons on slight suspicions, added fresh fuel to the fire that was already too much kindled. In short, the dissensions grew to that height, by the mutual reproaches and acts of hostilities which were daily committed, that the malecontents sent Matilda word, they were ready to own her for their sovereign, according to the promise they had made to the king Henry, her father.—The king of Scotland fomented the commotions in behalf of the empress his niece, though he was also uncle to Stephen's queen†. When he found matters were ripe he entered Northumberland once more, and ravaged in a terrible manner that country, which generally felt all the effects of the quarrels between England and Scotland. Stephen not being able then to leave the heart of the kingdom in order to go to the assistance of the North, Thurstan, archbishop of York, undertook to oppose this invasion. He called together the barons and gentlemen of the northern parts, and represented to them, that in this emergency, they were to depend upon themselves, it not being in the king's power to send them any succours; which consideration having the effect he expected, they unanimously engaged to exert their utmost to repulse the enemy. Quickly after, each appeared with his troops at the general rendezvous, they all placed themselves under the command of Walter de Speck and William de Albemarle, and advanced as far as Alverton. Having resolved to expect the enemy in that place, they set up a mast, on the top of which they put consecrated hosts, and some banners of the saints, that they might rally there in case of necessity. Hence this war was called *the War of the Standard*. The Scots, much superior in numbers, having attacked the English in their intrenchment, were repulsed with the loss of twelve thousand men. Though the king of Scotland and Henry his son gave, on this occasion, surprising proofs of their valour, they could not prevent their army from being entirely routed. It is said that the archbishop's harangue to the English, wherein he promised Heaven to all such as were slain in battle, did not a little contribute to the success of that day.

During the transactions in the north, Stephen spread the terror of his arms in the heart of the kingdom. The malecontents, not daring to keep the field, gave him time to reduce their castles one after another without opposition. These conquests, joined to his victory over the king of Scotland, astonished the earl of Gloucester; who, when he saw that his party daily diminished, had no other course to take but to go and solicit the empress to come into England, that she might by her presence inspire her friends with new vigour. The retreat of the earl of Gloucester, and the flight of some other lords of his party, having procured the king some respite, he resolved upon pushing on the Scotch war, which had been so successfully begun. With this design

he advanced towards the north, and in his way took the castle of Leeds, after which he continued his march towards Scotland, where David had retired after his defeat. His intent was to give the Scotch king battle; but as David was unwilling to run any hazard in his own country, he carefully avoided all opportunities of coming to an engagement. However, he resolved to sue for peace, which was readily granted, and prince Henry of Scotland was put in possession of the county of Northumberland, and the earldom of Huntingdon. In return for these advantageous articles, David bound himself by oath never to concern himself any more in the quarrel between Stephen and the empress. The war being thus ended, the king returned home, attended by the prince of Scotland, who by his noble and generous carriage, had so wrought on the heart of Stephen, that he loved him no less than if he had been his own son. The king's caresses to the young prince stirred up the jealousy of the earl of Chester and some other lords, who, under the pretence that the king had placed him above them at his table, retired from court. But supposing Henry's birth had not required that distinction, yet his merit deserved that the king should pay him a very particular respect, since all historians give him the character of an accomplished prince. Stephen continued therefore, notwithstanding the envy of the English, to show him marks of his affection, particularly in a case, which demonstrated him to be sincere. This young prince, who had accompanied the king to the siege of Ludlow, having approached too near the walls, was like to have been taken from his horse, by the means of an iron hook at the end of a rope, if Stephen had not, with the hazard of his own life, ran to his rescue. An action which redounded as much to the honour of the king, as of the prince, for whom he testified so great an affection.

This same year, Alberic, the pope's legate in England, convened a synod; wherein Theobald, abbot of Bec, in Normandy, was elected archbishop of Canterbury, to the great satisfaction of the English, who had with regret beheld the metropolitan see vacant for two years.

The king, in the year 1139, imagining the clergy had grown very haughty, as indeed they had, grew jealous of their power, which suffered him not to consider with his wonted prudence, what he was about to do, when he meditated the lowering of their greatness. Roger, bishop of Salisbury, had two castles as strong as they were stately, one at the Devizes, and the other at Sherborne, and was building a third at Malmesbury. Alexander, his nephew, bishop of Lincoln, had built one at Newark, and scrupled not to declare, that it was designed as much for the security as for the dignity of his church. Nigel, bishop of Ely, another of Roger's nephew's, imitating the state of his uncle and cousin, affected a magnificence in his retinue and house, that stirred up the envy of some, and the indignation of all. When these three prelates came to court, they were attended with so many armed followers, that it seemed rather as if they designed to brave the king, than to pay their respects to him. This proud and pompous manner of living having procured them abundance of enemies, there were some that took an opportunity of representing to the king, that he could not be safe, while the bishops were so powerful. His suspicions were further confirmed by the rumour that was spread of Matilda's being ready to come into England, where she had a strong party. Though the bishop of Salisbury had a chief hand in the election of Stephen, yet he fancied he was grown a favourer of Matilda, and in this belief formed a design to humble the pride of the bishops and his nephews. In a general assembly held at

\* Upon the first news of the barons rising, it is reported he said, "Since they have chosen me their king, why do they now forsake me? By the birth of God, (his usual oath) I will never be called an abdicated king." *Malin. p. 102.*

† Mary of Scotland, sister to the empress's mother, married Eustace, earl of Boulogne, by whom he had Matilda, wife to Stephen.



Oxford, the retainers of the bishop of Salisbury, having picked a quarrel with those of Alan of Bretagne, earl of Richmond, it happened that one of the earl's knights was killed in the scuffle, and abundance of the people wounded on both sides. The bishop's followers got the better, having been assisted by those of the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, and of the chancellor, who passed for Roger's nephew, though in truth, says Rapin, he was his son. The king, willing to lay hold on this opportunity to mortify the whole family, summoned them all four to appear at his court, and answer for this riot of their domestics. This summons was according to law: but the satisfaction the king demanded was not so. He was not content with the mulct enjoined by the law in the like cases; but insisted upon the bishops delivering into his hands all their castles, as sureties for their future allegiance. These demands seemed too exorbitant to the prelates; they desired to consider of the matter. Whilst the king was waiting for their answer, the bishop of Ely absented himself, and retired to Roger his uncle's castle at the Devizes. His going off having prevented the adjusting of matters, the king went immediately and laid siege to the castle, where was also Matilda, the wife or concubine of the bishop of Salisbury. This place being very strong the king who foresaw the siege would prove a difficult work, bethought himself of an expedient to put an end to it without loss of time. He ordered the bishop of Sarum and the chancellor to be led up close to the wall, and sent word to Matilda, that unless she instantly delivered up the castle, the chancellor should be hanged up on the spot; neither should the bishop eat or drink till it was surrendered. These threats having wrought upon her as he expected, she delivered up the castle, wherein he found forty thousand marks in ready money. The bishop of Lincoln procured his liberty, by surrendering to the king his castle of Sleaford. Shortly after Stephen became master likewise of the castles of Salisbury, Malmesbury and Sherborne. With the money he found in these strong holds, where the bishops kept their treasures, he purchased the friendship of the king of France, and entered into an alliance with him. This league was cemented by the marriage of Eustace, the son of Stephen, with Constantia, sister to Lewis the Young, who had succeeded Lewis the Fat, his father. The king's severity towards the bishops, greatly disgusted the whole body of the clergy, who made loud and unremitted complaints. The archbishop of Rouen, who was then in England, was the only one that was not offended at it. He was persuaded that, without striking at the immunities of the church, the king might dispossess the bishops of their fortified castles, which had nothing to do with their privileges as churchmen. But the bishop of Winchester, who had lately been made legate of England, was not of his opinion. This prelate entertained a secret disgust against the king his brother, for not permitting him to have a hand in the administration of affairs; and under pretence of standing up for the rights of the church, he called a synod at Winchester\*, and summoned the king to appear and give an account of his actions. At the opening of the synod, he aggravated, in a very bitter manner, all that Stephen had acted against the three bishops. He exhorted the prelates vigorously to maintain the rights of the episcopal dignity, and the privileges of the church. After which, he protested he would put in execution the decrees of the council, though it cost him the friendship of the king, the loss of his estate, and even his life itself. Stephen had sent to the council some lords, with Alberic or Aubrey de Vere, a famous civilian. As soon as the legate had made an end of his speech, these lords demanded why the king was summoned thither. The legate answered, it was to give his reasons for having imprisoned the bishops, and despoiled them of their estates: a crime, added he, hitherto unheard-of in the Christian world. Alberic, taking him up, said, that the prelates had been punished not as bishops, but as the king's subjects and servants. The bishop of Salisbury not relishing that distinction,

immediately replied, that the bishops could not, in any respect, be looked upon as the king's servants. The majority of the synod being much of the same opinion, the archbishop of Rouen, who thought that the episcopal dignity was no ground for an independent power, endeavoured to set them right as to that matter. He demanded, whether they could clearly prove from the canons, that bishops, as such, ought to have fortified castles? "But," added he, "supposing you could make appear, that you may be possessed of strong holds without acting contrary to the canons of the church, yet by what right can you refuse to deliver them into the hands of the king at a time when the kingdom is threatened with an invasion? Is it not the king's business to take care of the safety of the state? And can subjects refuse to admit him into their fortresses without incurring the guilt of rebellion?" These arguments were not of sufficient force to make the bishops desist, and the legate proposed to excommunicate the king, and send deputies to Rome to lay their case before the pope. Matters being carried to this height, the lords who were sent by the king, thought it time to speak a little more freely; and declared, that if the synod excommunicated the king, the bishops would soon have cause to repent their proceedings; and in case any of them made a journey to Rome on that occasion, they would find it no easy matter to return. This declaration made such an impression on their minds, that they were unwilling to expose themselves to the king's displeasure, in order to gratify the resentment of the legate. Accordingly, the synod having decreed a deputation to the king, to demand a suitable reparation, broke up after having sat but three days. Pursuant to this resolution, the legate and archbishop of Canterbury went to the king, and earnestly besought him to prevent a rupture between the ecclesiastical and civil powers. Notwithstanding the disposition of the king, the designing clergy wrought so powerfully on the minds of the vulgar, that the people espoused their cause, as if they themselves had been deprived of their rights and liberties. The whole kingdom was quickly over-run with malecontents, who only wanted a leader to head them. In short, the clergy's faction was so strong, that the major part of the lay-lords came over to their side. The empress looking upon this as a favourable opportunity, resolved not to let it pass by unheeded; but to repair immediately to England, though she had not above one hundred and forty men to accompany her. This was a very considerable troop for the business she was upon: but she relied on a powerful aid from the discontented party. She took up her first quarters at the castle of Arundel, which belonged to the queen dowager, being part of her dowry. The earl of Gloucester, who came with his sister, thinking her safe in a place where she was received with all the respect due to her rank, left her and went to Bristol. In the mean time, Stephen, who was besieging Marlborough, being informed of Matilda's arrival, suddenly broke up the siege and marched towards Arundel. At the king's approach, the queen dowager repented of her having given admittance to Matilda, fearing it might occasion the loss of her castle, with all the privileges she enjoyed in England. On the other hand, honour and honesty would not suffer her to deliver her guest into the hands of her enemy. To free herself from this perplexity, she sent the king word, that if he persisted in requiring her to deliver up the empress, she was no less bent on her side to protect her, till some one or other came to her relief. But at the same time she desired him to consider, that she had not entertained her, as an enemy to the king, but as his mother-in-law, widow to a great emperor, to whom she could not but pay the respect due to her quality. That her intent was not to countenance the design she might have against him, but only to prevent any ill from befalling her whilst she was under her roof. In short, she proposed to the king, that Matilda might have leave to retire to some other place, where it would be as easy for him to besiege her as in Arundel castle. That

\* Hume, ch. vii. says that this synod was held at Westminster, on the 30th of August.



That by this act of generosity he would lay an obligation on a queen, widow to the great monarch, his uncle and benefactor, without the least detriment to himself. Whether Stephen was sensible that it was not in his power to take the castle, before it might be relieved, or whether he thought himself bound to oblige the queen so far, he acquainted her, that Matilda should be safely conducted to Bristol; which was accordingly done. But he had but too much reason to repent afterwards of his having been so generous. Matilda having remained at Bristol some time, removed to Gloucester. During her stay in these two cities, she so artfully managed the discontents of the clergy and nobility, that she gained them both over to her side, and by their means, almost the whole body of the people. There adhered to the king only a few barons and his foreign army, which, though ill paid, served him with fidelity. A civil war was the consequence; and, in the following year, 1140, the whole kingdom was divided, every city, county, and person taking the part of the king or the empress, according as they were led by passion or interest. The lords, nearest in neighbourhood and blood, committed the utmost cruelties on one another, burning the houses, and pillaging the vassals of their competitors, so that a terrible confusion was quickly spread over the face of the whole kingdom. In this fatal anarchy, the barons, acting as sovereigns, grievously oppressed the people, and even coined their own money. On the other hand, the king and Matilda instead of redressing, connived at these doings, fearing the calling their friends to an account would make them change their parties. Moreover, the foreign soldiers, of whom Stephen's army entirely consisted, occasioned still further disorders. As the king was not in a capacity to pay them duly, he was forced to suffer them to plunder the poor people, who though innocent, felt the greatest share of the calamities of a civil war.

The bishop of Winchester, however, became at length sensible of his oversight in raising a storm, which he foresaw would infallibly overwhelm the king his brother. He reflected, that being brother to Stephen, he himself would certainly be involved in the same ruin with him, and consequently it was his interest to stand by him, and not to help forward his destruction. Being desirous of regaining the king's confidence by some important service, he drew to Winchester a number of lords, who attended to him, and detained them prisoners, and delivered up their castles to the king.

In all his difficulties, showed great reason and steadiness of mind, which did not a little towards keeping steadfast to him a great many, who would have deserted him had they observed his least wavering. Far from being daunted at the attacks he received, Stephen daily made fresh attempts to remedy, by his valour and prudence, the evils he suffered by the revolt of his subjects. He even resolved to put an end to them at once, by laying siege to Wallingford, where Matilda and the earl of Gloucester were shut up. But meeting with more difficulty than he had imagined, he turned the siege into a blockade. He was no sooner retired, but the earl of Gloucester escaped from the castle, and seized Worcester, whilst the barons of his party ravaged the counties of Chester and Nottingham. Matilda was, in the mean time, closely besieged in Wallingford, but she escaped from this place, and retired to Lincoln. As soon as the king had notice of it, he formed the design of surprising her, well knowing that Lincoln, where he had a great many friends, could not be defended by the few troops Matilda had with her. He would have taken his rival in that place, which held out but a few days, had she not contrived to elude his vigilance, whilst articles of capitulation were drawing up. Stephen, missing his aim, retired without leaving a garrison in the town, for fear of

weakening his army. He was hardly gone, before he was informed, that the earl of Chester, son-in-law to the earl of Gloucester, was come thither with his wife and brother in order to keep their Christmas. His great desire of having these three persons in his power, made him march back with such speed, that the earl had but just time to retire into the castle, which was immediately invested. However, he found the means to escape, and get to the earl of Gloucester, in order to desire him to come to the relief of the besieged, who could not hold out long. The earl of Gloucester, willing to succour his own daughter, drew all his troops together, and marched towards Lincoln with that expedition, that the king's forces were in danger. Having forded the river Trent, a thing the king thought impracticable, he came suddenly so close to the royal army, that neither side could avoid coming to a battle. The two armies being drawn up, the fight begun, which for a long time was fought on both sides with equal bravery; but at length the king's horse, consisting of Flemings and Bretons, giving ground, they were so vigorously pressed, that they could not rally again. The earl of Gloucester taking hold of this advantage, thought it better not to pursue the flying horse, who were incapable of doing him any further damage, but to fall on the king's infantry, who being destitute of the assistance of the cavalry, also turned their backs. And Stephen, who could not bear the thoughts of flying from the earl, was left almost alone, and on foot, in the midst of the field of battle, assaulted by multitudes, but defending himself against all their efforts with an astonishing valour. He was forced at length to submit, being surrounded on all sides by the enemy, and having none to assist him. However, he held out to the last extremity; for his battle-ax being broke by the force of his blows, he drew out his sword, and defended himself for a considerable time longer, foaming with rage at being thus abandoned by his army. After he had performed more than could naturally be expected from a single person in the condition he was in, his sword broken in pieces, and little more than the hilt remaining in his hand, he was knocked down on his knees with a stone. Whereupon a knight, called William de Kains, ran in, and having seized him by the helmet, presented his sword to his throat, threatening to kill him, unless he yielded himself prisoner. Notwithstanding the extreme danger he was in, he refused to surrender himself to any but the earl of Gloucester, who, at that time, was near the spot. As soon as the earl had him in his power, he conducted him to the empress, who ordered him to be confined in the castle of Bristol, where he was ignominiously laid in irons.

Whilst this unfortunate prince was in this degraded condition, Matilda, in 1141, improved the advantages she had gained by her arms. All England deserted the imprisoned king, except London and the county of Kent, where he had still some friends left, by the means of the queen his spouse, Eustace, his son, and William de Ypres, his favourite. The barons that preserved their allegiance, retired to London, where they had interest enough to gain admittance, and to prevail with the citizens to enter into a confederacy with them in favour of the king. Normandy soon followed the example of England. No sooner had the earl of Anjou intelligence of the king's imprisonment, but he went thither to get the Normans to own Matilda for their sovereign, which he found no hard matter to do. At the same time, the king of Scotland, breaking the late treaty, invaded the northern counties, under pretence of assisting the empress, but in reality to serve his own interest. One would think that the complete victory gained at Lincoln would have placed Matilda on the throne without any further trouble. But there was one obstacle more to get over before she could hope to enjoy the fruits of her success, which was, to regain the bishop of Winchester

\* Notwithstanding we have followed Rapin, in our account of the capture of king Stephen, who places the event

in 1140, we cannot help thinking, with Hume, that it happened Feb. 2, 1141.



to her side. With this view she went to him at Winchester; and upon her offering him the disposal of all the church preferments, he threw up the cause of the king his brother, and promised to use his endeavours to gain Matilda the suffrages of the clergy. He even took his oath to her beforehand; but with this limitation, that it should be binding no longer than she kept true to her promises. On the morrow he received her with great pomp in the cathedral church, where he solemnly excommunicated all the king's friends, and absolved all such as should abandon his party, and came over to the empress. Quickly after the archbishop of Canterbury swore allegiance likewise to Matilda; but before he did so, he procured the king's consent, which he went to ask himself of the king in prison.

Matilda now wanted nothing but the stamp of public authority to complete her being queen of England. But though she was sure of the consent of the temporal lords, yet she was apprehensive of meeting with some opposition from the clergy. The legate having taken upon him to make this matter easy, called a council at Winchester, where all the bishops and abbots were present, with the arch-deacons as representatives of the inferior clergy. The day before the opening of the synod, the legate took care to confer in private first with the bishops, then with the abbots, and lastly, with the arch-deacons, each of them apart. It is not known what passed at these private conferences, but it was plain enough, next day, what use the legate was willing to make of them. As soon as the council was sat, he made a long speech, wherein he endeavoured to make appear that the mal-administration, dishonesty, and tyranny of Stephen, had been the sole cause of all the troubles in the kingdom. He owned, that indeed, he himself had undertaken to be answerable for his good government, when the necessity of affairs had, as it were, compelled the English to place the crown on his head; but that he had been entirely disappointed in his brother, and was heartily sorry to find himself obliged to revoke his engagement for him. He insisted much on his former oath to Matilda, adding, it was reasonable to prefer the orders of the Almighty, whose will it was, that justice should be done the empress, before the interest of the nearest relation. He proceeded to put them in mind, that he had done all that lay in his power to make Stephen sensible of his ill conduct, even to the summoning him before a synod, but that all his brotherly and kind admonition had proved ineffectual. That this obstinacy was a clear evidence to the English, to what calamities they would have been exposed under the government of such a prince, if it had not pleased Divine Providence to give sentence against him, by suffering him to be imprisoned. In short, since God's judgements were now fallen on the head of the king, whom they had elected, they were to atone for their fault, by restoring the crown to the prince, to whom of right it belonged. "I have therefore," continues he "convened you, by virtue of the apostolic power committed unto me, to consult about the means of appeasing the troubles of the state. This affair was debated yesterday, in the presence of the majority of the clergy, who, beyond all dispute, have a principal share in the election of the kings. And, therefore, after mature deliberation, we have determined to acknowledge Matilda, daughter to the incomparable king Henry, queen and sovereign of England." The major part of those that were present, and not in the secret, were extremely surprised at this speech, and much more to see an election transacted in private by the clergy, after an unprecedented manner. Nevertheless every one remaining silent, some being gained over, and others not daring to stir for fear none should back

them, their silence was interpreted for their approbation. The legate told them further, that he had summoned to the council the magistrates of London, and that they had promised to send their deputies. Accordingly on the morrow the deputies arrived. But instead of consenting to what the council had done, they declared, they had orders from the city and barons that were retired thither, to petition for the king's liberty. The legate replied, that it became not the Londoners to be in a league with the barons, who had, in a cowardly manner, deserted their king in battle, and were endeavouring to embroil the kingdom in fresh troubles\*. This answer, so far from the point, not being satisfactory to the deputies, they demanded a more direct one; but in vain. The legate did not think fit to re-examine a thing which he pretended was already decided. Before the rising of the synod, a chaplain to Stephen's queen, offered to the council a letter, which he delivered to the legate. But because the prelate, after he had read it to himself, would not communicate it to the assembly, the chaplain bluntly took it out of his hand, and read it aloud. This letter, wherein the queen earnestly besought them to set the king at liberty, proving of no effect, the council broke up, after having excommunicated all that still adhered to Stephen. This affair being thus ended, the empress had nothing to do but to gain the consent of the Londoners, in order to her coronation. To this purpose she was obliged to enter into a negotiation with the city, which lasted some time. In the interim, Matilda advanced as far as Reading, where the governor of Oxford came and offered her the keys of his castle, humbly entreating her to honour that city with her presence. She readily complied with his request, and after the inhabitants of Oxford, and the country round about had sworn allegiance to her, she removed to St. Albans, where she waited for the resolution of the Londoners. The city was then over-run with troubles and confusion. Some were for continuing steadfast to the king, although a prisoner: others for giving away to the times, and recognizing Matilda. These last having prevailed at length, the empress came to London, where she was magnificently received amidst the vast number of barons that attended her. The city of London having thus declared for Matilda, she met with no farther opposition; and from that time they begun to prepare for the ceremony of her coronation. In the mean while she was every where acknowledged as sovereign.

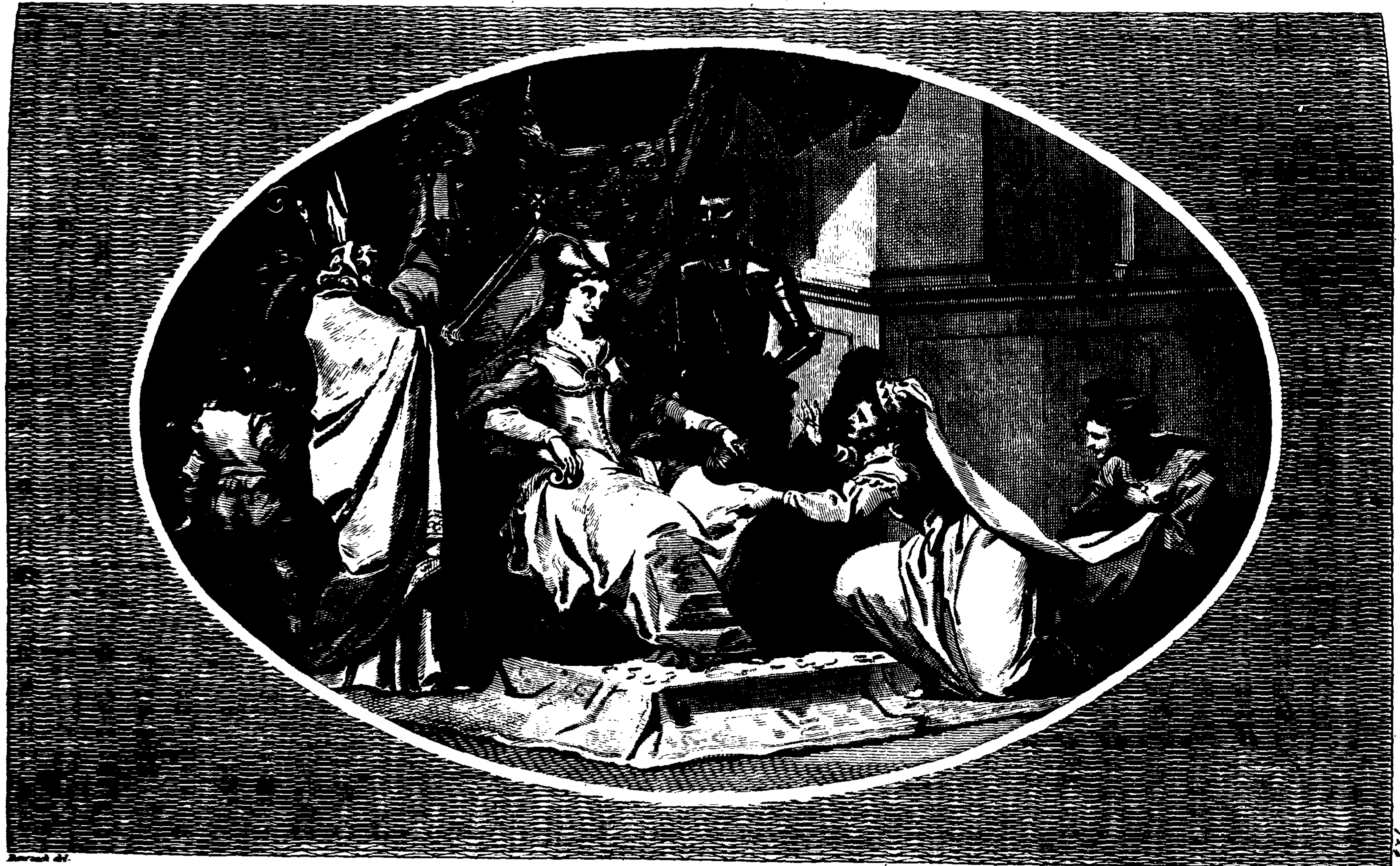
During this interval, king Stephen's queen waited on the empress, with a view to prevail upon her for some condescension towards her husband. As she had lost all hopes of ever seeing him on the throne again she desired nothing more than his liberty. She promised, in the name of that unhappy prince, that, content with becoming a private man, he would renounce the crown, and to remove all suspicion, would depart out of the kingdom, and pass the residue of his days in a monastery. He even offered to take his oath never to return more, and to give hostages for the performance of his promises. But such was the iniquity of those times that there was no reliance on words or oaths, there having been so many fresh instances, how little scrupulous people were in breaking them. Accordingly, Matilda rejected all these proposals with great haughtiness, forbidding the unfortunate queen ever entering into her presence again.

The bishop of Winchester became also a suppliant to her in his turn; but he had as little reason to be satisfied with her generosity as the queen. He imagined, that the service he had lately done her highly deserved some return. Accordingly, he petitioned for Eustace, his nephew some favour, which was haughtily refused him. This was sufficient to stir up the bishop to revenge.

\* Fitz Stephen, a contemporary writer, assures us, that the Londoners could carry into the field eighty thousand combatants. If this account could be depended upon, London at that time must have contained near four hundred thousand inhabitants, which is more than double the number it contained at the death of queen Elizabeth. This account however,

hardly deserves credit; for Peter of Blois, who was also a contemporary writer, who was a man of sense, and who seems to have been well-informed with regard to the particulars he has recorded, acquaints us, that London contained then only forty thousand inhabitants.





King Stephen's Queen petitioning to the Empress Matilda, for the release of her husband.

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He had been in hopes, that the new queen would be guided by his direction: but he plainly perceived that she treated him with disdain, and looked upon him as her enemy. His turbulent and revengeful temper never letting him rest under these circumstances, he began, from that instant, to plot and contrive against Matilda, longing, with impatience, to convince the ungrateful princess, that it was no less in his power to pull her down, than it was to set her up. Perhaps he would have found it a difficult task to bring about his designs, if the empress herself had not furnished him with the means, by her extreme pride, which made her regard her subjects but as so many slaves. A fatal piece of policy, which procured her abundance of enemies, at a time when it was her business, on the contrary, to try to gain the English by mild and popular methods. She drew upon herself chiefly the hatred of the Londoners, by refusing to grant the only thing they petitioned, and which the king her father had positively promised them, namely, to mitigate the severity of the Norman laws, and revive those of king Edward. This ill-advised princess imagined herself so far above all contradiction, that she forbore not to tread in the steps of her predecessors, giving her subjects all the fair promises in the world, at least till such time as she was more firmly established in power. Her haughty carriage quickly wrought a great change in the minds of the English, who now began to be sensible, what a risk they ran of being unhappy under her government, unless timely care was taken to prevent the impending evils. The bishop of Winchester fomented, to the utmost of his power, these discontents, and, by his secret emissaries at London, stirred up the citizens to revenge the contempt Matilda had shown for them. His contrivances were carried so far, that he persuaded them to join in a plot to seize the empress's person. What care soever might be taken to conceal their design, she had timely notice of it, and went from the city in so great a hurry and fright, that she left her palace and goods exposed to the fury of the populace. Though the legate had missed his aim, yet he thought, that he had not a little forwarded the execution of his project, seeing he had brought the Londoners to declare against Matilda. Secure of their assistance, he privately concerted measures with the queen, his sister-in-law; after which he sent word to Eustace, to hold himself in readiness to march with the Kentish-men, promising him, he should soon be at the head of a considerable army. Having thus laid his schemes, and secretly gained over to the king's party several lords that were disgusted at the empress, he ordered the castle of Winchester, and some others that were at his disposal, to be well stored with provisions and arms.

It cannot be imagined that these things could be transacted without Matilda's knowledge. She, however, put herself at the head of her troops, attended by the earl of Gloucester and the king of Scotland, who was come into England to be present at the coronation. As soon as she came near Winchester, she sent the bishop word, that she had something to communicate to him, and therefore desired he would come to her. The prelate greatly mistrusting she had been informed of his proceedings, easily perceived that this was only an artifice to ensnare him. Accordingly, instead of going to her, he sent her an ambiguous answer. At the same time, he slipped out of the town at a gate on the other side, and drew his friends together, who only waited his orders to put themselves in motion. All things being in readiness, they were quickly in arms. The Kentish-men having joined the Londoners, Stephen's queen, Eustace, his son, and William de Ypres headed them, and marched to Winchester; where the empress had like to have been surprised, and had scarce time to get into the castle. As the inhabitants of Winchester had appeared a little too zealous in her cause, the bishop, out of revenge, set fire to the city, though it was the capital of his diocese. Twenty churches were burnt to ashes, with a nunnery, which bore the name of St. Grimbald. The care the bishop had taken to store

the castle with all sorts of ammunition, rendered the siege very long and difficult. The besiegers applied themselves closely to it, for two months, in hopes of putting an end to the war at once, by taking the heads of the contrary party. The same reason obliged the besieged to think of their safety. When they found there was no possibility of holding out much longer, they resolved upon hewing themselves a passage with their swords, and running all risks to secure the empress's person. With this view they issued out in good order, Matilda and the king of Scotland marching in the front, and the earl of Gloucester bringing up the rear. They were no sooner sallied out, but the king's troops were close at their heels, endeavouring, by frequent attacks, to retard their march whilst the rest of the army were advancing to surround them. In all these little skirmishes, the earl of Gloucester vigorously opposed the enemy, and gave signal marks of his conduct and valour. But his efforts, which indeed were very serviceable to Matilda, as they gave her time to get off, proved fatal to himself. As the empress's danger made him neglect his own safety, he would march the last through a narrow defile, where his troops being hard pressed by the enemy, he had the misfortune to be taken prisoner. William de Ypres, to whose charge he was committed, ordered him to be conducted to Rochester in Kent, where the king had more friends than in any other part of the kingdom.— In the mean time, Matilda making all the speed possible, escaped with a few followers to the castle of Luggershall, and from thence to the Devizes. Here she reposed herself a little, thinking she had time enough to get to Gloucester; but when she was about to pursue her journey, she received intelligence that the road was lined with the king's soldiers. Brompton acquaints us, that she escaped their vigilance, by being carried to Gloucester in a coffin, which it never entered into any one's head to search. But this as it will, it is certain she found the means to avoid this danger.

Whilst the empress was taken up in contriving the means how to resist her enemies, the bishop of Winchester and the rest of the king's friends were using their utmost endeavours to bring off the earl of Gloucester from his sister's party; but all their solicitations, and the consideration of the state he was in, could make no impression upon him. He firmly persisted in the allegiance he had sworn to her, and would not use any dissimulation in the matter, which might have gained him his liberty. After six months imprisonment, Matilda, who had a tender affection for him, and that very justly, and besides could not well do without him, consented he should be exchanged for the king. In vain were endeavours used on this occasion to bring matters to an accommodation between Stephen and the empress. As the thing they both laid claim to, was of such a nature as not to admit of division, there was no possibility of concluding a peace. The exchange of prisoners, therefore, was all that could be done, each party being left at liberty to pursue the war.

Since the bishop of Winchester had resolved to abandon the empress, he had written to the pope, to entreat him to authorize his proceedings in behalf of the king his brother. As the pope had no information of what passed in England, but from his legate, he did not fail to send him an answer according to his wish. The pope's letter came not to hand till after Stephen was set at liberty. In it he blamed the prelate for having neglected hitherto the endeavouring to restore his brother to the throne, and enjoined him for the future to do his utmost towards it, exhorting him to use all power ecclesiastical and secular to accomplish that business. Backed with this authority, the legate summoned a council at Westminster, before whom the pope's letter was read. The king, who was there in person, bitterly complained against some of his subjects, who, not content with waging war against him, had for a long time shamefully detained him in prison. After this, the bishop of Winchester, in a rhetorical harangue, endeavoured to justify his late conduct and the frequent breach of his oaths. But he



would have found it a difficult matter to purge himself, had he not been befriended by the present juncture of affairs. He concluded his speech with excommunicating all the adherents of the empress, as so many enemies to the public peace. The people were not at all pleased to see themselves thus liable to excommunications directly opposite to one another, according to the humour of the legate; it being his common practice to excommunicate the friends of the adverse party. However, no one was so hardy as to open his mouth against it, well knowing it would be to no purpose. There was only a lay-agent of the empress's, who by her order charged the legate to his face, that it was he himself that had invited her into England. He had even the boldness to tell him, that it was by his advice, that his brother met with such hard treatment during his imprisonment. The legate made no reply to these reproaches; but resolved to pursue his new measures, and to complete his revenge by entirely putting it out of Matilda's power ever to take possession of the throne again.

In 1142, Stephen was set at liberty; and from that time, Matilda's interest declined so visibly, that the earl of Gloucester was afraid her party would degenerate into nothing, unless supported by foreign succours. To this end he went to Normandy, to solicit the earl of Anjou to maintain the right of the empress his wife, the which was his son's also; but the earl was too much embroiled in domestic troubles, to be able to send any great matter of succours into England. The Angevin nobility were dissatisfied with him, and the Normans were not settled enough in their obedience, for him to venture to be at a distance from them, or to leave his country unprovided with troops. He contented himself, therefore, with sending a few troops to Matilda, together with Henry his eldest son, to try whether his presence would have any influence over the English. During the absence of the earl of Gloucester, Matilda was retired to Oxford, where she thought she might remain in safety, till the succours she expected from Normandy were arrived. The king resolved to lay siege to that city, in hopes of getting his rival in his power, before the earl's return. The siege was carried on with all the vigour and diligence possible, and held out in the same manner by the empress, who had nothing to trust to, but a stout defence, in order to avoid the misfortune that hung over her head. The approach of winter gave her some hopes the king would be obliged to retire; but he being resolved to continue his attacks, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, she found herself at length reduced to a necessity of capitulating. As she dreaded above all things, the undergoing the same fate she had inflicted on her enemy, she did not think fit to wait the issue of the capitulation, which could not but prove fatal to her. Whilst she amused the king with demanding such terms, as he would never grant, she took the advantage of a dark night, and went out of the city, cloathed all in white, that she might deceive the centinels, by reason the ground was covered with snow. She passed the Thames on the ice, and walked about six miles on foot, with the snow beating in her face all the way. In spite of all difficulties, she came to Abington, where she took horse, and rode that same night to Wallingford. The king was greatly astonished at this deception, and though he applauded the method, yet he was much chagrined. In the mean time, prince Henry and the earl of Gloucester, who were just arrived, being informed of the empress's lucky escape, went to her at Wallingford, where the sight of her son blotted out, for a time, all remembrance of her misfortunes.

In the beginning of the year 1143, the legate summoned a council at London, at which the king was present. He made a long speech, the drift of which was to convince the bishops, of the necessity of their exerting themselves more vigorously than they had hitherto done,

in order to bring a war, so prejudicial to the kingdom, to a speedy conclusion. He declared, he was ready to persevere in exposing his life in the service of that state; but added, he could not flatter himself with any hopes of success, without the assistance of his subjects. And therefore he required, that all those who were able to bear arms, should attend him in his military expeditions, and that the rest should furnish him with money. This was addressed particularly to the clergy, who being entirely guided by the bishop of Winchester, promised to grant him a subsidy. However, upon this condition, that the church should be better protected for the future, than it had hitherto been. Thus we find a selfishness in every cause the clergy espoused. The king having assured them, that it was his intention, and that he would always take care, that the canons should be strictly observed, the council passed two, which related to the times. By the first it was declared, that he that killed an ecclesiastic, should not be absolved by any but the pope. The second ordained, that whoever insulted the husbandman, actually employed in his vocation, should suffer the same punishment, as they that committed the like outrage in a church or church-yard. The remainder of the occurrences of his year consist only of a tedious account of the particulars of the civil war, which laid the kingdom waste. We meet with nothing but taking and surprising castles, some trifling skirmishes, and abundance of barbarities and cruelties committed on both sides. Not to tire the reader with the recital of matters of no moment, we shall just observe, that in this and the three following years, Stephen's party gained ground; to which the death of the earl of Gloucester, and of Milo, the earl of Hereford\*, her chief counsellor and most faithful friend, greatly contributed. After the loss of these two earls, Matilda, perceiving she should not be able to stand her ground much longer, left England and retired to Normandy, whither the prince her son had already been sent. The earl of Anjou, his father, had earnestly desired her to do so, plainly perceiving, it was to no purpose that he exposed himself to continual danger in endeavouring to snatch from a prince a crown, on whose head it seemed to be too firmly placed.

Upon the empress's departure in 1147, Stephen finding himself in peaceable possession of the crown, endeavoured to secure it after his death, to Eustace, his eldest son. With this view he persuaded some of the barons to take their oath to him, imagining he should by that means gain his point. Towards the latter end of this year he kept his Christmas at Lincoln; where he would put on his crown, notwithstanding it was foretold, by a certain prophecy, that great misfortunes should befall the kings who durst appear in that city with their crowns on †.

Matilda having, as it were, dropped all pretensions to the throne of England, Stephen thought of nothing but reaping the fruits of his labours, and repairing the mischiefs the kingdom had suffered by a tedious and destructive war. But Henry, the eldest son of Matilda by the earl Anjou, a prince of sixteen years of age, and of a lively and enterprising genius, thought the difficulties, which the empress his mother met with in England, ought not to be any discouragement to him. He imagined that those who had supported the right of the lawful heir, would always continue in the same mind, and that a new leader, of more youth and vigour, would inspire them with fresh courage. In this idea, he resolved, in 1149, to go to the king of Scotland, his great uncle, and concert measures with him concerning the best method to accomplish his design. David having notice of the prince's coming, met him in Northumberland. After he had conferred with him about his affairs, he knighted him, according to the custom of those days, when this ceremony was deemed necessary for all

\* Milo was created earl of Hereford by patent from Matilda, being the first of that kind that we know of. It is to be seen

in Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. i. p. 8.

† See Rapin, book vi.



those that took upon them the profession of arms. In the following year Stephen, who had received intelligence of this interview, fearing they had some design upon York, marched thither and reinforced the garrison. Upon his approach, the two princes took their leave of one another; David returning to Scotland, and Henry to Normandy. He was scarce arrived at Rouen when Geoffrey his father departed this life, leaving him the earldom of Anjou, till the empress his mother's death should put him in possession of Normandy, after which he was to give up Anjou to Geoffrey his younger brother.

Lewis the Young, who greatly distinguished himself in the crusade which was carried on in the year 1148, being returned to France, divorced his wife Eleanor in 1151, and restored to her, Guienne, Poictou, Saintonge and all the dominions he had received with her as a dowry. As soon as this divorce became public, Henry, who with his mother's consent had taken the title of duke of Normandy, contrived the means to secure the possession of this rich heiress. Matters were carried on with such secrecy, that the first news Lewis heard of the affair, was, that the duke was gone to the queen at Bourdeaux, where their nuptials were solemnized with extraordinary magnificence. This enraged the French king, who could not bear to see another decked with the spoils, he himself had voluntarily relinquished. He was also apprehensive Henry would become a formidable enemy to France, if he should ever ascend the throne of England, to which he had so good a title. On the other hand, this same marriage made Stephen no less uneasy, who could not behold this increase of power in his rival without dreading the consequences of it. The jealousy of these two monarchs being thus roused, it was not long before they entered into an alliance, the design of which was to humble a prince, who was grown very formidable to both. Lewis raised him disturbances in Anjou by means of Geoffrey his brother, who thought he had a right, by virtue of his father's will, to take possession of that earldom. At the same time, he invested once more Eustace, son of Stephen, with Normandy, that Henry thus attacked from two quarters, might afford the king of England time to establish himself on the throne. In the interim, Stephen took all the measures he thought capable of destroying the duke's party in England, in order to render all his hopes fruitless of ever coming to the crown. In his opinion, the best method was, to get his son Eustace crowned beforehand. But the archbishop of Canterbury positively refused to comply with his request, and the reason he gave was still more offensive than the denial itself. He told the king, that the pope had expressly forbidden him to crown the son of a prince, who, contrary to his oath, had usurped the kingdom. The king was so incensed at the obstinate denial of the bishops, that he caused them to be all shut up in one house, where he resolved to keep them till they should comply with his will. This extraordinary way of proceeding did not meet with success. The house, where the bishops were detained, not having been carefully enough guarded, the archbishop found the means to get out and escape to Normandy. By his flight the king's project became of non-effect.

Stephen, in 1152, being greatly offended at the proceedings of the bishops, thought the best way to bring them back to their duty, would be to seize upon some castles, which still remained in the hands of the duke's friends, and by that means deprive them of their protection. At the same time, he sent his son Eustace into Normandy to join the king of France, and attack that duchy. Stephen's aim, was to prevent Henry from coming into England and assisting his friends there. But this war lasted not so long as he expected. Henry, by his extraordinary courage and diligence, drove out of Anjou his brother Geoffrey, who had already seized upon some fortresses; after which he marched back to Normandy, where he found the means, by making him some satisfaction, to conclude a peace with the king of France. This done, he quickly drove Eustace out of

Normandy. Eustace finding nothing was to be done in that country, returned to England, and joined his father, who was employed in the siege of Wallingford. This was one of the strongest places in the kingdom. Accordingly, the king spent so much time in the siege, that the duke had time to come to its relief, after he had settled his affair in Normandy. The young duke perceiving of what importance it was to succour his friends in England, led thither so considerable a number of forces, that he gave new life to his party, which since Matilda's departure, seemed to be quite dejected. Several barons immediately joined him, and put into his hands thirty fortified castles, whose garrisons he reinforced. After this, he hastened to the relief of Wallingford, which was very hard pressed, though the king was absent, being gone to London to make fresh preparations. Henry drawing near with his army, and finding it a difficult matter to assault the besiegers in their intrenchments, contented himself with securing the avenues, through which they were supplied with provisions. This way of proceeding would have proved fatal to them, had not Stephen marched with speed to their succour. He conducted his forces very near to those of the duke of Normandy, and without designing to attack him, brought him into the same inconveniencies, he had for some days reduced the besiegers to. It was scarce possible for the armies to separate without engaging. Accordingly the two leaders were preparing for battle with equal ardour, when, by the prudent advice of the earl of Arundel, who was on the king's side, they were prevented from coming to blows. He represented to the king, the miseries the kingdom was going to be exposed to by a battle, which could not but be very bloody, and almost as fatal to the vanquishers, as vanquished. He added that it would be more Christian-like, to try whether matters could not be accommodated by a treaty, which would restore peace to the unfortunate kingdom. Whether the earl's remonstrances made any impression on Stephen, or whether he was apprehensive of being deserted, if he obstinately persisted in a resolution to fight, he consented that an accommodation should be proposed to the duke. It was not without difficulty that the young prince, who had prepared for battle, was brought to hearken to the king's proposal. But perceiving that the English lords pressed him very earnestly to it, he thought proper to yield to their importunity, and consent to the interview Stephen had demanded. In a short conference, these two princes held together on the opposite banks of the Thames, which was very narrow at that place, they agreed upon a truce, in order to have time to negotiate a peace.

Earl Eustace was highly displeased at this truce; and to avoid being obliged to sign the treaty, Eustace suddenly left the army in 1153, and retired into Suffolk. Shortly after, as he was sitting down at table in the abbey of St. Edmundsbury, he became frantic, and died in three days, being eighteen years of age. He was buried in the abbey of Faversham with the queen his mother, who died a few months before. Constantia his widow, daughter to Lewis the Fat, was afterwards married to Raymond, earl of Thoulouse.

Stephen was extremely afflicted for the loss of his queen and son; and this year the nobility openly abandoned him, and espoused the cause of the duke of Normandy. As there were very few barons but what had been guilty of disloyalty, the dread they were in, that the king might have in his thoughts to be revenged of them, made them judge it necessary for their safety, to put themselves under the protection of the duke; and their suspicions were confirmed by the king's transactions with the earl of Chester. This earl having waited on the king with an offer of his service, had been taken into close custody, from whence he could not free himself but by delivering the castle of Lincoln into the king's hands. The reason of the king's behaviour to the earl of Chester was because he had privately assisted the duke of Normandy, as appears from a charter in the collection of Public Acts, whereby Henry promised him

the



the possession of certain lands. It is probable, therefore, that Stephen had some intelligence of this matter.

David, king of Scotland, died this year, leaving only some grand-children by Henry his son, who died before him. Malcolm and William, the two eldest, succeeded one another to the crown, and David, their brother, was earl of Huntingdon.

The truce between Stephen and Henry was renewed several times, by reason of the difficulties which occurred in the negociation of the peace. They only obstacle was Stephen's desire to settle the succession on his son William, to which Henry would by no means consent. He was willing that Stephen should enjoy the crown during his life: but after his death, he insisted upon succeeding him. He thought he had abated a great deal of his right, in obliging himself not to give any disturbance to a rival, who was not yet fifty years of age. Stephen, at length, reflecting on the state of his affairs, and the great obstacles that lay in his way, by reason of Henry's powerful supporters, resolved to purchase peace, by laying aside the design he had formed. As soon as the articles were signed, Stephen performed the ceremony of adopting the young duke, who paid him the reverence due to a father. On the other hand, William, the king's son, swore fealty to Henry, who promised to maintain him in the possession of the estates of his family, and of all those that had been granted him by the king his father, since his accession to the crown\*. This treaty was concluded and signed at Winchester, at an assembly convened for that purpose, of all the lords spiritual and temporal, in the year 1153. After this, the two princes made their public appearance together in the principal cities, where they were received with great demonstrations of joy; and the people greatly rejoiced at the restoration of peace and tranquility, after so many years of trouble and confusion. Gervase affirms, that amidst these rejoicings, Henry discovered a conspiracy laid against him by William, the king's son; and adds the plot would have been executed, had not William, by accident, fallen off his horse and broke his thigh. To this he attributes the sudden departure of the duke of Normandy, who, without showing any signs of mistrust, took his leave of the king, and returned to his dominions, till the death of Stephen should put him in possession of the throne of England.

By Stephen's agreement with Henry, he could have no hopes of leaving the crown to his son, yet he was so affected with the miseries the kingdom had endured, that he resolved to use all his endeavours to repair them. He even seemed to take proper measures to that end. But death, which frequently surprizes men in the midst of their good intentions, prevented him from executing his design. He died in the fiftieth year of his age, on the 25th of October, 1154, eleven months after the treaty with Henry. He was buried by the queen his wife, and Eustace his son, in the abbey of Evesham, which he himself had founded.

If we consider this prince's character in general only, it may be said, that he was worthy to have lived in better times, and that his good qualities more than counterbalanced his bad ones. But it would be very difficult to justify all the steps he made towards mounting the throne, particularly the breach of his oath. Accordingly, though the consent of the barons may seem to be of some weight in this matter, yet as it was procured by faction and cabal, several are of opinion, that he ought to be deemed an usurper. The violation of his word on certain occasions, is also a stain to his memory. Perhaps the circumstances of the times, and of his affairs, hurried him on to greater lengths than his natural temper would otherwise have carried him: but one cannot refuse him the commendations due to his valour, clemency, and generosity. He gave a proof of the first in the battle of Lincoln, where he was taken prisoner. That he was possessed of the two other virtues cannot be denied, when we consider, that throughout his whole reign, there is not a single instance of severity to be met with, though several of the barons, whom the fortune of war had put in his power, had giving him but too much reason to use them with rigour.

The troubles during this reign furnished the clergy with a favourable opportunity of raising the mitre above the crown. The court of Rome laid hold also on this juncture, to introduce into England new laws, which the English, without doubt, would have opposed at any other time. The canon law compiled by Gratian in 1151, by the authority of Eugenius III. was brought into England, by the means of the dispute between the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester about the legateship. This contest gave the Italian canonists an opportunity to settle in England, and introduce, by degrees, the study of the canon law into the university of Oxford, where Vacarius was the first professor.

Stephen left only one legitimate son, whose name was William. This prince was earl of Boulogne in right of the queen his mother. Stephen had also a daughter named Maria, who after she had put on the veil, was married to Philip of Alsace; but, upon the death of her husband, she returned to the nunnery. A natural son of Stephen's, whose name was likewise William, has given some historians reason to think, that Stephen left behind him only one son, who was illegitimate.

King Stephen is said to have founded the abbey of Coggeshall in Essex, of Furneys in Lancashire, of Hurthillers and Feversham in Kent, a nunnery for black nuns at Higham in the same county, and a nunnery at Carew. His queen Matilda founded the hospital of St. Katherine's, near the Tower of London. The abbey of Stratford Langthorn, within four miles of London, was founded by Sir William de Mount Fitchet. Sir Richard Baker acquaints us, that there were more abbey's erected in his days, than had been within the space of an hundred years before.

\* This agreement is recited and confirmed by Stephen's charter or declaration under his seal, in Brompton's Chron.

nicle, p. 1037, 1038, directed to all the faithful people of England.



## APPENDIX TO BOOK III.

CONTAINING

## BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES OF EMINENT PERSONAGES

*Mentioned in the preceding Books.*

**A**S accounts of the lives of those personages who have been eminent either in the Church or the State, are highly instructive, as well as entertaining, we shall, as far as the limits of our History will permit, lay before our Readers, Biographical Anecdotes of various Ecclesiastics, Statemen, &c.

The justly celebrated and truly venerable **BENE** was born in 673, in the precinct of the monastery of Jarrow, near the mouth of the river Tine in Northumberland. He was educated, and spent the whole of his days, in that monastery. He was ordained a deacon at nineteen years of age, and a priest at thirty, from which period, till his fiftieth year, he was almost constantly employed in some literary work or other. He was the author of an Ecclesiastical History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the year 731. He died at the age of sixty-two years, in 735, at Jarrow; from which place his body was removed to Durham, where it was deposited in the same coffin with that of St. Cuthbert.

**GUTHLAC**, a celebrated monk who had been a soldier seven years, and who out of humanity, used to return the third part of the plunder he took from his enemy. He flourished in the eighth century, and was the first anchorite in England. He made choice of a ferry place in Mercia for his retirement, which was called Crowland, or Croyland, and where the famous monastery of that name was afterwards erected.

**ALCUIN**, or **ALBIN**, a famous Benedictine monk who flourished near the close of the eighth century, was made abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. He was by birth a Northumbrian, and was disciple to Egbert, archbishop of York. He was sent on an embassy by Offa to Charlemagne, who was so pleased with his company, conversation, and manners, that he desired Offa to permit him to remain at his court; where Alcuin taught that emperor logic, astronomy, and the mathematics. At the instigation of the prelate Charlemagne founded the university of Paris, and also that of Pavia. He died in 804. His literary compositions were numerous.

**ASSER**, or **ASSERIUS MENEVENSIS**, a celebrated English historian, who was bred a monk of St. David's, in Wales. King Alfred, finding he was a learned man, long and earnestly entreated him to go to court; but he would not yield to the king's request, without leave to be six months in the year at the abbey. He wrote the first forty-five years of the Life of Alfred, which was continued to the death of that monarch by some later writer. This book was first published by archbishop Parker in the old Saxon character. Dr. Gale published Asserius's Annals; which Leland calls the Chronicle of St. Neot's, because he found it in that monastery. He died bishop of St. David's.

**NEOTS**, an abbot, distinguished on account of his birth, his learning, his regularity, and his zeal in promoting the interest of true religion. According to some historians, he was nearly related to king Alfred; and others assert, that he was descended from the blood royal of East Anglia. He died in 890, in Cornwall, where he left his name to the town of Neotflow, or St. Neot's. At this place he was buried; but when earl Alric's seat in Huntingdonshire was converted into a monastery upon his account, his remains were removed thither, and the town, before called Ainulfsbury, or Einulfsbury, received the appellation of St. Neot's; whence his bones were a third time removed to Croyland Minster in 1213.

**ETHELWARD**, or **ATHELWARD**, a monkish historian,

who wrote in the reign of Edgar, and lived till 1090, though he did not continue his Chronicle to that year. He was, as he himself says, descended from the blood-royal. His works consist of four books, which were published by Sir H. Savil; but, according to bishop Nicholson, they were an imperfect translation of the Saxon Annals. His history, being written in a very obscure stile, is held in but little estimation.

**MARIANUS SCOTUS**. This celebrated person was a native of Scotland, being born in 1028. At the age of thirty years he retired to a monastery at Cologne; whence he removed to the abbey of Fulde, where he wrote a General History of Europe from the Creation of the World to the year of our Lord 1082. He died in 1086.

**LANFRANC**, whose name and actions have been frequently mentioned in our former pages, under the reigns of William the Conqueror and William Rufus, was born at Pavia, in Italy. After he had finished his studies, he embraced the monkish life at the abbey of Bec, in Normandy, where he taught logic, and gained great reputation. He frequently reproached the rest of the fraternity on account of their ignorance, which, in the event, proved the raising of Lanfranc. The monks preferred a complaint against him to William, then only duke of Normandy; and the prelate was obliged to go to court to purge himself, and prove his innocence of the crime laid to his charge. In this conversation with the duke, that prince was so charmed with his merit, that instead of punishing him, as his accuser expected, he made him abbot of St. Stephen's at Caen, whence he was afterwards promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury. The esteem which this ecclesiastic was held in by William, after he had obtained the throne of England by conquest, is almost incredible; but in the reign of his son William Rufus, whose accession to the throne was not a little facilitated by Lanfranc, he fell under the royal displeasure. His death, however, which happened in 1089, freed him, without doubt, from a vast deal of trouble and vexation. He rebuilt the church of Canterbury, which had been destroyed by the Danes, in archbishop's Elphegus's time, and fixed the number of the monks of St. Augustine's at one hundred and fifty, which before was unlimited. He also gave them a Prior instead of a Chorepiscopus. By a famous trial he gained his cause against Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and earl of Kent, and with it the possession of twenty-five manors, which that earl had unjustly seized upon. He was a great statesman, as well as an able and learned divine. He wrote a Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles, and an Ecclesiastical History; but the most remarkable of his operations was a Treatise against Berengarius, concerning the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in the Sacrament.

**ANSELM**, who had been abbot of Bec in Normandy, before he was promoted to the see of Canterbury, was perhaps one of the most famous of all the English bishops, by reason of his disputes with William Rufus and Henry I. but as these have been sufficiently treated of under the reigns of those monarchs, we shall pass over them in this place. He was born at Aost, in Italy, in the year 1033. At the age of twenty-seven years he turned monk in the abbey of Bec, of which Lanfranc was prior. When Lanfranc was removed to St. Stephen's, at Caen, Anselm was made prior, and afterwards abbot of Bec, whence he was promoted to the see of Canterbury.



Canterbury as before said. He composed several theological treatises, of which Father Gerberon published the largest edition in 1676. His writings are full of metaphysical questions, argued with the appearance of a great deal of logic. He died in 1109, and was canonized in the reign of Henry VII. at the instance of Cardinal Morton, then archbishop of Canterbury.

GILBERT, bishop of London, was a very famous and learned man in the reign of Henry I. On account of his great learning, he received the appellation of Universalist. He was the author of a Commentary on the Psalms, and an Exposition of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, which are still extant in Manuscript.

OSMUND, bishop of Salisbury, by birth a Norman, was earl of Dorset, and privy councillor to William the Conqueror, at the time of his being made bishop of that see. Every diocese, in his days, made use of a different liturgy, and Osmund, finding that the one used in his diocese wanted revival, undertook the correcting of it. He rendered it more pure than it was before, by expunging a great number of barbarous expressions, and digesting the whole in a more commodious manner. The liturgy, *Secundum usum Sarum*, together with the emendations of Osmund, was soon after received in other dioceses. Osmund died in 1099.

INGULF, or INGULPHUS, whose historical labours have frequently been useful to us in the compilation of part of our History, was born at London in the year 1030. His father was one of Edward the Confessor's courtiers. Ingulf was made known to William the Conqueror, when that prince, who was then only duke of Normandy, came into England for an interview with king Edward. He attended him into Normandy in the quality of secretary; but some time after, resigning his office, he went in pilgrimage to Jerusalem. At his return he became a monk in the abbey of Fontevrault, whence he was invited into England, and made abbot of Croyland by William the Conqueror. He died in 1109. He was the first of our English historians after

the Conquest; and wrote a History of Croyland Abbey.

JOFFRID, abbot of the same monastery, and immediate successor to Ingulf, was the first, according to some writers, who erected schools at Cambridge, where he settled four of his monks as professors. About the year 1114 he began a custom which was afterwards much practised by all the monks. Upon Good Friday, every year, he stripped himself to the waist before all the convent, and ordered himself to be severely scourged. This he did with a view of doing penance for his sins, and to make a deeper impression on his mind of our Saviour's great and bitter sufferings.

FLORENCE, a monk of Worcester, wrote a Chronicle, which ended with his life in 1119, but it was continued fifty years farther by another monk of the same monastery.

EADMERUS, a monk of Canterbury, was the author of the History of the two Williams and Henry I. from the year 1066 to 1122. It was published by Mr. Selden under the title of *Historia Novorum*, &c. This work, says bishop Nicholson, is composed with gravity, and is of unquestionable authority; and Selden says, his style equals Malinesbury's, but his matter and composition exceed those of that ecclesiastic.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, so called because he was a monk, and library keeper of that religious house, was the author of a work *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, in five books, with an Appendix in two more, which he calls *Historia Novella*. He was an excellent historian, and made a judicious collection of whatever he found upon record, from the arrival of the Saxons to the eighth year of the reign of king Stephen, anno 1142. He is called, by some of our historians, elegant, learned, and faithful; and by the great Usher, he is styled the chief of our historians. On account of the elegance of his diction, and the faithfulness with which he has written his narrative, we have not failed to make use of such parts as tend to inform our Readers, and to illustrate our History.

## B O O K IV.

### THE RESTORATION OF THE SAXON LINE.

*The Reigns of Henry II. Richard I. King John, Henry III. Edward I. Edward II. Edward III. and Richard II.*

#### C H A P. I.

##### HENRY II. SURNAMED PLANTAGENET.

THE civil wars with which this country had for a long time been distracted, made the English unwilling to run the risk of seeing them renewed. From the death of Stephen till the arrival of the duke of Normandy was six weeks; so that, if the English were any wise dissatisfied with him, or if they had any cause to suspect he would not rule over them in equity, they would never have waited so long for his coming. And during these six weeks, no one offered to dispute his right to the throne. The day after the arrival of Henry, pursuant to the agreement made with Stephen, of which all the barons of the realm were guarantees, he was crowned at Westminster by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, on the 20th of December, 1154, and in the twenty-third year of his age.

With the utmost satisfaction the English beheld on the throne a prince descended by the mother's side from their ancient kings, and who gave the crown a brighter lustre than ever. He was master, in right of his father,

of Anjou and Touraine; in that of his mother, of Normandy and Maine; and in that of his wife, of Guienne, Poitou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, and the Limousin. The first thing Henry attempted after his coronation was, to replace England in its ancient splendour and glory; and to this end, in 1155, he put it out of the power of the factious to excite new troubles. Accordingly, Henry made this his chief business from the first hour of his reign. He began with demolishing the great number of Castles that had been fortified in the last reign, and which served only for sanctuaries to robbers, and such as should have an inclination to disturb the public. The bishop of Winchester alone had six of the most considerable, which he forfeited for going out of the kingdom without leave. This first step, by which the king let the barons see he was resolved to keep them in obedience, was followed by another no less beneficial to the kingdom; which was the sending away the foreign troops entertained by Stephen. These soldiers, called by the English historians, Brabançons, and by the French Routiers or Cottereaux, were a mixture of people from several parts of Europe, particularly from Germany and the Low Countries.





HENRY II.



RICHARD I.



As they professed themselves independent of any particular prince, they served indifferently whoever chose to employ them, provided they found their account in it. Not to be regularly paid they looked upon as an advantage, because they took occasion, from that neglect, to plunder the friends as well as enemies of those that entertained them. So that the assistance of these troops became in general very burthensome to the princes themselves for whom they fought, as the English had frequently experienced. But Henry, consulting the good of the country, dismissed all the foreigners, not suffering any to remain behind. William de Ypres, their general, did not think fit to stay till he was ordered to depart. The cold reception he met with at court, having already convinced him, that his absence would be more acceptable than his presence. Had the new king stopped here, there might have been reason to imagine, he had acted with a sole view to the welfare and tranquility of the kingdom; but he plainly discovered he was swayed by a more self-interested motive, when, shortly after, he revoked all the grants made by his predecessor, and resumed all the lands which had been alienated from the crown. The possessors were extremely chagrined, and loudly murmured at this proceeding, affirming, it was very unjust to deprive them of what had been given them in recompence for their services. Especially those who had sided with the king and the empress his mother, were filled with indignation at being thus confounded with the partisans of Stephen. There were several who refused to comply; but upon the king's approach at the head of his army to constrain them to submit, they were in no condition to resist; only Hugh Mortimer persisted to withstand them in one of his castles, which resistance caused the king to deprive him of all his other possessions. William de Blois, son to king Stephen, fared no better than the rest.

Henry despoiled him of all that had been granted him by the king his father, and left him none but what belonged to his family before Stephen's accession to the crown. This was breaking through the agreement which Henry had made with Stephen. Thus the nobility, who had been enriched by the liberality of the late king, or of the empress Matilda, were suddenly impoverished by the policy of Henry, who had had frequent occasion to mark how arrogant their riches had made them. After the king had taken all the precautions he thought proper for the restoring tranquility in the kingdom, he chose a council from among the most eminent persons, as well clergy as nobility. Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, archdeacon of Canterbury; who was just made chancellor, and Robert, earl of Leicester, great justiciary of the realm, held the first rank in it. At the head of the cabinet council was Matilda his mother, whom long experience and her misfortunes had rendered wise at her own cost. These two councils being established, Henry convened an assembly-general, or parliament, at Wallingford, where he caused the barons to swear fealty to William and Henry, his sons, the first of which died a few days after this ceremony. Before the assembly broke up, the king consented that the laws of Edward should be put in force, and of his own accord confirmed the charter of Henry I. his grandfather.

Pope Anastasius dying this year, Adrian IV. an Englishman, succeeded to the papacy\*.

Henry having settled his affairs in England, went over sea, in 1156, to do homage to the king of France, for the provinces he held in that kingdom. His possessions there rendered him the most powerful vassal of the crown of France, and almost equal to the sovereign himself; whose demesnes were very inconsiderable, in comparison of what they were in process of time†. His design to do

\* His name was Nicholas Break-spear, said to be the son of a bondman belonging to the abbey of St. Alban's, where being refused to be made a monk, he went beyond sea, and improved in learning, so that the pope made him bishop of Alba, and his legate to many, and afterwards a cardinal. He proved a stout and brave pope: though he held the chair but four years, he put the city of Rome under an interdict for insulting one of his cardinals, and excommunicated William, king of Sicily.

† As the dominions which Henry and his successors were possessed of in France, proved the occasion of numberless wars between the French and English; it will not be improper to explain, in a few words, wherein consisted at that time the strength of the kings of France. From these premises, we shall be enabled to form a just idea of their power, and see at the same time the great difference, on that score, between the first successors of Hugh Capet, and those who in these latter days have swayed the sceptre of that kingdom.

When Hugh Capet had usurped the crown from the house of Charlemagne, he thought he could make use of no better method to fix himself on the throne, than to manage it so, that the late revolution might greatly turn to the advantage of the French nobility. To engage them therefore to support his usurpation, he made a grant of the provinces, of which they were only governors, to them and their heirs, by the name of fiefs. These grants he confirmed by authentic charters, wherein he articulated, that the fiefs should devolve to the crown in default of heirs. Moreover, he reserved the right of confiscating them in case of rebellion; and for other reasons specified in the charters. By this immense bounty, he stored France at once with great numbers of powerful lords, or rather princes; who holding their lands by hereditary right, became so many sovereigns. The crown then had nothing left but the governments Hugh Capet was possessed of before he mounted the throne. But these demesnes, to which he added some vacant governments, were very considerable, by reason he was grown exceeding powerful upon the decline of the house of Charlemagne. All are not however agreed, that Hugh Capet was the first that changed the governments into fiefs, and that it is affirmed, it was done by some of the first kings of that race. But besides that the opinion we have followed is the most probable, the difference of a few years, whether more or less, is of no moment with regard to the general state of France, of which we would be understood to speak.

Among these fiefs, there were some distinguished for their great extent, which were styled peerdoms. Of this sort there were six ecclesiastical, and six lay ones. But as the first have

little relation to the English history, it will be needless to dwell on them. They were the archbishoprics of Rheims, Laon, and Longres, and the bishoprics of Beauvais, Noyon, and Chalons. Of the six lay-peerdoms, three were dukedoms, *viz.* Burgundy, Normandy, Guienne, and three earldoms, namely, Flanders, Thoulouse, and Champagne. Each of these six peers had vassals which held their lands of him, in the same manner as he himself held his peerdom of the crown. For instance, the duke of Normandy had for vassal the duke of Breagne, by the concession of Charles the Simple, who annexed this right to the grant which he made to Rollo. Hence we may see, how bare and naked the crown of France was, and how inconsiderable its revenues were, in comparison of what they were afterwards, down to the time of Lewis VII. surnamed the Young, who was on the throne of France when our Henry II. came to the crown of England. The kings of France had not as yet united any of these great fiefs to their demesnes. It is easy therefore to perceive, that the new king of England, who held two of the most considerable peerdoms; besides many other provinces, was possessed of as much or more lands in the kingdom, than the king of France himself. But yet, notwithstanding the narrow extent of the demesnes of the crown, the king of France was, however, a very potent prince, on account of the succours he received from his vassals: succours, which were furnished sometimes out of duty, and sometimes voluntarily. When the kingdom was engaged in a war, with the advice and consent of the states, each vassal was obliged to find a certain number of troops; in which case the sovereign appeared at the head of a formidable army. But when the king entered upon a war of his own accord, or for his own private interest, the vassals were at liberty to furnish or not to furnish him with their *quota* of troops. They even looked upon themselves as privileged to take up arms against him, in case they were oppressed, or merely for having justice denied them. Such being the nature of the French constitution, it is no wonder that in the history of that kingdom, we find their kings marching one while with a very inconsiderable number of forces, and another time at the head of puissant armies. Their main strength consisted in the succours they had from their vassals. But matters were quite otherwise when once they had united to the crown some of those large demesnes which had been granted in fee. Then by degrees they found the means to lay aside the distinction between a necessary and an unnecessary war. Without troubling themselves to get their designs approved by the states, they obliged

their

furnish them with succours at all times, confounding



do homage to the king of France, was not the sole motive of Henry's crossing the sea: his chief aim was to recover Anjou, which Geoffrey his brother had seized, under pretence that Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, father to these two princes, had ordered by his last will, that Henry, his eldest son, should inherit the possessions of Matilda their mother, which included Normandy, and her right to England. To Geoffrey, his second son, he had bequeathed Anjou, Touraine, and Maine; and left to a third son named William, only the earldom of Mortaigne. But because Henry should not be obliged to wait till Matilda's death without any inheritance, he added another clause to his will, which was, that Henry should enjoy, till the empress's death, the three earldoms assigned to Geoffrey, reserving to this last the cities of Lodun, Chinon, and Mirabel, till his elder brother should deliver him up the paternal estate, upon his becoming possessed of Normandy. To secure the performance of this will, the earl caused his barons solemnly to swear, that they would not suffer his body to be buried, till his eldest son had sworn to fulfil his last will. It was with great difficulty that Henry was prevailed upon to take this oath. He was of opinion, that the earl, his father, had greatly injured him in depriving him of these three earldoms, which according to custom, ought to devolve to him as eldest son: but rather than his father's body should lie unburied, he swore to execute his will. Some time after, Matilda his mother having delivered him up Normandy, Geoffrey thought he had a right to take possession of Anjou; but Henry drove him out of that province. As soon as his brother was on the throne of England, Geoffrey renewed his pretensions; and whilst the king was busied in his island, he once more took possession of Anjou. The Angevins espoused his cause, chusing rather to have a private earl, than be in dependance on the crown of England; and he was also assisted by the king of France, who was ever ready to lessen Henry's power, whom he looked upon as a very formidable neighbour. When the earl of Anjou made his will, there was little appearance of his eldest son's ever mounting the throne of England, Stephen's affairs being at that time in a prosperous condition. For this reason he considered that kingdom only as a thing to which indeed his son had a right to pretend, but of which he had but very distant hopes. The oath of Henry, however, seemed to be the only obstacle; but this he soon removed by a dispensation from the pope, which he procured without any difficulty. Being sanctioned by the pope, he immediately resolved upon a war with his brother; and after he had done homage to the king of France, he directed his march towards Poitou, and took from his brother the cities of Mirabel, Chinon, and Lodun; then entering Anjou, he quickly became master of all the fortified places, and drove him out of the country.

This prince, thus deprived of his possessions, would

have been in a wretched case, had not fortune thrown in his way the earldom of Nantes, of which the inhabitants voluntarily made him an offer\*.

After the reduction of Anjou, Henry returned to England, and made an advantageous treaty with Malcolm, king of Scotland, who yielded up to him Carlisle, Newcastle, and Bamborough-Castle†, resting satisfied with the earldom of Huntingdon, which prince Henry his father had held. This restitution was undoubtedly just, since David, grandfather of Malcolm, had caused them to be adjudged to him by treaties, at a time when Stephen minded more his own private interest, than the public good of the kingdom. Probably Henry's great power contributed to the bringing the king of Scotland to this temper more than any thing else.

In the year 1157, the Welsh having made some incursions into England, Henry drew together a powerful army, and marched into Wales, where he burnt their towns, and put the inhabitants to the sword. Upon his approach, the Welsh retired to their mountains, where it was impossible to encounter them. It happened one day that his vanguard having got into a narrow passage, were entirely routed. This accident struck into the rest of the English troops an amazing terror, which was heightened by the imprudent conduct of Henry de Essex, hereditary standard-bearer of the English. Upon a rumour, which ran through the army, that the king was slain, he forsook the standard, and fled away with all possible speed, exclaiming, "the king is dead". This action, for which he was afterwards punished, threw the English into the utmost consternation; so that, had not the king thrown himself to them, he would have been in danger of losing that day his whole army. Notwithstanding these advantages, the Welsh thought themselves happy that the king, tired out with so troublesome a war, was willing to grant them a peace. By the treaty he made with them, he reserved to himself the liberty of cutting through their woods large roads, which might be open to him whenever he should have a mind to enter their country; and moreover, caused them to deliver up certain castles, which they had made themselves masters of during the troubles of the late reign.

In the beginning of the next year, 1158, Henry's family was increased by the birth of a second son, whom he called Richard. A few days after he renewed the ceremony of his coronation in the suburbs of Lincoln, not being so hardy as to do it within the walls of the city. He showed himself more scrupulous in this point, or perhaps more condescending to the prejudices of the people than his predecessor Stephen. And in the following year 1159, a third son was born to the king, who was named Geoffrey. This same year Henry was crowned a third time at Worcester, together with his queen. At this last solemnity, the king and queen coming to the oblation, laid their crowns on the altar, and

foundling incessantly the private views of the king, with the interest of the public. They even made use of some of their vassals or instruments to oppress the others. This added to the opportunities that naturally offered, to unite several provinces to the crown for want of heirs, increased their strength in such a manner, as enabled them at length to keep their vassals in obedience: but it was not but by degrees, and after a long space of time, that they arrived at that height of power." See Rapin, book vii. § 1.

\* As this event drew after it several remarkable consequences, it will not be improper to clear up this matter a little. Conan the Gross, duke of Bretagne, had a son named Hoel, and a daughter called Bertha, married to Eudo, earl of Pontievre, her relation, by whom she had a son called Conan, from his mother's father. Some suspicions, whether well or ill-grounded, having induced Conan the Gross to disown and disinherit his son Eudo, husband to Bertha, got possession of Bretagne, after the death of his father-in-law, in spite of Hoel, who had only the city of Nantes on his side. Bertha's death, which happened four years after, was the occasion of fresh claims. Conan, her son, surnamed the Little, pretending that Bretagne was his mother's inheritance, to which Eudo his father had no manner of right, assumed the title of duke of Bretagne: Eudo, for his part, willing to keep possession of the

dukedom, there arose between the father and son a war which lasted many years, and ended in the entire defeat of Eudo, who was obliged to fly for refuge to the court of France. Conan the Little was no sooner in possession of Bretagne, but he took in hand the reducing to his obedience the city of Nantes, which since the death of Conan the Gross, made a separate state by itself under the dominions of Hoel. When the inhabitants of Nantes first espoused the cause of Hoel, they did it out of a motive of justice, being persuaded that the duke his father had wronged him very much in disinheriting him. Afterwards, they found themselves so deceived in the good opinion they had entertained of him, that they expelled him, believing him incapable of defending them against Conan, who was preparing to attack them. From that time Hoel is no more mentioned in history. In the mean while, the people of Nantes, not being able to bring themselves to submit to Conan, called in Geoffrey, brother to the king of England, and owned him for sovereign. Thus Geoffrey became earl of Nantes immediately after his being driven out of Anjou; but he lived not long to enjoy his new earldom. See Rapin, book vii.

† See an account of the privileges belonging to this castle, in p. 31.



vowed never to wear them again; and thence the custom of the kings wearing their crowns during the celebration of the solemn festivals was by degrees disused. At least we meet with but few instances in the succeeding reigns. About this time Henry ordered the money to be new coined, the current coin of the kingdom having been much adulterated during the reign of Stephen\*.

The warlike temper of the king did not well suit with those peaceable employments; the death of his brother Geoffrey, which soon after happened, gave him an opportunity of entering upon action. The duke of Bretagne, on the burial of Geoffrey, seized upon the city of Nantes, and the whole earldom of that name; but Henry pretended that, as heir to his brother, it belonged to him. And in order to convince the duke that his title was valid, he entered Normandy with so considerable a body of troops, that it plainly appeared he was determined to obtain possession of the earldom before he returned to England. Previous to his entering upon his expedition, he paid a visit to the king of France, with a design to gain him over to his interest, or at least to procure his neutrality. He was very sensible, if Lewis interposed not in this affair, the duke of Bretagne could not give him much trouble. Amidst the civilities he received from Lewis, a marriage was concluded between Henry's eldest son, who was not above five years of age, and Margaret, the French king's daughter, an infant of five or six months old. Having thus made sure of France, he headed his army with a view to take the city by force, if Conan refused to give him peaceable possession. As Conan was by no means a match for the king of England, he was constrained to give way to his power. The conquest of Nantes was not the only benefit Henry reaped from this expedition. Before he quitted Bretagne, he made a treaty with Conan, whereby the duke obliged himself to give his daughter Constance in marriage to Geoffrey, Henry's son, who was then in his cradle. By this marriage, which was celebrated five years after, notwithstanding the bridegroom's youth, Geoffrey became duke of Bretagne upon the death of his father-in-law. Henry's ambition increasing as he made new conquests, he undertook to revive his queen's title to the earldom of Thoulouse, which was of a great extent†. The alliance he had just entered into with Lewis

the Younger, made him hope that monarch would give him as little disturbance in Languedoc as he had done in Bretagne, and that he would leave him at liberty to extend his frontiers in that quarter. But herein he was mistaken.

To bring about his design the more easily, Henry made an alliance with Raymond, earl of Arragon and Barcelona, and procured a powerful aid from the king of Scotland. As soon as his army was ready, he marched towards Languedoc; in his way he took Cahors, and then sat down before Thoulouse. Lewis the Younger, who could not look on Henry's greatness without jealousy, had used such expedition, that he had thrown himself into Thoulouse a few days before. The large extent of that city, and the French king's succours, rendered the siege of it so difficult, that Henry did not think it in his power to gain possession of the place. Accordingly, he raised the siege and returned into his own dominions, passing through Normandy, and leaving Cahors to the care of Thomas Becket, his chancellor. In his march homewards, he entered the Beauvoisis, where he committed great ravages, in revenge for the king of France's causing his measures to be frustrated. At the same time Simon, earl of Montfort, put into his hands some castles in the neighbourhood of Paris, by the means of which all communication with Orleans was entirely cut off. The advantage he might make of this, forced Lewis to send proposals for a cessation of arms, which was agreed upon for a year. During the truce, the two monarchs concluded a treaty of peace, whereby was confirmed the treaty they had made at Paris, without the least mention of Thoulouse. So that Henry kept up during his life, his pretensions to that peerdom, and by his death left them to his successor, who thought fit to drop them. William, earl of Blois, son of king Stephen, died in his return from the expedition to Thoulouse, where he had attended the king.

The last peace concluded between the kings of France and England, was only a confirmation of the treaty of Paris, wherein they had agreed upon a marriage between Henry's eldest son, and Margaret, the daughter of Lewis. The princess was to have for her dower the city of Gisors and part of the Vexin, which for that pur-

\* The coin was grown so bad in his reign, that scarce one piece in ten would pass. The usual money in those days were thin pieces of silver of about the weight, breadth, and intrinsic value of a queen Elizabeth's three-pence; which was their penny, and from which we still retain the name of penny-weight, i. e. one-twentieth of an ounce. In succeeding reigns larger pieces of four times the bulk and weight of these, were minted; and from such increase of their size were called groats, and weighed as much as our present shillings. The silver pennies after the Conquest were much the same with the Saxon ones: the king's head is full-faced, with a sceptre in his hand. Stephen's penny is the first that's half-faced.

† We shall here, for the satisfaction of our readers, clear up queen Eleanor's title to the earldom of Thoulouse.—William IV. earl of Thoulouse, contemporary with the Conqueror, had but one daughter named Philippa, who was married to William VIII. earl of Poitiers, Eleanor's grandfather. By this marriage the earldom of Thoulouse was to fall one day to the house of Poitiers, which was also in possession of Guienne. But William, father of Philippa, imagined he could secure it in his own family, by selling it to Raymond of St. Giles, his younger brother. This sale, whether real or pretended, would have been but a weak means to deprive the countess of Poitiers of the inheritance of her father, if certain accidents had not concurred in favour of Raymond, who continued in possession of the earldom of Thoulouse, after his brother's death. The design of the earl of Poitiers, husband to Philippa, of mortgaging his demesnes to William Rufus, in order to equip himself for his voyage to the Holy-Land, having been frustrated by the death of William, he applied to another quarter, and raised the money by mortgaging his revenues for several years. His expences on this occasion, and his misfortune in losing all his equipage, constrained him to return home, where he could have no prospect of retrieving his loss, because his revenues were in the hands of others. Raymond, of St. Giles, laying hold of this juncture, offered him a considerable sum to

renounce his right to the earldom of Thoulouse. As matters then stood with the earl of Poitiers, he readily listened to this proposal, and concluded a bargain with Raymond. By this agreement Raymond kept possession of the earldom, which his posterity enjoyed after, without meeting with any disturbance from the earl of Poitiers, or his son William IX. After the death of this last, Lewis the Younger, who had married Eleanor his only daughter and heiress, revived the pretensions of the house of Poitiers to the earldom of Thoulouse. He maintained that the sale made by earl William to Raymond, was a feint to deceive the European princes; and that Raymond had imposed upon the easy nature of the earl of Poitiers, and purchased his right at much too cheap a rate; and also, that he had not even paid the whole sum that was agreed upon. Hence he inferred, that the bargain was void, and consequently that Eleanor ought to enter upon all that Philippa her grandmother was entitled to, upon re-payment to the earl of Thoulouse what the earl of Poitiers had received. Raymond V. who was then earl of Thoulouse, was at a great loss on account of this claim. After matters had been debated for some time, an end was put to the affair by a marriage between earl Raymond and Constance, sister to Lewis, and widow to Eustace, the son of king Stephen. On account of this marriage, Lewis dropped his pretensions, and as long as he lived with Eleanor, the earl of Thoulouse remained unmolested. Eleanor's second marriage created Raymond fresh disturbances. Henry, who was entitled to the same rights the king of France had thrown up, laid claim to the earldom of Thoulouse upon the same grounds as Lewis had done before him. Raymond pleaded a-new the purchase made by his grandfather, the resignation of the house of Poitiers, besides a long possession which exceeded the time allowed by the laws for a prescription. Upon these accounts he resolved to keep his possession of the earldom.—This was the state of the case, which was to be decided by arms.



pose were to remain in the custody of the Knights Templars \*, till the marriage should be solemnized. Pursuant to this treaty, chancellor Becket was sent to Paris with a magnificent retinue, to demand the young princess, who was to be educated in England till she became marriageable. She had not been long in London, before Henry ordered the nuptials to be celebrated, though the bridegroom was but seven, and the bride but three years old. Upon which the Knights Templars, thinking that he had sufficiently performed his promise, put him in possession of Gisors. This hasty proceeding occasioned the renewal of the war, in 1162, between the two kings. Lewis complained, that the king of England had bribed the great master of the Temple, Henry maintained, that having performed his part of the treaty, he had done no injury to the king of France, by taking possession of Gisors. This war, which lasted but a very little while, had an end put to it by the mediation of pope Alexander III. who was just come to France. His legates, whom he had sent before, having prepared the way for an accommodation, the two kings went together to receive the pope at Torcy upon the Loire. When they came near him, they both alighted, and each taking hold of one of the reins of his bridle, they conducted him to the lodgings prepared for his holiness. After Henry had settled the affairs which had detained him in France four years, he returned into England in 1163. In this year, the pride and obstinacy of one of Henry's subjects raised a storm, the weathering of which cost him many vexatious hours, and the loss of his honour: this was Thomas Becket †.

\* The order of the knights Templars, instituted by Gelasius in 1119, had their name from dwelling in a part of the temple at Jerusalem assigned them by king Baldwin. They were but nine at first, and their business was to lead in their armour, Christian strangers and pilgrims through the Holy Land. They increased so rapidly that they had great estates in all parts of Christendom: and growing too potent, they were suppressed by Clement V. 1309, and by the council of Vienna 1312. The master of the Temple here in England was summoned to parliament, from whom the minister of the Temple Church has his name.

† This very distinguished prelate was the son of Mahauld, a Syrian woman, and Gilbert, sheriff of London. This Gilbert was taken prisoner by a Saracen, the father of Mahauld, in the Holy Land. Thomas was, in his childhood, instructed in his father's house, and in his youth in the public schools. He spent part of his minority in the study of the law; and grew so famous at the bar, that he was taken from thence, and made archdeacon of Canterbury. In the beginning of this reign he had certain affairs to manage at court, which gave him an opportunity of making himself known to the king, and of gaining his esteem and good-will. Henry having entertained a great opinion of his merit, quickly gave him a sensible mark of his esteem, by conferring on him the dignity of high-chancellor. In the discharge of this eminent office, Becket behaved towards all the world with so much pride and haughtiness, as rendered him extremely troublesome to his equals, and insupportable to his inferiors. Above all things, he was a lover of pageantry and show. It is affirmed, that in the war of Thoulouse, where he attended the king, he maintained, at his own expence, seven hundred knights, and twelve hundred foot: and Hume asserts, that he afterwards maintained in Normandy, twelve hundred knights, and four thousand of their train, during forty days.

Fitz Stephens, Becket's historian and secretary, mentions, among other particulars, that his apartments were every day covered with clean straw or hay, and in summer with green rushes or boughs; lest the gentlemen who paid court to him, and who could not, by reason of their great number, find a place at table, should soil their fine cloaths by sitting on a dirty floor. King Henry, besides committing all his more important business to Becket's management, honoured him with his friendship and intimacy; and whenever he was disposed to relax himself by sports of any kind, he admitted the chancellor to the party. An instance of their familiarity is mentioned by Fitz Stephens, which, as it shews the manners of the age, it may not be improper to relate. One day, as the king and the chancellor were riding together in the streets of London, they observed a beggar who was shivering with cold. Would it not be very praise-worthy, said the king, to give that poor man a warm coat in this severe season? It would, surely, replied the chancellor; and you do well, Sir, in thinking of such

Henry, who had seen the bad effects in the reign of Stephen, of the authority of the clergy, resolved, upon his accession to the crown, to endeavour to bring this exorbitant power within due bounds. He therefore began with the nobility, to the end their uniting with the clergy might the less obstruct his designs. The affairs which kept him employed in France for some years, prevented him from immediately setting about this work; but as soon as he had settled them, he resolved to lose no time, but to begin upon it the moment he returned to England. This was the reason that he had so earnestly recommended Becket to the see of Canterbury, because he expected a greater compliance from him than any other. The business in hand, was the reforming several abuses which were detrimental to the state, but at the same time advantageous to the clergy, and consequently difficult to be remedied, unless the bishops themselves lent their helping hand. There was need therefore of a great deal of address, and of acting in concert with the archbishop of Canterbury, in so nice an affair. To that purpose, it was necessary that see should be filled with a person on whom he could depend; and no one seemed to him so proper as Becket, whom he had loaded with favours. The archbishop's sending the great seal immediately upon his promotion, made the king imagine that Becket would not act in the manner he wished. The prelate had, no doubt, been made acquainted with the king's designs, whilst he was high-chancellor; and in the mind he then was, had approved of them: but after he became archbishop, the cause became his own. Notwithstanding the obligations laid on him by his

good actions. Then he shall have one presently, cried the king; and seizing the skirt of the chancellor's coat, which was scarlet, and lined with ermine, began to pull it violently. The chancellor defended himself for some time; and they had both of them like to have tumbled off their horses in the streets, when Becket, after a vehement struggle, let go his coat; which the king bestowed on the beggar, who, being ignorant of the quality of the persons, was not a little surprized at the present.

The sackcloth which he wore next his skin, by his affected care to conceal it, was necessarily remarked by all the world: he changed this sackcloth so seldom, says Hume, that it was filled with dirt and vermin: his usual diet was bread, his drink water, which he even rendered farther unpalatable by the mixture of unsavoury herbs: he tore his back with the frequent discipline which he inflicted on it: he daily, on his knees, washed, in imitation of Christ, the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards dismissed with presents: he gained the affections of the monks by his frequent charities to the convents and hospitals: every one who made profession of sanctity was admitted to his conversation, and returned full of panegyrics on the humility, as well as on the piety and mortification of the holy primate: he seemed to be perpetually employed in reciting prayers and pious lectures, or in perusing religious discourses: his aspect wore the appearance of seriousness, mental recollection, and secret devotion: but notwithstanding these disguises, men of penetration plainly perceived, that he was meditating some great design, and that the ambition and ostentation of his character had turned itself towards a new and more dangerous object.

Upon all occasions Becket shewed himself so entirely devoted to the king's will, that Henry looked upon him as one always ready to sacrifice every thing to his service. Whilst the king was in Normandy, news of the death of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, was conveyed to him. This appearing to him a favourable juncture for the putting in execution certain designs he had in agitation, he resolved to procure the archbishopric for Becket, as for a person who might be very serviceable to him. The monks of St. Augustin's had little inclination to choose Becket, whom they thought to be too much a courtier; but the king's recommendation was so urgent in his behalf, that he was elected and consecrated a little before that prince's return. Finding himself in this elevated station, he sent the great seal to his benefactor; and altering on a sudden his manner of living, he wore a habit of coarse cloth, and kept a great number of domestic servants clad very magnificently.

As Becket's exalted situation made his actions greatly connected with the history of his times, we shall have frequent occasion to mention him; therefore to relate every particular of his life in this place, would be to anticipate the reader's curiosity.



prince, he was determined to cross him in the execution of his projects; he pleased himself before-hand with the thoughts of immortal glory, for vigorously espousing the cause of the clergy, which they affectedly called the cause of God.

The remissness in punishing priests convicted of any crime was one of the greatest grievances which called for redress. The clergy having acquired an absolute power over all that belonged to their body, when a clergyman was accused, the matter was tried in the ecclesiastical court, from whence lay no appeal; but the judgements given against such as they could not but condemn, were so favourable, that the most enormous crimes were only punished with degradation, and others with a short suspension, or trifling confinement. The clergy, sure of escaping the rigour of the laws, daily committed outrages against the laity, which they durst not repel for fear of incurring a punishment. This abuse daily increased. It was made to appear, in the presence of the king, that since his accession to the crown, there had been above a hundred murders committed in the kingdom by ecclesiastics, of whom not one had been punished even with degradation, which was the punishment enjoined in the like cases by the canons. And the bishops, far from attempting to redress this grievance, gloried in their indulgence: they were of opinion they could not give surer marks of their zeal for religion and the service of God, than by maintaining, to the utmost of their power, these pretended immunities of the clergy, and consequently all the abuses that sprung from them. A little after the king's return, a clergyman, of the diocese of Sarum, committed a murder. The matter having been tried in the archbishop's court, it was decreed, That the murderer, as a punishment for his crime, should be deprived of his benefice, and confined to a monastery. The king having been informed of this sentence, warmly expostulated with the archbishop, for so slightly punishing a crime which was death by the laws of the land. Becket received this expostulation as if it had been without ground, and boldly asserted the immunities of the church, and the privileges of the clergy. He affirmed, that an ecclesiastic ought not to be put to death for any crime whatever. Henry replied, that being appointed by God to cause justice to be done to all his subjects, without distinction, he did not understand why these pretended immunities should screen malefactors, of what order soever, from the punishments they deserved: that there was no probability God should take pleasure in authorizing the crimes of his ministers; but, on the contrary, that they ought to be punished more severely than laymen. Lastly, he declared that since the ecclesiastical court was so favourable to clergymen, his intent was, that heinous crimes, such as murder, robbery, &c. should be tried in his courts. Becket made answer, he would never allow the clergy to be tried any where but in the ecclesiastical courts, where care should be taken to punish them according to the canons. That in case they should be sentenced to be degraded, and afterwards should commit other crimes, the king's judges might punish them as they thought fit; but it was unjust to punish them twice for the same offence. This dispute was carried on with great warmth, and the king and archbishop parted greatly dissatisfied with one another: Becket had so little regard for the king, that without considering the passion he had put him into, he took this opportunity to upbraid him for having unjustly deprived him of the custody of the castle of Rochester, and by that means broke in upon the privileges of the see of Canterbury. To these occasions of complaint, which he gave the king at that time, he quickly added two others: he summoned the earl of Clare to do him homage for the castle of Tunbridge, which he pretended was a fief of the archbishopric, without having vouchsafed to acquaint the king with any circumstance relating to his subject. The earl answered, that he held his castle of the king by military service, which the archbishop had nothing to do with. Becket, however,

gave up this point. Having failed, he extended his jurisdiction, by collating one Lawrence, a priest, to the rectory of Eynesford, without any regard to the patron's right of presentation. But the patron, who was a baron of the realm, being unwilling to lose his right, hindered Lawrence from taking possession of the benefice. The archbishop looking upon this as a heinous crime, excommunicated the patron, who applied to the king, who was greatly chagrined at the little respect the archbishop showed for him. It had been part of the prerogative royal, ever since William the Conqueror, that none of the immediate vassals of the crown, were to be excommunicated without the king's knowledge: but this was the thing that Becket designed to strike at. Perhaps he had made this step merely for the sake of an opportunity to raise a dispute with the king. Henry, finding his scheme in a manner frustrated, was so dissatisfied, and highly incensed against Becket, who seemed to make it his business to thwart him upon all occasions, and to dispute even his prerogatives, therefore resolved to take new measures to compass his ends. Being willing to try fair means, he ordered the archbishop to be put in mind of the many favours he had received from his sovereign, and the mischief his obstinacy might bring on the church and kingdom. These remonstrances being in vain, he was obliged to search for the means of doing, in spite of the archbishop, what he had resolved to bring about by his help. So far was Becket's opposition from causing him to alter his mind, that it made him the more eager and desirous to reduce the power of the clergy within its just bounds. To this purpose he convened the principal lords of the kingdom, as well spiritual as temporal, in order to consult about the means of redressing the grievances that had been introduced into the state. When they were met, he complained to them of the proceedings of the archbishop of Canterbury. He endeavoured to make them sensible, that in case care was not taken to curb the fury of that prelate's haughty and arrogant temper, he would at length usurp all the prerogatives of the crown, under the pretence of religion. He added, that the steps the archbishop had already made, were plain indications of his designs; and that they could not be too speedy in preventing them. The king perceiving the temporal lords were willing to curb the insolence of the clergy, proposed a regulation, which he assured them was absolutely necessary for the preservation of good order and tranquility in the kingdom. This regulation consisted of five articles, which the king called the customs of Henry I. his grandfather, because they had been observed in the reign of that prince. These were, 1st, That no one should appeal to Rome without the king's consent. 2d, That no archbishop or bishop should go to Rome, though even summoned by the pope, without the king's leave first had and obtained. 3d, That no immediate vassal of the crown, or king's officers, should be excommunicated or subjected without the king's knowledge. 4th, That all clergymen charged with capital crimes should be tried in the king's courts. 5th, That such ecclesiastical affairs as all the nation should be concerned in, as the repairing of churches, tythes, and the like, should be decided in the civil courts. These articles were approved of without any difficulty by the temporal lords; but the bishops and abbots refused to subscribe them, unless this clause, which rendered them of no effect, was added "Saving the rights and privileges of the clergy and church." The king, provoked at their refusal, suddenly quitted the assembly, and went to Woodstock, but not without letting the chief among the clergy know, that he would take effectual measures to set bounds to their pride. The prelates were so terrified at this threat, that before they broke up, they resolved to send deputies to the king, to beg his pardon, and assure him they were ready to comply with his will. Becket stood out a great while against this resolution: but at last, pressed by his brethren, he yielded to their importunity, and consented that the articles should be admitted without the



the saving clause. Those whom he had gained to his side followed his example, and a deputation was made, with which the king seemed satisfied, because it was done with unanimous consent. Still fearing Becket might fly from what he had done, on pretence that this convention had not authority enough to enact laws of this kind; he resolved to get them ratified by an assembly-general, or parliament. To this end he convened a parliament at Clarendon, on the 25th of January, 1164, and propounded the same articles that had been subscribed by the former convention: all the laics having voted their confirmation, the prelates durst not openly oppose it; but when they came to sign, Becket and his party made some scruple to do it; and it was not without difficulty that he was prevailed upon to comply at the instance of the other bishops\*. Notwithstanding the archbishop had subscribed the articles against his will, the king was pleased to find he had so far succeeded, and did not doubt but the pope would

consent to laws which the bishops themselves deemed necessary. In this belief, he resolved to get them confirmed by a bull, in order to take from the prelates all pretence of recanting; but, upon seeing the articles, the pope not only refused to give them the sanction of his authority, but condemned the greater part of them as prejudicial to the church, and destructive of her privileges. Becket, finding the pope disliked their proceedings, openly declared he repented of having signed the articles, and that he thought himself guilty of so heinous a crime in doing it, that he had nothing to trust to for pardon but the pope's mercy. Accordingly he suspended himself as unworthy to perform the archiepiscopal functions till the pope was pleased to absolve him; which was soon transmitted to him, and he officiated again in his church, the pope having given him his word to stand by him. But Alexander, who was at Sens, in France, willing to make Henry believe he had a mind to keep up a good understanding with him,

\* The laws made in this assembly are called the Constitutions of Clarendon, and are well worth perusing, because they contain the chief prerogatives and privileges that were claimed as well by the king as the clergy. They are divided into sixteen articles, of which ten were condemned by the pope, but were still preserved in force. As we suppose that all our readers are not furnished with a copy of those articles, we here present a faithful translation of them:

#### THE CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON.

"AT a council holden at Clarendon, in the presence of king Henry II. in which John of Oxford, the king's chaplain, presided, by order of the king, a recognition was made of the customs and liberties of the king's ancestors (particularly of his grandfather, Henry I.) by the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, and great men of the kingdom, and which ought to be observed, by reason of the disputes which often happened between the clergy and the justices of the king and of the great men.

"I. All suits about the presentation and advowson of churches, between either laity or clergy, shall be tried and determined in the king's court.

"II. Churches of the king's fee cannot be given away in perpetuity without his consent.

"III. Clergymen accused of any crime whatever, and summoned by the king's justices, shall appear in the king's court, and plead to such articles as the court shall require, and in the ecclesiastical court to such persons as are cognizable therein, provided the king's justices send an officer to inspect the proceedings of the ecclesiastical court. And in case a clerk is convicted, or pleads guilty, he is to lose his privileges, and be protected by the church no longer.

"IV. No archbishop, bishops, or parsons, may go out of the realm without the king's licence: and if they have leave, they shall give security, not to ask or attempt any thing, either in their passage, stay, or return, to the prejudice of the king or kingdom.

"V. Excommunicated persons shall not be obliged to make oath, or give security, to continue upon the place where they live; but only to stand to the judgement of the church, in order to their absolution.

"VI. Laymen ought not to be accused in the ecclesiastical court, but by legal and reputable promoters and witnesses, and in the presence of the bishop; yet so as the archdeacon lose not his right, or any of his dues. And if the offenders be such that nobody either will or dare accuse them, the sheriff, at the bishop's instance, shall cause twelve legal men, of the town or vicinage, to make oath before the bishop that they will declare the truth of the matter, according to the best of their knowledge.

"VII. None either of the king's tenants *in capite*, or of his ministerial officers, may be excommunicated, nor any of their lands put under an interdict, unless application be first made to the king, if he be in England, or (in case he be out of the realm) to his justiciary, that he may see justice done in their case; so that, what is cognizable in the king's court may be there determined, and what belongs to the ecclesiastical may be remitted thither.

"VIII. If appeals arise in ecclesiastical causes, they are to be made from the archdeacon to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop: in failure of justice from the archbishop, recourse must be had to the king, that, by his precepts, the suit may be determined in the archbishop's court; nor shall it be lawful to proceed further without the king's consent.

"IX. If a suit arise between a clergyman and a layman, about a tenement, which the first pretends to be held by frank-almoine [*i. e. a tenure of lands or tenements bestowed for perpetual alms*] and the latter maintains it to be a lay-fee, the tenure shall be tried before the king's justiciary, by the verdict of twelve legal men summoned, according to the custom of the court, by order of the king's chief justice; and if the tenement be found to be held in frank-almoine, the first shall be tried in the ecclesiastical court; but if the verdict brings it in a lay-fee, that suit shall be carried on in the king's court, unless they both held of the same lord, either spiritual or temporal, in which case it shall be tried in his court, provided, however, that the person seised of the tenement in question, shall not, on account of such verdict, be dis-seised till the suit is determined.

"X. If any inhabitant of a city, castle, borough, or demesne-manor of the king, be cited for any crime by the archdeacon or bishop, and will not make satisfaction upon their summons, they may interdict him from divine service; but they ought not to excommunicate him till the king's principal officer of the place be made acquainted therewith, that he may oblige the person to make satisfaction to the church; and if such officer fail in so doing, he shall be fineable at the king's pleasure, and the bishop may then exert his ecclesiastical authority upon the accused person.

"XI. All archbishops and bishops, and other clergymen possessed of ecclesiastical dignities or benefices, who hold of the king *in capite*, are to look upon their estates as baronies, and shall appear before the king's justices and officers, to answer the duties of the tenure, and shall observe and perform all the royal customs, rights, and services, and shall hold themselves as other barons, obliged to be present at judicial proceedings in the king's court, till such time as sentence comes to be given against life or limb.

"XII. When any archbishopric, bishopric, abbey, or priory, of royal foundation or patronage, becomes vacant, the king shall enter thereupon, and receive all the issues and profits thereof, as of his own demesne lands; and when he shall think fit that such church be provided for, the king shall send his mandate to all the chief persons of the chapter or convent, and the election shall be made in the king's chapel, with the king's consent, and by the advice of such dignitaries of the realm as the king shall call together for that purpose; and the person so elected shall there, before his consecration, do homage and fealty to the king, as to his liege lord, for life, limb, and earthly honour, saving his order.

"XIII. If any of the chief nobility of the realm do violently oppose the archbishop, or bishop, or archdeacon, in doing justice on themselves, or on their tenants, the king shall take cognizance of the matter, and oblige him to submit to justice. And if any one deny the king his rights, and decline standing the judgement of the court, the archbishop, bishop, and archdeacons, shall employ their authority and censures to oblige him to make the king satisfaction.

"XIV. The goods and chattels of such as have forfeited to the king, shall not be detained in any church, or church-yard to secure them from being seized according to law, because they belong to the king wherever they are found, as well within the precincts of the church as without.

"XV. All actions and suits for debt, due either upon oath of solemn promise, or otherwise contracted, shall be tried in the king's courts.

"XVI. The sons of villans, or copy-holders, are not to be ordained without the consent of the lord of the manor where they were known to be born."



sent the archbishop of Rouen to him with proposals of an accommodation; but as he had nothing positive to offer, and as the king would not hearken to any proposal, unless the pope would confirm the articles of Clarendon, there was no possibility of bringing matters to a conclusion.

The king finding the archbishop became every day more obstinate on account of the pope's promise, resolved to humble him. To this end, he involved him in troubles, which gave him great vexation, but was incapable of bringing him to a compliance. Among several actions that were entered against him, there were two of moment: The first related to a certain manor which he was in possession of, and which John, the king's marshal, pretended was unjustly detained from him. The archbishop, having stood a trial, was cast and condemned to pay a fine of five hundred pounds. This sentence convinced him that they were resolved to curb his power as much as possible; and that he should lose all the suits that were commenced against him. Thus persuaded, he refused to plead to any of them, chusing rather to be cast for non-appearance, than by a peremptory decree. The king seemed hitherto not to intend to make him feel the whole weight of his resentment; but soon after it appeared that his design was to ruin him; and therefore ordered him to be accused of two capital crimes: The first was, for having converted to his own use the revenues of the archbishopric of York, of which he had the custody during the chancellorship; and in the second he was charged with having embezzled thirty thousand pounds sterling of the king's money. Instead of clearing himself from what was alledged against him, he answered, that when he was made archbishop, prince Henry, the king's son (who, we may remark, was not above seven or eight years of age, though, during the absence of his father, he was styled guardian of the realm) and the justiciary had discharged him from giving any account. He added, that, supposing he had not been discharged, he was not bound to answer before laymen, seeing he was invested with the first ecclesiastical dignity in the kingdom. All possible endeavours were used to get him to own the jurisdiction of the king's court, where his affair was brought; but he could not be persuaded to it. He even refused to wait on the king, who had sent for him to try whether, by discoursing with him in person, he could bring him to comply. This refusal furnished the king with a pretence to bring against him two fresh accusations: first, for having fled from justice: secondly, for having disobeyed the king's orders. Upon these charges, to which he would not plead, all his moveable goods were confiscated. But this was not at all; the king perceived that the indictment was so formed that the court could not touch Becket's person, and, therefore, he ordered him to be accused of perjury and treason, for having violated the oath he had taken to his sovereign, and refused to pay the obedience due to him. This convinced the archbishop that the king was bent upon his destruction; but this also, instead of inducing him to submit, served only to make him more obstinate. When it was found there was no probability of prevailing upon him, the court declared him perjured, and the bishops in particular sent him word, that they considered him not as their primate, neither would they hold communion with him any longer. All this not moving him in the least, he looked upon the sentence passed upon him as void, and continued his functions, without troubling himself about the displeasure of the king.

The barons avoided giving sentence on the charge of treason, which would have been punishable with death, with a view that he might obtain pardon by submitting to the king's will. But finding he was still immovable, the court met once more to consult about the means to subdue his perverseness. No sooner was he informed the barons were assembled in the presence of the king, then he went to church, and ordered these words of the second psalm to be sung: "The rulers

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"take council together against the Lord, and against his anointed." Then taking his cross in his hand, he entered the room where the king and barons were sitting; without being sent to, or asking leave; though since the judgement passed upon him he had no right to be there. The archbishop of York, seeing him enter in that posture, severely reprimanded him: he told him, that coming into the royal presence in that abrupt manner was bidding defiance to the king; and desired him to consider that his sovereign's weapon was sharper than his. Becket replied, "It was true, the king's weapon could kill the body, but his destroyed the soul, and sent it to hell." This answer, which seemed to threaten the king with excommunication, so provoked that monarch, that he ordered the barons to pass sentence on the crime Becket had just then incurred the guilt of by his presumption. The court, after a long debate, declared he deserved to be committed to prison, and punished according to law, for insulting the king, and coming into the assembly in such a manner as might raise a sedition among the people. He, however, refused to hear his sentence; and declared that the peers had no authority to judge him, and that he appealed to the pope. It was then represented to him, that by refusing to submit to the laws of the realm, he incurred the guilt of treason; whereupon he replied, that were it not for the restraints of his character, he would vindicate himself in single combat against those who should dare to charge him with that crime, and make them repent of their calumny. However, he did not think proper to wait the issue, but privately departed that night in disguise, in order to retire into Flanders, going by the name of Dereman. The king of France was glad to hear that in all likelihood matters would not easily be made up between Henry and the archbishop of Canterbury. He hoped that this disagreement would embroil England in troubles of which France might make an advantage. With this view, he sent him an officer for his protection, and of a refuge in his dominions. Henry, being informed of this transaction of Lewis, sent ambassadors to represent to him, that it was very unbecoming a sovereign to shelter traitors. To this Lewis replied, that he thought it right to afford a sanctuary in his kingdom to the unfortunate: that Becket was of that number, and he could not but consider him as such till the pope had passed sentence upon him. Thus jealousy and state-policy induced that prince to insist on the pope's authority in a thing prejudicial to sovereigns in general. His passion prevented him from reflecting that in this affair he could not wound Henry but through his own sides. He was not content with sheltering the fugitive prelate, but even importuned the pope to espouse his cause, and turned solicitor against Henry.

The pope did not want much entreaty; for he rightly imagined, that if he deserted the archbishop of Canterbury, he should find none, among the clergy, that would, for the future, support the rights of the church. So that the downfall of that prelate could not but prove fatal to the interests of the clergy. As soon as he heard that Becket was condemned, and forced to fly like a criminal, he passionately exclaimed against Henry and the barons of England, and threatened to make them repent of their rash proceedings. Henry, in the interim, thinking he should be able to prepossess the pope in his favour, had sent ambassadors to inform him of all the particulars, and to desire him to send legates to England with full powers finally to decide the affair. The archbishop of York, who was at the head of this embassy, spoke with great vehemence against Becket. He charged him with want of respect to the king, and of having menaced him with excommunication. He maintained that the archbishop was guilty of rebellion, in refusing to stand to the judgement of the court of barons, under the ridiculous pretence, that he was their father, and that it was against decency, for a father to be judged by his sons. Becket, who was present at this audience, spoke likewise for himself, and endeavoured to justify his

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conduct. He said, that he could not be obliged to answer in a civil court, without a direct violation of the canons of the church; that supposing he had thought proper to own the authority of the court, he should have been prevented from standing to their judgement by his knowledge of their resolution to condemn him; and that he declared he could not see wherein he had done amiss in appealing to the pope; since it could not be denied but that he was the proper judge, from whom he expected an impartial sentence. Then addressing himself to the pope and cardinals, he intreated them to consider the dangerous consequences this affair might be attended with, if they suffered him to be oppressed: that they were not to look upon this business as a contest between a subject and his sovereign, but as the cause of the universal church, since it was evident, that the king's intent was to strip the clergy of their privileges. The ambassadors perceiving by this discourse, that his wish was to engage the whole church in his quarrel, took occasion to insist the more earnestly on the king's request, that the affair might be tried in England by the legates of the holy see. By which they made it appear, that the king their master had no design against the church, since he was willing to abide by her judgement. This demand seemed so reasonable, that the pope had no other way to refuse their request, than by saying, he would take cognizance of the matter himself; adding, by way of justifying his resolution, that, in imitation of the Almighty, "he would not give his glory to another." The reason why the pope declined sending legates, was his dread of their being bribed; and he desired the king to put off the trial to a more convenient season. We apprehend, that the cause of the pope's delay was on account of his being called to Rome by his party upon the death of Victor, his rival; but the schism was still kept on foot, by the cardinals of the opposite side of the question; for they elected another pope, who assumed the name of Palchal III.

Henry being incensed at Alexander's proceedings, as a mark of his resentment he forbid, under the severest penalties, all appeals to Rome. This prohibition was quickly followed by an order to commit to prison, all the relations of those that had accompanied Becket in his flight, or that were gone to join him since his departure. He then sequestered, in the hands of the bishop of London, the means of all the ecclesiastics that had openly sided with the archbishop, in order to prevent them from assisting him: and also he enjoined the magistrates to punish upon the spot, as traitors, all persons that should be taken either with the pope's or Becket's letters or mandates about them, importing the excommunication of any private person, or an interdict upon the kingdom. He ordered likewise the revenues of the see of Canter-

bury to be seized, and all the archbishop's effects; and forbidding all persons to pray for him in the church, he banished all his relations, not sparing even the most distant. These rigorous proceedings exasperating the archbishop; and he excommunicated, in 1166, all that adhered to the Constitutions of Clarendon, and particularly some of the lords of the council, who made a jest of his censures. At length, finding the king was bent to maintain his ground, he took the liberty to send him a threatening letter, which we shall here subjoin as a note, because it serves to discover the true character of that prelate\*. This letter was hardly capable of appeasing the incensed king; and it is no easy matter to believe, that the writer thought it proper for that end, or that he penned it with that intent. Henry, however, knowing that the king of France fomented the disunion between him and the court of Rome, by his telling the pope he would stand by him, had an inclination to let his holiness see on how weak a support he relied, in case things came to an open rupture. To this end he levied a numerous army, as well to prevent any revolt the pope might stir up in his dominions, as to be in a condition to oppose the king of France in case of an attack. This precaution, no doubt, hindered Alexander from proceeding so vigorously as he intended, and made him perceive the danger of precipitating matters. In the interim, the bishop of London, and the rest of the suffragans of the province of Canterbury, wrote to the archbishop on account of his letter to the king, and remonstrated to him the pride he had shewn in writing to his sovereign without the customary salutations, as if he had written to an inferior. They represented to him, moreover, the mean estate from whence the king had raised him to such grandeur, his ingratitude to a prince whom he was so much indebted to, and his arrogance in daring to threaten a monarch so far exalted above him. In short, they gave him notice that they appealed to the pope, as a remedy against whatever he should act for the future against them or the kingdom, and appointed Ascension-Day, for the producing the reasons of their appeal. The pope, being fearful of Henry's large army, appointed legates to go and decide the affair in England, and ordered them to depart immediately. He greatly magnified to the king this piece of condescension: but the legates were hardly set out, when he clogged the powers he had given them with restrictions, that prevented them from giving a decisive sentence. The legates being arrived at London, and setting about the business they came upon, a fresh obstacle unexpectedly occurred. Becket refused to put his cause into their hands, unless the king would first restore all that he had taken from him or his friends. He further insisted upon a general revocation of all the orders he had given since the beginning of the contest. [This is a clear evidence, that the legates had not full

\* THOMAS, *Archbishop of CANTERBURY,*  
To the KING of ENGLAND.

"I Have most earnestly desired to see you; and although I cannot deny, but that in this I had a view to my own, yet it was your interest that lay nearest my heart. I was in hopes, that when you should see me again, you would call to mind the many services I have done you, with all imaginable regard and affection. For the truth of which, I appeal to Him who is to judge all mankind, when they shall appear before his tribunal, to be rewarded according to their deeds. I flattered myself that you would be moved with compassion towards me, who am forced to beg my bread in a strange land, though, by the grace of God, I have plenty of all things necessary for my subsistence. I receive, however, great consolation from the words of the apostle, they that live in Christ shall suffer persecution: and likewise from that saying of the prophet, I never saw the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread. As to what relates to you, I cannot but be sensibly affected with it for three reasons: first, because you are my liege-lord: secondly, because you are my king: thirdly, because you are my spiritual son. As my liege-lord I owe and offer you my best advice, such, however, as is due from a bishop, saving the honour of God and of the church. As my king, I owe you a profound respect, and, at the same time, am bound to

direct my admonitions to you. As my son, it is my duty to correct and exhort you. Kings are anointed in three places, the head, the breast, and the arms, the which denote glory, holiness, and power. We find from several instances taken from the Scriptures, that the kings who despised the commandments of the Lord were deprived of glory, understanding, and might: such were Pharaoh, Saul, Solomon, Nebuchadnezzar, and many others. On the contrary, they that humbled themselves before God received a larger measure of grace, and in greater perfection. This was experienced by David, Hezekiah, and some others. Take, therefore, my liege-lord, the advice of your vassal: hearken, my king, to the admonitions of your bishop, and receive, my son, the corrections of your father, lest you are drawn aside into schism, or persuaded to hold communion with schismatics. All the world knows with what honour and devotion you received the pope, how respectfully and zealously you protected the church of Rome, and what suitable returns the church and pope have made you. Remember, therefore, the declaration you made, and even laid upon the altar at your coronation, to protect the church of God in all her immunities. Restore the church of Canterbury, from which you received your authority, to the state it was in under your predecessors and mine: otherwise be assured that you will draw down on your head the wrath and vengeance of God."



powers to decide the matter, since the archbishop's refusal to abide by their judgement, without these conditions, was sufficient to stop their proceedings, and that the pope intended only to amuse him. Becket's friends, however dreading the king would proceed to extremities, advised him to give his sovereign some satisfaction. He told them, he was ready to comply with the king's will, provided it was consistent with "his honour, the church's possessions, his own, and the right of others." His friends not being able to succeed in this, by reason of his inflexibility, put another question to him, whether he would agree to resign the archbishopric, if the king would, upon that condition, give up the articles of Clarendon. But he was not willing to give that proof of his disinterestedness; and told them, that he would not be acting consistently, since he could not renounce his dignity, without betraying the cause of God and the church; whereas the king was bound, in conscience, to annul his new laws. This reply, and the limited powers the pope had given his legates, entirely cut off all the king's hopes, and put him upon the resolution of creating the archbishop a great deal of trouble. He therefore sent word to the abbot of Pontigni, who for two years entertained Becket in his monastery, that unless he caused him to go from that place immediately, he would drive out of his dominions all the monks of his order\*, and seize upon their estates. Hereupon Becket was forced to quit the abbey; but it was not long before he found another place of refuge. The king of France admitted him into Sens, where he often resided, and accommodated him with all things necessary: his frequent conversations with that monarch, were a great means of increasing the jealousy and animosity he had already entertained against Henry.

Towards the latter end of this year, 1166, queen Eleanor was delivered of a fourth son, who was called John. The birth of this prince was followed in 1167, by the death of the empress Matilda, mother to the king, in the sixty-seventh year of her age†. She left in her will very considerable legacies to the poor and the churches, and bequeathed a large sum for the finishing the bridge at Rouen, which she had begun.

Neither the pope nor the archbishop had much reason to boast of the success of their controversy with Henry. Becket, deprived of his revenues, languished away his days in a melancholy exile, whilst the pope received no profits from England. His holiness‡ easily foresaw, that if things remained in this situation, his authority would be in danger of being trod upon, not only in England, but in other parts of Christendom. Barbarossa was the 19th emperor of Germany from Charlemagne: upon a quarrel with Alexander, he was excommunicated, and at length forced to submit to the pope, who insolently trod on his neck. The pope sought now to terminate the matter to his own advantage. Therefore, to make the king uneasy, he showed an extraordinary regard for Becket, and confirmed to him all the privileges his predecessors had enjoyed, affecting by this unreasonable and ill-timed respect to insult the king. Henry, willing to be even with him, caused a rumour to be spread that he was going to withdraw his obedience from Alexander, and recognize Paschal III. And with that view he wrote to some of the princes of Germany, to acquaint them that he was about to take that resolution. To let the king see that his threats made no impression on him, Alexander sent a letter to the bishop of London, wherein he seemed willing to throw off all regard for that prince. He commanded the bishop to admonish him, and to enjoin him from him, to restore the archbishop of Canterbury to his see, and annul the Constitutions of Clarendon. The bishop discharged his commission; and sent his holiness an answer, wherein he represented to him that the king

had made no innovations, but only trod in the steps of his predecessors; that his conduct could not in reason be blamed, since he offered to submit to the judgement of the church, provided the affair might be tried in the kingdom.

Hitherto the king had had the better of the affair; but he wanted to clear his hands of this troublesome business, which obstructed the execution of the design he had formed of conquering Ireland. Besides, he foresaw that this dispute would, in the end, turn to his disadvantage, and be very prejudicial to the nation. In this belief, he desired the king of France, in 1168, to appoint a place where the two monarchs might have an interview with the archbishop, in order to hear what he had to say in his defence. Lewis having agreed to this request, Becket appeared before the two kings, and very boldly defended himself. After which, being asked whether he would own that he was bound to obey his sovereign, he made answer, he was ready to pay obedience to him in all the things, saving the honour of God. How reasonable soever this reservation might appear, Henry looked upon it as an evasion; and told the king of France, that Becket had made no promise; since, by this saving clause, he reserved a power to pronounce whatever he should not relish, contrary to the honour of God: but, continued he, I shall make him this offer, which cannot be suspected of having a double meaning: "There have been in England kings not so powerful as myself, and archbishops that have been great and holy men; let him but pay me the same regard as the greatest of his predecessors paid the least of mine, and I am satisfied." This was not what Becket wanted; for he knew very well it would be a hard matter to justify his claims by any former precedents. Accordingly he rejected the offer, on pretence that as the affair was now before the pope, he could not agree to any thing without his consent. How great partiality soever the king of France had all along shown for Becket, he could not help owning on this occasion, that the archbishop's obstinacy was the sole obstacle to a peace; but it made no impression upon Becket; who knew the pope's interest would not suffer him to draw back.

That Becket was not mistaken, appeared soon after. Alexander, in 1169, sent the king notice, that he could not dispense with granting the archbishop a power to revenge with the sword of excommunication, the injuries done to the church and his own person. As soon as Becket had the pope's leave, he thundered out anathemas against such numbers of the clergy, that hardly a sufficient number who were not excommunicated were left to officiate in the king's chapel. As the majority were inclined to favour the cause he maintained, he charged them with shameful prevarication, in not openly espousing his quarrel. Henry provoked at these proceedings, appealed to a future council, and sent the pope word, that unless he immediately dispatched legates with full powers to decide the affair, he should take such measures as would not be very pleasing to him. This menace threw Alexander into great perplexity, because he could not forbear being apprehensive of an alliance between the king and the emperor. On the other hand, he was so deeply engaged to maintain the pretended rights of the church, that he could not desist without great prejudice to the holy see. In this case he had recourse to the usual methods which the court of Rome ever practices with success on the like occasions: he appeared willing that the affair should be tried in England; and accordingly, he ordered the legates to set forward, who met the king in Normandy. But as they were getting ready to go to him, they received fresh instructions, whereby they were expressly forbid to give a decisive sentence, without acquainting the archbishop

\* Cistercians.

† She was buried at Rouen, in the abbey of St. Mary de Piez.

‡ This is the same Alexander that some years after treated so shamefully the emperor Frederic Barbarossa at Venice.



of Sens with it. This was enough to blast all hopes of a sudden peace, no one being more averse to it than that prelate. Some time after, the pope willing to keep Henry still in the belief that matters might be amicably adjusted, desired the kings of England and France to consider of means to put an end to the dispute. Whereupon Henry being come to Paris, Becket was ordered to appear once more before the two princes. This conference, which was designed purely to amuse Henry, succeeded no better than the former. The archbishop, without giving up the least point, still insisted upon it, that before a treaty was begun the king ought to make restitution of all that had been taken from him or his; to which Henry would not consent, without knowing first the terms of reconciliation. The only thing he offered as a mark of his being inclined to peace, was the referring the matter to the judgement of the French divines; but this offer having been rejected, the negotiation broke off; and the king had this satisfaction, that the world was again satisfied of his pacific inclination.

Shortly after the king received information, that the archbishop of Sens pressed the pope to put England under an interdict, and to excommunicate Henry for an obstinate heretic. Hereupon Henry published a fresh edict in England, forbidding the receiving any orders from the pope or Becket. Moreover he decreed, that in case a letter of interdict should come into the kingdom, all who submitted to it should be hanged on the spot as traitors to their king and country. In short, he enjoined all clergymen that were abroad to return to their churches, on pain of forfeiting all their incomes, and suspended any payment of Peter-pence till further orders. These proceedings made the pope apprehensive of some unlucky revolution, if he should carry things to extremity; and therefore he left the business undecided, waiting for an opportunity that should enable him to decide the affair advantageously.

Henry, who had spent almost four years in France, returned home in 1170, with a view to regulate some matters which his absence had hindered him from attending to. The administration of justice was so shamefully neglected, that upon his arrival he found himself obliged to send commissioners into the several counties with full powers to enquire into the misdemeanors of the magistrates\*, and to punish the guilty. This and some other affairs relating to the good of the public being settled to the people's satisfaction, Henry convened a general assembly, at which were present the

bishops, abbots, earls, barons, sheriffs, and aldermen of the principal cities of the kingdom. Before the numerous assembly he caused Henry, his eldest son, to be crowned by the archbishop of York, the bishops of London and Durham assisting at the solemnity. The next day the young king received the fealties of all the lords spiritual and temporal, and of the magistrates of the cities and counties who were summoned on purpose to be present at the coronation. At the feast that was made upon this occasion, the king would carry up the first dish to the table: then speaking to his son, told him, "Never was monarch served in a more honourable manner." But the young king, instead of returning the compliment, as it became him, turned to the archbishop of York, who was next to him, and said in a low voice: "It is no such great condescension in the son of an earl to serve the son of a king." This coronation was performed with an universal consent; and greatly chagrined Becket. The king of France was highly offended that his daughter was not crowned with the prince her spouse. His discontent, joined to some other occasions of quarrelling, which are seldom wanting to neighbouring princes, was the cause of his taking up arms again. But this war was of little consequence, as it was almost as soon ended as begun, by a treaty of peace concluded between the two monarchs.

Soon after this rupture Henry was seized with a violent fever at Domfront, in the province of Maine, and was so dangerously ill, that, believing he was near his end, he hastily made his will. To Henry, his eldest son, he gave England, Normandy, Maine, and Anjou; and to Richard, his second son, Guienne and Poitou. He thought Bretagne sufficient for Geoffrey, which he was to enjoy after the death of duke Conan, his brother-in-law; and he was satisfied with recommending John, his fourth son, to be provided for by his eldest brother. Henry's indisposition had another considerable effect. The approach of death having raised scruples in the king's breast, which he had not minded whilst in health, he resolved to be reconciled with Becket, in case he recovered. He considered that the archbishop had been sufficiently punished by a six years exile, during which space he had been deprived of his revenues. Besides, he was desirous, if it pleased God to prolong his days, to sit down in quiet, which the pope threatened continually to disturb, by thundering out the church's censures against him. Pursuant to

\* As the articles of examination, made use of on this occasion, throw great light on the ministerial part of the law at that time, we shall here insert them:

"I. The first article of enquiry was, what sums sheriffs had, during the four last years, received of every hundred, township, and particular man, to the grievance of the public or of private persons; what they had taken by judgement of the county or hundred, and what without judgement; distinguishing the sums so taken into different lists, with the cause and evidence upon which they were taken?

"II. What lands the sheriffs, or their bailiffs, had bought, or received in pawn or mortgage?

"III. How much and what the prelates, nobility, knights, and corporations of the realm, and their seneschals, bailiffs, and ministers, had received upon their lands, for the same time, for the several hundreds, townships, and vassals, by or without judgement; putting down all their takings in writing, with the causes and occasions thereof?

"IV. What and how much the king's officers, entrusted with the rents and profit of vacant prelacies, and the custody of honours, baronies, and escheats, had gained in their employments?

"V. What had been given, in any place, to the king's itinerant bailiffs or officers?

"VI. What was become of the goods of such as had either suffered by the assize of Clarendon, or fled out of the kingdom on that (i.e. Becket's) account; what had been received of every hundred, township, and person: whether any one had been wrongfully accused in that assize, for reward, promise, hatred, or in any unjust manner; or if any accused person had been released, or had his judgement reversed, for reward, promise, or affection, and who received the premium,

what had been received in every hundred and township, and of every man, for the aid to marry the king's daughter, and who received it?

"VII. What and how much the foresters and their bailiffs, or under officers, had taken, for the said term, within their several districts, in what manner, or on what occasion soever; and if, for any reward, promise, or friendship, they had remitted any of the king's dues, and the forfeitures of forests, or pardoned any that had forfeited on account of harts, hinds, and other game; and if the foresters, or their bailiffs, after attacking, taking security, or prosecuting any one, had released him without trial or fine? All persons guilty of these practices, were to be noted down; and all accused of any fault, were to give security to appear before the king on the day he should appoint, to do right according to law; or, for want of such security, to be imprisoned.

"VIII. Whether the sheriffs, or the lords of manors, and their respective bailiffs, had returned any thing they had taken, or had made their peace with the people, upon hearing of the king's return, to keep them from laying their complaint before him or his justiciaries?

"IX. Whether any person had, for reward or affection, been accused or abated any thing of what he had been first amerced, and by whom this was done?

"X. They were to enquire, likewise, into every diocese, what, how much, and for what cause, the archdeacon, or rural deans, had taken from any one illegally, and without judgement? The whole to be written down and noted.

"XI. The last point of enquiry was, what persons owing homage to the king, had not done it to him, or his son? And of these a roll was to be made."





Henry II after having his Son crowned King serving the first dish to his Table.

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Saunders sculp.



*Engraved for. Ashburton's History of England.*



*Archbishop Becket murdered at the Altar of Canterbury Cathedral*



this resolution, as soon as his health permitted, he held a conference with the king of France at Montmirail, where Becket was also present. The king agreed to almost every thing the archbishop demanded; but, after they had adjusted the terms, as Becket was stepping up to the king to give him the Kiss of Peace, he took it in his head to say, that he was going to salute him to "the Honour of God." The king, not thoroughly satisfied of his sincerity, refused to receive his salute accompanied with those words. The archbishop, on the other hand, insisted upon saying them; so that all the pains taken to adjust matters became of no effect by the over-strained nicety of both parties. But Henry, being willing to get clear of this business, appointed another interview at Amboise, where the king of France came attended by several princes and lords. Here at length all difficulties were surmounted: Henry was reconciled with Becket, and swore to restore him to the state he was in before his banishment; and likewise to make restitution to his relations and friends of all that had been taken from them since his going out of England. Thus this contest seemed to be happily ended by the generosity of the king, who protested that he heartily forgave all that was passed. The archbishop, however, was not so easily appeased. Though he obliged Henry to pardon all those who had offended him, he himself could not resolve to forgive those whom he thought he had reason to complain of. He was chiefly exasperated against the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London, Durham, and Exeter, who had acted the most openly against him. Before he left France, in order to return into England, he obtained leave of the pope to suspend the first, and excommunicate the others, and accordingly did so the moment he set foot on land. He had even no regard to the intreaties of the young king, who having notice of his design, had sent messengers to him to divert him from it. Though by this refusal he had given that prince just cause of complaint against him, yet would he go and salute him at Woodstock, where he resided. The archbishop stopped on the road, in Southwark, with a design to be at Woodstock next day; but he received a letter from the young king, ordering him to repair immediately to Canterbury. Though this was a great mortification to him, he thought fit to obey the order. Accordingly he set forward for the capital of his diocese, where he made his entry amidst the acclamations of the

meaner sort of people, whilst the more confederate were sorry to see him thus triumphant; who, far from being humbled by his long exile, was grown more proud and haughty. This they had reason to perceive in a more especial manner, when mounting his archiepiscopal chair on Christmas-day, he solemnly excommunicated Nigel de Sackville and Robert Brock, both distinguished for their birth and high posts. He accused the former of unjustly detaining a manor belonging to the archbishopric, and the latter of having cut off the tail of a horse that was carrying provisions to his palace. The suspended and excommunicated prelates immediately repaired to the king, who was then in Normandy, and laid the complaints of Becket's arbitrary behaviour before him. The archbishop of York added, that as long as Becket was alive, it was impossible for England to enjoy any tranquility. Henry, exasperated by these complaints, and tired out with being thus incessantly plagued by the insolence of a subject whom he had raised from the dust, could not help uttering these words aloud: "I am very unhappy, that among the great numbers I maintain, there is not a man who dares undertake to revenge the affronts I perpetually receive from the hands of a wretched priest." These words were not dropped in vain: four of the king's domestics\* reflecting on the king's reproaches, plotted together to rid him of his enemy. To this end they went to Canterbury, in 1171, where they agreed to put their design in execution. One day, as the archbishop was gone to the cathedral, with few attendants, they entered the church armed, and advancing towards the altar where he was standing, they upbraided him in an outrageous manner for his pride and ingratitude: to which he returned so resolute an answer, as to give them a handle to put their design in practice. As they were not come with an intent to reproach him only, they struck him on the head with their clubs in so violent a manner, that his blood and brains flew about the altar. After they had committed this action they went off peaceably, no one offering to them the least molestation†. The resolution Becket showed on this occasion, the zeal he expressed, by recommending to God, with his last breath, the cause of the church, and the time and manner of his death, aggravated the guilt of his murderers, and gained him more friends after he was dead, than ever he had in his life time‡.

To avoid breaking off the narrative of this famous contest,

\* Fitz-Stephen calls them barons and servants of the bed-chamber, their names were Reginal Fitz-Urse, William Tracy, Richard Britten, and Hugh Morvil.

† Not daring to return to the king, they went and staid a year at Knaresborough-Castle in Yorkshire, belonging to Hugh Morvil; after which Hoveden says they went to Rome for absolution, and were enjoined to go to Jerusalem and do penance on the Black Mountain for life. We have an account of the manner of the archbishop's death at large, by Gervase of Canterbury, and Edward Rync, who were eye-witnesses. This last had his arm almost cut off by receiving the first blow that was made at Becket's head, occasioned, as he says, by the archbishop's calling Fitz-Urse, pimp. He was assassinated on the 30th of December, 1171, reckoning the beginning of the year from Christmas-Day.

‡ Thus died this famous archbishop, says Rapin, whom some have ranked amongst the most illustrious martyrs, whilst others believe they might, without any injury, deny him the character of an honest man, and a good Christian. About fifty years after his death, it was the subject of a public dispute at the University of Paris, whether Becket was in Heaven or Hell, so ambiguous a point was his sanctity. Some asserted, that for his extreme pride, he had deserved to be damned. Others, on the contrary, maintained, that the miracles wrought at his tomb were undoubted proofs of his salvation. It is true, indeed, this last argument would have been unanswerable, if these miracles had been as evidently proved as they were industriously spread. Be this as it will, it is confessed Becket suffered martyrdom; but the business is to determine, whether it was indeed for the cause of God and religion, or solely for that of the pope and clergy. I shall leave the reader to make what reflections he thinks proper on this subject: whilst I content myself with relating the consequences of  
No. XIII.

this prelate's death, which are no less remarkable than the incidents of his life. He had deserved too well of the court of Rome, not to have a place in the catalogue of the saints. There were many in that list who, in the opinion of the court of Rome itself, were not so worthy of that honour as one that had spilt his blood in defence of the church. He was therefore canonized two or three years after his death. How desirous soever the pope might be to show his gratitude to the memory of so faithful a servant, there was a necessity first that the world should be convinced that the cause he died for was approved by God; otherwise, his canonization might have been objected against. Nothing was more proper to infuse this belief into the minds of the people than miracles. Accordingly, such multitudes were forthwith wrought at the tomb of the new martyr, that, in any other age, the number and nature of these miracles, instead of satisfying the world, would have had a quite contrary effect. Neither Christ nor his Apostles worked the like, or so many, to prove the truth of Christianity, as this new saint did to authorize the privileges and immunities of the clergy. It was not thought sufficient to assert, that he restored dead men to life; but it was further affirmed, that he raised the very beasts. It was given out for certain, that being exposed to view in the church before he was buried, he rose up out of his coffin, and went and lighted the wax-candles which had been put out. It is said also, that after the funeral ceremony was over, he lifted up his head to bless the people. To all these miracles abundance more are added, equally becoming the majesty of God: however, they were spread abroad with that confidence, that not a man was found hardy enough to show the least sign of calling them in question. The pope's legates, sent some time after to examine into these matters, found the people at Canterbury so possessed of the truth of all these relations, that upon  
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contest between the king and the archbishop, we were obliged to defer till now, the giving an account of certain occurrences which happened in the interval, the most remarkable of which we shall here lay down.

In 1165, during the heat of the dispute, the archbishop of Cologne came into England in order to conduct Matilda, the king's daughter, to the duke of Saxony, to whom she was betrothed. All the princes of Germany being for the anti-pope Paschal, they were considered as schismatics in every place where Alexander was acknowledged as the true pope. This is the reason that, after the departure of the archbishop, the churches, where he and the priests that attended him had said mass, were all consecrated a-new. The king durst not oppose this proceeding, for fear of making the breach wider between him and Alexander, whom he was willing to preserve a good understanding with.

In 1166, about thirty heretics from Germany arrived in England, being headed by one Gerhard. It is not distinctly known wherein their heresy consisted; in all likelihood they fathered upon them, by forced inferences, opinions which they did not entertain. They were summoned before a council held on purpose at Oxford, where they were condemned and delivered over to the secular power. The king treated these people very severely; and after he had branded them in the cheek with a hot iron, he forbid all his subjects to give them any relief. The prohibition having been punctually observed, all those wretches miserably perished with hunger, without any one's hearing them make the least complaint of this most inhuman ulage.

Malcolm, king of Scotland, died about this time, and was succeeded by William his brother.

The marriage of Eleanor, daughter of Henry, with Alphonfus, king of Castile, was concluded in 1169, a little before Becket's return into England.

In the year 1170, Madawg, a younger son of Owen Gwynedd, prince of North Wales, observing a continual strife reign amongst his brethren for a scanty inheritance of barren rocks, determined to try his fortune in search of a more peaceful country. He accordingly fitted out two ships, and, sailing westward, discovered the southern shores of North America. Leaving part of his followers there, he was enabled, providentially, to return to Europe; and, on representing to his countrymen what had happened, so many of them were induced to share in his enterprize, that, in his second emigration, he sailed, nearly in the same direction, with ten ships completely filled, but without being so fortunate as to fall in with those he left behind in his first voyage\*. There are good grounds to assert, that Madawg, in this second voyage, fell in with the coast of the Carolinas; for the first discovery of the descendants of that emigration, was made by the Rev. Morgan Jones, in 1685, who found them, or at least a party of them, up Pontigo river. In consequence of the European colonies spreading over that country, or for some other causes, they removed up the country to Kentucky, where evident traces of them have been lately found; such as the ruins of forts, mill-stones, earthenware, and other things. It is presumed that, as their situation there was secluded, and not liable to be molested, they left it only in consequence of discovering a more inviting country; and none could be more so, than that where they finally settled. The center of the country of the Madawgwys, and where their

villages are most numerous, is situated in about thirty-eight degrees of north latitude, and one hundred and two degrees of west longitude from London; but they extend (possibly in detached communities) from about thirty-seven degrees of north latitude, and ninety-seven degrees of west longitude, to forty-three degrees of north latitude, and one hundred and ten degrees of west longitude. The general name of Cymry is not lost amongst them, though they call themselves Madawgwys, Madogaid, Madagiaint, and Madogion; names of the same import, meaning the people of Madawg: hence the French travellers in Louisiana have called them Padoucas, Matocantes, and other names bearing a similitude to what they call themselves, and by which they are known to the native Indians. From the country of the Madawgwys some of the rivers run eastward, and others to the west; by the former they come into the Missouri, and so into the Mississippi, bringing with them skins, pickled buffalo tongues, and other articles for traffic; and by the latter they have a communication with the Pacific Ocean, from a great salt-water lake in their country, down the Oregon, or the great river of the west, through the straits of Juan de Fuca, and other openings. The character of these insulated Cambrians, who are a numerous people, is, that they are very warlike, are more civilized than the Indians, live in large villages, in houses built of stones, are commodiously clad, use horses in hunting; they have iron, of which they make tools, but have no fire-arms; and they navigate the lake in large piraguas. Their government is on the feudal system; and their princes are considered as the direct descendants of Madawg†.

Conan the Little, duke of Bretagne, dying in 1171, prince Geoffrey, who had married his daughter, succeeded him. But as he was not above twelve years old, the king, his father, took the guardianship upon himself, and went in person into Bretagne, to receive the fealty of the barons.

The assassination of Becket made Henry's enemies imagine, that it was done by his order; and they boldly charged him with being the author of Becket's murder, and endeavoured to stir up the pope to revenge the death of his faithful servant. The pope, feigning a belief of the matter, threatened to excommunicate him, and put the kingdom under an interdict, unless he gave marks of a sincere repentance. Had this prince been more weak, or less able, he would never have extricated himself out of so dangerous a business. But the resolution he showed on this occasion, the presents he distributed among the cardinals, and his repeated protestations, that he was ready to submit to the sentence that should be pronounced in England, averted his holiness's rage. During the time this affair was transacting at Rome, Henry resumed the project of the conquest of Ireland, formed some years before, but laid aside on account of his quarrel with Becket. The Irish having taken some Englishmen prisoners, and afterwards sold them for slaves to foreigners, furnished him with a pretence to form this enterprize; but the real motive was the desire of enlarging his dominions by the conquest of an island so adjacent to England. Two favourable conjunctures had induced him to turn his thoughts to this conquest. In the first place, he was at peace with all his neighbours. And secondly, Adrian IV. a native of England, being then pope, he imagined he should easily procure his ap-

so public an evidence, his Holiness thought he should run no great risque in canonizing Becket by the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The tomb of the new saint was at first decked with few ornaments; but fifty years after his death, his body was laid in a shrine, enriched with a prodigious quantity of precious stones. As a farther honour to his memory, the pope ordered that every fiftieth year a jubilee should be solemnized in the church, where he lay. From thenceforward miracles became so common at his tomb, and their fame spread so far, that they drew votaries from all parts of Christendom, who came to Canterbury in order to obtain the intercession of this new saint. In 1420, they kept an account of about fifty thousand foreigners, of all ages and sexes, that

came in pilgrimage that same year to this renowned tomb." See Rapin, Book vii. sect. 1.

\* "From several circumstances," says a writer in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1791; whence the above account is taken, "I am led to conclude, that those who were left in the first voyage, mixed with the Mexicans."

† Vide Gent. Mag. 1791; where many other particulars respecting the Welsh Indians may be seen. The above account is inserted merely to shew, what became of the Welsh who left their country under the conduct of Madawg, the son of Owen Gwynedd. Some writers have supposed, that the fleet, consisting of ten ships, was lost; but this sets the matter beyond dispute.

probation



**IRELAND,**  
*divided into*  
**PROVINCES and COUNTIES:**  
from the best Authorities.  
By J. RUSSELL.



St. Olave de Cork or CASHEL  
County Towns of Naas  
Bishopric of Kildare  
Bays

Scale of Irish Miles  
0 1 2 3 4



probation. Though the outrages committed by the Irish against his subjects might be one of the reasons of his intended expedition, yet that was not the thing he alledged to the pope to obtain his consent. The glory of God, and the salvation of souls; plausible pretences! were the arguments he insisted upon to prevail with Adrian to approve and authorize his design. To which he added another, and no less forcible motive, the enlarging the jurisdiction and revenues of the holy see. He pretended that the Irish being schismatics and bad Christians, it was necessary to put them in the right way, and oblige them to acknowledge the pope's authority, which till then had been but little regarded by them: that the best way to that end was to bring them into subjection to the crown of England, which had all along been so devoted to the holy see. This is what we find in the bull which Adrian sent him on this occasion, wherein we may further observe, what power the popes assumed to themselves, and how attentive they were to every thing that might help to encrease their grandeur\*.

As Ireland was soon after the issuing of this bull conquered by king Henry, a particular description of that country may not be unacceptable to our readers:

Ireland is situated on the west of Great-Britain, from which it is parted by St. George's Channel. The island is in length from south to north, about three hundred, and in breadth from east to west two hundred miles. It is certain, that in all Europe, there is not a more temperate climate than that of Ireland. Excessive heat and cold are seldom known there, because the vapours rising from the sea, with which it is surrounded, generally qualify these two extremes. The soil is very fertile, especially in the southern parts. In the northern parts the people commonly live upon oatmeal-bread. But every where else there is a sufficient quantity of good wheat, for the subsistence of the natives. However, the island abounds most with pasture-grounds, and its chiefest wealth consists in a prodigious breed of cattle. The sea is stocked with such plenty of fish, that were the inhabitants destitute of all other food, that alone would be sufficient to sustain them. But the most considerable advantage this island enjoys, is a commodious situation for trade and commerce with all parts, not of Europe only, but of all the world. Add to this, the great number of good ports which might very much facilitate the exportation of its commodities. These privileges have raised the jealousy of the English to such a degree, that till within these few years, they had nothing more at heart than the preventing the Irish from extending their commerce, lest the trade of England should thereby receive

too great a prejudice. Its trade, however, has greatly increased of late. It is no wonder that an island so fertile, so well situated, and so near a neighbour to England, should attract the eyes of Henry II. who set no bounds to his ambition.

Several names have been given to this island by historians, all of which are formed from the word Erin, the name the natives gave it themselves. Such are Ierna, Juverna, Iouernia, Ouernia, Bernia, and Hibernia, all which plainly mark the same origin. The Britons styled it in their language Yverdon, the Romans Hibernia, and the Saxons, Iren-lands; that is, the country of the Iren, or Erin. The etymology of the word Erin is not well known; but Camden's conjecture, who derives it from an Irish word signifying west, seems the most probable, because, in reality, Ireland is the most western island in Europe†. The Irish and ancient British, or Welsh tongue, are much the same in their structure, and differ principally by the admixture of other languages from time to time.

Pope Celestinus I. was the first that undertook the conversion of the Irish to Christianity, by sending Palladius to preach the Gospel to them. But being deprived of this their first bishop by an untimely death, Patrick, disciple of St. Germanus, was sent in his stead, who converted the greatest part of the natives. Their descendants have all along considered him as their apostle, and still hold him in great veneration. Shortly after their conversion Ireland abounded with monks, who for the most part became so famous for their sanctity, that they were the occasion of the island's being termed the Country of Saints. From hence great numbers of learned and zealous men came forth, who very much helped forward the conversion of the Albin-Scots, Picts, and Anglo-Saxons. Such were Columbanus, Adrian, Finan, Colman, Kilian, and many others.

Religion and learning which flourished in Ireland, were expelled by foreign invasions, to which that island was frequently exposed. Egfrid, king of Northumberland, sent a numerous army thither, which committed great ravages. Afterwards the Norwegians wasted the country in a terrible manner for thirty years together, under the conduct of one Turgesius, who was cut off by an ambuscade. This devastation was quickly followed by the invasion of certain people from Germany, called by historians *Eastmanni*, that is, the Men of the East. Shortly after, Edgar, king of England, subdued Ireland, if any credit is to be given to a charter that goes under his name, wherein he boasts of that conquest. But how great soever the ravages might be, which the island suffered from the hands of foreigners, the civil dissensions

\* We shall here insert a translation of this famous bull, by which the conquest of Ireland was authorized.

"ADRIAN, servant of the servants of GOD, to his Son in CHRIST JESUS, HENRY, King of ENGLAND; sends greeting and apostolical Benediction.

"THE desire your magnificence expresses to advance the glory of your name on earth, and to obtain in Heaven the prize of eternal happiness, deserves, no doubt, great commendations. As a good catholic prince, you are very careful to enlarge the borders of the church, to spread the knowledge of the truth among the barbarous and ignorant, and to pluck up vice by the roots in the field of the Lord: and in order to this you apply for countenance and direction. We are confident, therefore, that by the blessing of the Almighty, your undertaking will be crowned with success suitable to the noble motive which sets you upon it. For whatever is taken in and from a principle of faith and religion, never fails of succeeding. It is certain, as you yourself acknowledge, that Ireland, as well as all other islands which have the happiness of being enlightened by the Sun of Righteousness, and have submitted to the doctrines of Christianity, are unquestionably St. Peter's rights, and belong to the jurisdiction of the Roman church. We judge, therefore, after having maturely considered the enterprize you have proposed to us, that it will be proper to settle in that island colonies of the faithful, who may be well-pleasing to God.

"You have advertised us, most dear son in Christ, of your design of an expedition into Ireland, to subject the island to just laws, and to root out vice, which has long flourished there. You promise to pay us out of every house a yearly acknowledgement of one penny, and to maintain the rights of the church, without the least detriment or diminution. Upon which promise, giving a ready ear to your request, we consent and allow that you make a descent on that island, in order to enlarge the bounds of the church, to check the progress of immorality, to reform the manners of the natives, and to promote the growth of virtue and the Christian religion. We exhort you to do whatever you shall think proper, to advance the honour of God, and the salvation of the people, whom we charge to submit to your jurisdiction, and to own you for their sovereign Lord; provided always that the rights of the church are inviolably preserved, and the Peter-pence duly paid. If therefore you think fit to put your design in execution, labour above all things to improve the inhabitants of the island in virtue. Use both your own, and the endeavours of such as you shall judge worthy to be employed in this work, that the church of God be enriched more and more, that religion flourish in the country, and that the things tending to the honour of God and salvation of souls be in such manner disposed, as may entitle you to an eternal reward in Heaven, and an immortal fame upon earth."

\* For an account of the peopling of Ireland, we refer our readers to p. 24, which is taken from Jeffrey of Monmouth's *British History*.



at home were attended with still worse consequences. The Irish were hardly freed from the invasions of foreigners, particularly of the Danes, who made them feel the effect of their fury, no less than the English, when a civil war broke out among them, which ended in the cantoning out the island into several petty states. These kingdoms, which at first were many in number, and consequently very small, were at length reduced to seven, namely, Connaught, Cork, Leinster, Ossory Meath, Limerick, and Ulster\*. The king of Connaught, who was the chief of these petty sovereigns, held the rest in a sort of dependence, with a similar authority to that which the Anglo-Saxon monarchs exercised during the Heptarchy. This is the reason why the Irish annals give Roderic, king of Connaught, who was on the throne in the time of Henry II. the title of monarch, though at the same time there were other kings besides him in the island. Such was the state and condition of Ireland, when the English undertook the conquest of it. A difference between two of these kings, the weakest of whom invited the English to his assistance, was the occasion of the Irish losing their liberty. This was not the first time that like causes had produced like effects, The same imprudent proceeding furnished the Moors with an opportunity of conquering Spain, and the Anglo-Saxons of subduing Britain. Hence appears the danger of inviting a foreign army into any country, when the inhabitants are not sure of being able to drive out again with the same ease.

Among the sovereigns then reigning in Ireland, Dermot, king of Leinster, was one of the most considerable for extent of dominions. From the time of this prince's accession to the throne, he had acted in so arbitrary a manner, that his subjects looked upon him with an eye of disgust. But he disregarded his people's hatred, as he was at peace with his neighbours, who had no manner of concern in what passed in his kingdom. In process of time he himself drew them upon him, by forcibly carrying off the wife of O-Rorick, king of Meath. O-Rorick, willing to revenge the affront, levied an army, and with the help of Roderic, king of Connaught, attacked Dermot; who finding himself abandoned by his subjects, was forced to leave Ireland, through fear of becoming a prey to his enemy. As he had nothing to trust to in the island, where the rest of the kings refused to assist him, he applied for protection to the king of England, who was then in France. After he had acquainted him with his case, he promised to become his vassal, if by his aid he should be restored to his throne. Henry promised to assist him as soon as the war, which himself was engaged in, was over. He also advised Dermot to go to England, and endeavour to obtain what assistance he could from some English barons. Dermot followed his advice, and came into England, in 1171, where Robert Fitz Stephen, and Richard Strongbow, entered into an alliance with him, upon certain terms. The former was prevailed upon in hopes of making a considerable fortune in Ireland. The latter, who held large possessions in England and Wales, was gained by Dermot's promising to give him his only daughter in marriage, and to settle the succession upon him.

These two lords having drawn together some troops among their friends and vassals, Fitz Stephen, who was ready first, accompanied Dermot into Ireland, with four hundred men. Being landed near Waterford, the king of Leinster led them to the city of Wexford, which is not far from that place. The city being presently taken, was given to Fitz Stephen, who settled there a colony of English†. After this exploit, the adventurers hav-

ing made up an army of three thousand men, by the coming in of the people of the country, marched against the king of Ossory. This prince, who did not expect to be attacked, being unprovided for his defence, was forced to submit to what terms the conquerors were pleased to impose upon him. In the mean time, Roderic the monarch had convened the states of the island, and brought them to a resolution of warring against Dermot and the English. Indeed it was not difficult to perceive, that their designs were not wholly confined to the assisting the king of Leinster: but as the adventurers were already grown formidable, he was willing before he ran any hazard, to try by way of negotiation, to get them to depart the island. He addressed himself first to Fitz Stephen, and offered him a considerable sum to retire. His offer being rejected, he turned to Dermot, and endeavoured to persuade him to send away the English, by assuring him he would restore him to his kingdom. Dermot immediately closed in with his proposal; but when they came to talk of performing the articles of their agreement, each mistrusting the other, they could agree neither upon the time nor the manner of doing it. During this interval, the earl of Pembroke arrived from England with twelve hundred men: his first enterprize was the taking of Waterford, the inhabitants whereof he put to the sword. This conquest having broke off the negotiation, the earl of Pembroke married the daughter of Dermot, and soon after took possession of the kingdom of Leinster, which fell to him by the death of his father-in-law. The Irish gave that prince the surname of Ningal, as much as to say, a friend to foreigners. After the death of Dermot, the adventurers taking advantage of the terror their arms had spread over Ireland, marched to Dublin, which they became masters of, together with some other places. Roderic, and the rest of the kings were in such confusion, that they made but a very faint resistance; the cause of which is imputed to their great dread of the English bows, the use of which, till then, was entirely unknown to them. Upon the news of these extraordinary successes, Henry grew jealous of the adventurers; and fearing lest they should render themselves masters of the whole country, he forbade all the exportation of provisions or ammunition to Ireland; and commanded all those who were already in that island to return home. These orders, which were issued on pretence that the adventurers had engaged in their undertaking without his leave, had the effect he expected. As soon as the earl of Pembroke and Fitz Stephen were informed of the king's edict, they sent deputies to assure him of their obedience; and to acquaint him, that all their present and future conquests should be at his command. This submission readily appeased the king, who entertained no further thoughts of recalling them. Some time after he made an agreement with them, whereby he was to be put in possession of all the sea-ports; and the rest of the conquests they had already made were to remain in their hands, on condition they did homage for them to the king and his successors. Matters being thus settled, Henry went over himself into Ireland with a formidable army, in 1172, and landed at Waterford. The Irish voluntarily submitted to Henry; during whose stay at Waterford, all the kings of the island arrived at his court, to swear fealty to him. Thus Henry, without spilling one drop of blood, became master of Ireland in less time than a man would take up in travelling over it. After he had placed fresh garrisons in Waterford, Wexford, and some other maritime towns, pursuant to his agreement with the adventurers, he marched to Dublin, where he made some regulations for the better governing his new con-

\* These seven kingdoms were reduced to four large provinces, into which the island is at present divided, Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught: to which formerly was added Meath, now reckoned part of Leinster. These four provinces are divided into thirty-one counties or shires, four archbishoprics, and nineteen bishoprics.

† These were the first English settled in Ireland, where they have continued ever since, retaining still our ancient garb, and much of our old language, with a mixture of Irish. Camden has given us a list of those who went into Ireland with Dermot.



quest; and soon after set out for England, leaving at Dublin Hugh Lacy, to govern the island in his name, with the title of Grand Justiciary of Ireland.

Henry soon after set out for Normandy, in order to meet the legates the pope had sent to examine into Becket's murder. Four months were spent in debating this matter; and though the legates had orders to give the king absolution, they took from all hands depositions, in order to try to prove him guilty, that they might enhance the favour he was going to receive from his holiness. In short, after abundance of affected difficulties and delays, he was permitted to clear himself by taking a solemn oath, that he neither commanded nor consented to Becket's assassination. He publicly declared, that he was extremely sorry for having been the occasion of it, by the rash words he had imprudently dropped; and that he was ready to undergo what penance the legates should enjoin him. Having taken the oath, and made this declaration, he was absolved from his pretended crime, on terms which displayed his innocence less than the favour done him by the pope. To obtain his absolution, he bound himself in the following articles: I. Never to oppose the pope's will, so long as he owned him for a catholic prince. II. That he would not hinder appeals to the holy see. III. That he would lead an army to the Holy Land against the infidels, and remain there three years successively. However, he was at liberty to send thither only three hundred men at his own charge; in case he chose rather to go in person and wage war with the Saracens in Spain. IV. That he would recall all that had suffered banishment for the late archbishop of Canterbury, and restore to them their estates and revenues. V. That he would abolish all laws and customs which had been lately introduced to the prejudice of the church of England. To these, which were made public, was added a secret article, whereby the king obliged himself to go bare-foot to Becket's tomb, and receive the discipline from the hands of all the monks of St. Augustin's. Thus ended that affair, which notwithstanding Henry's resolution in the beginning turned at length to the pope's advantage, and carried his power and authority to a greater height than ever.

In the beginning of the year 1173, Roger, abbot of Bec, in Normandy, was chosen archbishop of Canterbury, after the see had been vacant a little above twelve months.

Henry imagined, that after having mastered so many difficulties, he should pass the residue of his days in peace, amidst the grandeur and glory he was encircled with: but he quickly found, that the vexations he had endured in Becket's affair were not the only one's capable of disturbing his felicity. During the king's absence in Normandy, a conspiracy was formed against him, which was so much the more dangerous, as the queen his wife, and his own sons, were the authors of it. Besides, it was countenanced by one of the principal barons of the realm, and several foreign princes. Queen Eleanor was spurred on to this by her extreme jealousy, which the king had given her but too much reason to entertain. Among the many mistresses he kept, Fair Rosamond, daughter to Walter de Clifford, a baron of Herefordshire, having the greatest ascendent over him, became the principal object of the queen's jealous rage, who could not forbear threatening her. Henry fancied he had secured her from all attempts, by keeping her in a labyrinth he had built on purpose at Woodstock: but his great care proved fruitless. Whilst he was in Normandy, the queen taking the advantage of his absence, had found the means to dispatch out of the way this

hated rival, that had created her so much uneasiness\*. After this act, despairing of ever being able to regain the king's affections, she had carried her revenge farther, and exhorted her sons to revolt against him. Henry, his eldest son, a young prince of an exceeding haughty temper, was grown weary of bearing the title of king without the authority. Richard, naturally turbulent and restless, was tired with being under the discipline of the king, who had made him earl of Poictou, but suffered him not to enjoy the benefit of it. Geoffrey had still greater reason to complain than his brothers: he was deprived of the government of Bretagne, under the specious pretence of a guardianship, which he thought there was no manner of occasion for any longer. These young princes easily drew into the conspiracy several English barons, who cherished the idea of enjoying a greater share of credit and authority under the young Henry than under his father. The king of France, ever jealous of Henry's flourishing condition, readily made one in the project of dethroning him; and persuaded the earl of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois, his vassals, (the last of whom was his brother-in-law,) to enter into the league. William, king of Scotland, was prevailed upon also to have a hand in an undertaking, which might furnish him with an opportunity of recovering the dominions his brother Malcolm had delivered up to England. This confederacy suddenly broke out when Henry least expected it. Normandy, Guienne, and Bretagne, were attacked at the same time by the arms of the confederates. The king of Scotland invaded Cumberland, and England was divided into two parties, one for the young, and the other for the old king. King Henry, on the earnest request of the king of France, permitted his son Henry to go to that country, who, during his stay with the French king, concerted measures against his father. After he had been some time in France, the king desired him to return to England, which, to prevent suspicion, he accordingly did. Henry, however began to suspect his son's fidelity, and therefore ordered several spies to watch him continually; and notwithstanding the vigilance of those who had been set over him, he found means to withdraw from his father's court, and to return again to France. This confirmed the old king in his suspicions: but he was still ignorant what his son's designs might be. As soon as the queen, who resided at London, had intelligence of her son's arrival at Paris, she sent thither likewise Richard and Geoffrey, before Henry could have time to give any orders about them. Thus the old king was suddenly deserted by his whole family, without knowing the cause of their proceedings. His wrath fell upon the queen, whom he ordered to be closely confined. Soon after, the confederate princes attacked him in several places; and he stood in need of all his resolution to bear up under so many vexations, and of all his prudence, to make head against so many enemies. Richard repaired to Guienne, where he caused the greatest part of the country to revolt. Geoffrey having raised an insurrection in Bretagne, put himself at the head of it, with design to wrest from the king his father the government of that dukedom. Normandy was attacked by the king of France, assisted by the earls of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois. The king of Scotland made an irruption into the northern parts of England. The earl of Leicester landed at Southampton an army he had levied in France, in hopes of stirring up all the English to revolt against the king. Thus Henry saw in all parts of his dominions hostile armies, against whom he had made no preparations. In the interim, Henry the son, who continued at Paris, acted as if he had been sole king of England. He received the ho-

\* Tyrrel observes, that our historians are wholly silent as to the queen's getting at Rosamond; so that the story of her making her drink poison, has no better foundation than the old ballad made upon it. It is certain she did not live long, though the time of her death is not mentioned. She was buried in the chapter-house of Godstow Nunnery, near Oxford, No XIII.

where her epitaph, which Brompton gives you, was to be seen in his time. There are no remains of the labyrinth at this day. Tindal.—Her monument has since been repaired and beautified. She bore Henry two sons, whose names were William Longue Espée, who was afterwards created earl of Salisbury, and Geoffrey, who was elected bishop of Lincoln.



mage of the vassals: he made grants and donations of the crown lands: he assigned pensions out of the public revenues, and had his seal apart, as if the king his father, had no manner of right to intermeddle in the government of his kingdom. He would not even keep a single person about him that did not swear fealty to him without any reservation of the like duty to the old king. The young prince thought he had taken such sure measures, that the downfall of the king his father was infallible; and truly, the ruin of that monarch seemed to be very near, since he had so many enemies to deal with at once. Animated with fresh courage at the sight of the impending danger, he managed his affairs with so much resolution and prudence, that notwithstanding the obstacles which incessantly started up from all quarters, he obtained in the end a glorious advantage over all his enemies. The king of France found himself constrained to abandon Verneuil, which had cost him a long siege. An army of Brabancons, sent by Henry into Bretagne, vanquished the revolted Bretagne; upon which they returned to their duty. The earl of Leicester was defeated in England, and taken prisoner by Humphrey Bohun, general of the English army, who took the opportunity of a truce he had made with the king of Scotland, to go and give the earl battle. As soon as the truce was expired, William renewed his ravages in Northumberland: but whilst he was intent upon the plunder, he imprudently suffered himself to be surprized unawares by the English general, who put his army to the rout, and took him prisoner. He was carried first to Richmond Castle, from whence he was conveyed into Normandy.

Whilst the arms of Henry were thus crowned with success in England, he was taken up in France, in reducing the cities and provinces that had revolted against him; and in a few months, either by himself or by his officers, he became master of the principal places in Guienne, Saintonge, Anjou, Poictou, and Bretagne. These good successes, which quite broke the measures of his enemies, entirely dissipated the fears he had been justly seized with in the beginning of the war. The king his son, perceiving him thus embroiled in France, took that opportunity of raising an army of Frenchmen and Flemings. As soon as the troops were ready for action, he put himself at their head, and marched towards Gravelin, where he designed to embark. His design was to pass over into England, and join the king of Scotland and earl of Leicester. But he was detained so long by contrary winds, that it was too late to put his projects in execution. Whilst he was waiting in vain for a favourable gale, the king his father had time to restore his affairs in France: after which he embarked at Barfleur, and sailed for England, and shortly after arrived at Southampton, whence he proceeded to Canterbury, in order to do penance at Becket's tomb, to which he had obliged himself upon receiving absolution. As soon as he came in sight of the town, he alighted from his horse, though he was then three miles off, and having pulled off his boots, he walked bare-foot in extreme pain, till he came to the sacred tomb. There it was, that, after he had rested himself a little, he submitted to the shameful discipline imposed upon him. He was scourged by the hands of the prior and monks of St. Augustin's, and spent the night in prayer in the cathedral, lying on the cold pavement. On the morrow, after having assisted at a solemn procession round the tomb, he departed for London.

After the defeat of the earl of Leicester and of the king of Scotland, the young king's party not daring to keep the field any longer, were retired to their strongholds and castles. The king's impatience to see them entirely reduced, suffered him not to make any stay at London. A few days after his arrival, he marched with his army to besiege the castles which were still in the hands of his son's partisans. But the greatest part surrendered themselves upon his approach, and the rest held out but a few days. The king of France despair-

ing of any assistance from England, after the defeat of the confederates, recalled his troops from Gravelin and laid siege to Rouen; but the brave resistance of the inhabitants baffled his designs. As soon as Henry received intelligence of the siege, he put to sea with a large body of troops, and arrived in Normandy before Lewis had made any great progress. His sudden appearance struck such a terror into his enemy, that he raised the siege, and retreated in the utmost confusion, leaving all his baggage behind. Henry's affairs were now in a very flourishing condition: he was absolute master in England, he beheld the Scots cast down and disheartened by the imprisonment of their king. Ireland continued in obedience. The Welsh remained quietly within their own bounds. Normandy, Guienne, and the other provinces beyond sea, were entirely reduced, except a few castles in Poictou in possession of prince Richard. It is no wonder therefore that Lewis, now above sixty years of age, should despair of gaining his ends, since he found that the conspiracy, which he had fancied capable of pulling down Henry, had, on the contrary, fixed him the firmer on his throne. This consideration inspired him with a desire to make peace; and Henry being of the same mind, a truce was agreed upon. Richard, Henry's second son, a prince of a fiery and restless temper, was the only person that opposed the so much wished-for peace. But neither his brothers, nor the king of France, thought proper to continue the war for his sake. They therefore obliged themselves to give him no assistance. Henry laid hold on this juncture, and soon reduced his obstinate son to obedience; who, being destitute of support, threw himself at his feet, and humbly implored his pardon. He met with a better reception than he expected, and attended his father to the place where the two monarchs had agreed to meet, in order to treat of the terms of peace. In the mind they were both in, it was no difficult matter for them to settle the articles. Henry granted a general pardon to all that had revolted against him, without any exception. The young king, his eldest son, promised to be obedient for the future, and to let prince John his brother, enjoy the appenage which had been granted him. Geoffrey and Richard were satisfied with what the king their father allotted them, or pretended to be so; and the king of France promised to surrender to Henry what castles he had taken in the beginning of the war. To make the reconciliation between the two kings the stronger, a marriage was resolved upon between Richard and Alice, daughter of Lewis. The prince, who was very young, was put into the hands of Henry the father, in order to be educated in England till the came of a fit age to marry; but he abused this trust, as will appear hereafter. It was further agreed by this treaty, which was settled in 1174, that all the prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty. But in order to exclude the king of Scotland, Henry had inserted a clause, importing, that such as had already treated with him about their ransom, were not to have the benefit of this article. William was of this number, and perhaps the only one among all the prisoners. His impatience to be released caused him to submit to very hard terms. He was to make restitution of all he had taken from England, and do homage for his kingdom to that crown. Upon his having sworn to perform these engagements, he was set at liberty. Henry having settled all his affairs in France, repaired to York, attended by the king his son, and a numerous train of nobility. Here, before a great number of barons of both realms, William did homage to the two kings of England for the kingdom of Scotland in general, and for the county of Galloway in particular. This homage was confirmed by the solemn oaths of the barons of Scotland, that in case their king should recede from what he had done, they would withdraw their obedience, and consent that the kingdom of Scotland should be put under an interdict. But as Henry did not much rely on these engagements, William, for his further security, put into his hands the castles of Roxborough, Berwick,



Berwick, Sterling\*, and Edinburgh†. This affair being concluded, the young king went back to France, where he remained three years, improving himself in all the exercises of the body and mind proper for a prince.

On the conclusion of the peace Henry enacted new laws, and revived others which had lain long neglected; among which were those of Edward the Confessor. As these laws were very advantageous for the subject, in comparison of those of the Norman kings, the only end of which was the augmenting the revenues of the prince, and the stretching the royal prerogative, both nobles and people impatiently longed for their re-establishment. They had even used some endeavours, in the preceding reigns, to get them in force again, but to little purpose. Nothing therefore could be more grateful to the English than the restoration of these laws.

In the year 1176, Henry divided England into six parts or districts, which were assigned to so many judges‡, who were to go at certain times and hold the assizes, that is, to administer justice to the people. This is still practised. Immediately after Hilary-Term and Trinity-Term the twelve judges go the circuit two by two; whence the assizes, which are held twice a year, are called Lent-Assizes and Summer-Assizes. Henry then proceeded to demolish all the fortified castles which still remained in private hands, and were a great check to the power of the sovereign. Whilst the king was thus employed in the affairs of the public, the princess Joanna his daughter was demanded in marriage by William the Good, king of Sicily. This match seeming to him advantageous for his daughter, he dispatched ambassadors to Sicily to settle the marriage articles; after which he sent away the young queen with a splendid retinue.

Prince John, his fourth son, and his greatest favourite, being arrived at the age of eleven years, Henry resolved to erect Ireland into a kingdom, on purpose to bestow it on him. As the pope's consent was necessary, he sent ambassadors to Rome to negotiate the affair. But how impatient soever he might be to see this done, it could not be brought about till some years after, when it was no longer in his power to make an advantage of the pope's favour.

In the year 1177, the king of France, perceiving himself to be much worn with age, formed the design of procuring his son Philip to be crowned, according to the custom of his predecessors; but a violent distemper which seized the young prince, obstructed the proceedings, and made him almost despair of his life; Lewis was so affected with the danger his son was in, that it induced him to go in pilgrimage, in 1179, to Becket's tomb, to obtain intercession of that saint for the prince's recovery. Henry met him at Dover, and conducted him to Canterbury, where they both offered up their prayers. When Lewis left the city, he gave considerable presents to the church, where the saint lay interred§.

Alphonso king of Castile, and Garcias king of Na-

varre, having had several contests about certain castles and territories, sent ambassadors to Henry to entreat him to be umpire between them, promising to abide by his judgement. So great a trust redounded very much to that prince's honour, he used all possible precautions to give content to both parties, or at least to avoid the imputation of having pronounced an unjust sentence. To that end; he convened at London all the barons and judges of the realm in order to have their advice. The affair being maturely examined into, he passed a judgement in which both kings thought proper to acquiesce.

We have an account, in the Collection of Public Acts; of an agreement between Lewis and Henry, whereby these monarchs bound themselves to go together to the Holy Land. But as this record is without date, there is no determining the precise time of it. Probably it was made whilst Lewis was at Canterbury. The death of that prince, which happened in 1180, prevented their intended expedition. Philip, his son, who was afterwards surnamed The August, succeeded to the throne of France.

Pope Alexander III. departed this life also, in the year 1181, and was succeeded by Lucius III.

Young Henry was disgusted at his having the bare title of king without the power. The king his father, who had been all his life a slave to love, had not lost his amorous inclinations, though he was in his fiftieth year. In 1182 he became enamoured with Alice of France, designed for Richard his son, and historians, for the most part, give us to understand, that the young princess was but too obliging to him. Richard demanded leave to consummate his marriage; but he did this more for the sake of a cause to complain, than out of any desire to espouse a princess whom all the world suspected of holding a criminal commerce with that prince's father. Geoffrey being now in his four and twentieth year, was tired with being under the guardianship of the king his father, who, on the specious pretence of protection, withheld Bretagne from him. John was still less satisfied at his having nothing settled upon him, whilst his brothers were so well provided for. But, as the king showed a great deal of affection for him, it was probable, that before his death he would settle an appenage on a son he loved so tenderly. Queen Eleanor was still kept in confinement, notwithstanding the intercession of her sons for her liberation. Henry was not unacquainted with the sentiments of his three eldest sons; and, fearing another conspiracy like the former would wrest the crown from him in his old age, sowed dissensions among them, lest their union should prove fatal to him. With this view, he told his eldest son, that his brothers ought to do him homage for the dominions they were possessed of, or at least, bore the titles of. The young king embraced this proposal, and demanded homage of his brothers; but the two younger ones were not disposed to comply. Young Henry, whom the king his father had politically engaged in this dispute, was not long in perceiving what he aimed at.

\* Stirling, called by the Highlanders Balla Strila, stands on the declivity of a steep rock, at the foot of which runs the Forth. That it was one of the boundaries of the Roman empire is evident, from an inscription on a stone below the castle towards the bridge, by which it appears that a wing of their army was stationed at this place. This castle is very strong, and stands on an eminence. It is enclosed with a wall, except towards the north, and has batteries and ramparts on every side, with great ordnance for defending the bridge; which is an important place between the North and South parts of Scotland; and is reckoned one of the keys of the Highlands as Dumbarton is the lock. It is thirty miles N. W. of Edinburgh.

† Edinburgh, the capital of all Scotland, where for some ages before the Union the kings of Scotland had their usual residence at Haly-rud House. The houses are built of stone, and are, in the high street six or seven stories high, each story being a distinct house; and near the Parliament-Close they are fourteen stories high or upwards, but these houses are built on the side of steep hill, and they contain twelve or fourteen stories on one side, and not above six or seven on the other.

It has a lake on the north side, and is every where else surrounded by an old wall. This castle is very strong, both by nature and art, and was kept by the king's forces in the rebellion of 1745, though the town itself was taken. It is governed by a land-provost, four bailiffs, and a common-council. It is not in so flourishing a condition as it was before the Union, because the principal nobles usually reside at London. It was the see of a bishop before the abolition of Episcopacy in 1688. It sends two members to parliament, one for the city and the other for the shire. Edinburgh is 303 miles N. N. W. of London.

‡ Hoveden says, three judges to each circuit: his words are—*Justitarii itinerantes constituti per Henricum Secundum, qui divisit regnum suum in sex partes, per quarum singulas tres justitarios itinerantes constituit, &c.* p. 313.

§ He offered at Becket's tomb a massy cup of pure gold, and gave to the monks seven thousand two hundred gallons of wine yearly, and freed from all toll or custom whatsoever they should buy in his kingdom. All which he confirmed by a charter under his seal. Hoveden.



However, he used a profound dissimulation. Whilst he appeared to be incensed against his brothers, he privately concerted measures with them how to bereave the king of the supreme power, which he had earnestly longed for many years to be invested with; but a distemper took him out of the world, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and freed the king his father from the impending danger. He repented of his evil practices before his death, and the king sent him a ring in token of his pardon.

In the year 1184, Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, arrived at court. He was come to entreat the king's aid in behalf of the Christians of the Holy-Land. He presented him with the keys of the Holy Sepulchre, and of the tower of David, in token of their desire of having him for their sovereign, as being grandson to Fulk of Anjou, who had been king of Jerusalem. Before he returned an answer to the patriarch, Henry convened an assembly of the barons at Clerkenwell, near London, where that prelate set forth, with tears in his eyes, the calamities the Christians of Palestine groaned under. After which he endeavoured to persuade the king, that he had an undoubted right to the crown of Jerusalem. But this compliment was too gross, since it was notorious that Fulk, grandfather to Henry, had worn that crown in right of his second wife, whereas Geoffrey, father to Henry, was born of the first. To this harangue the patriarch added a letter from the pope, addressed to all Christian princes, to exhort them to assist their brethren in Palestine. Henry having asked the opinion of his barons in relation to what the patriarch had said, they told him, they did not judge it proper for him to venture his person in an expedition of that nature, but that it was sufficient to grant a supply of money towards it. The king followed their advice; and having furnished the patriarch with a considerable sum, he contented himself with giving his subjects leave to undertake the Crusade, without embarking himself in the enterprize. Pursuant to the king's permission, the archbishop of Canterbury, several earls, barons, knights, and vast multitudes of people of a lower rank, prepared for this undertaking. But the patriarch, willing to gain the king's favour, told him, when he took his leave, that he should have preferred his single person before all the English that had engaged in the service\*. The pope was not at all pleased with Henry's refusing to undertake the Crusade: he even testified his resentment by denying certain requests which he would have granted him, had he not been disgusted; but not to discourage him entirely, he gave him leave to crown his youngest son prince John king of Ireland, to whom he sent for that purpose, in 1185, a crown of peacock's feathers interwoven with gold. In granting this favour, he reserved a penny from every house in Ireland yearly, and several other advantages, procuring by that means a considerable addition to his revenues. As soon as the king had received the pope's answer, he knighted prince John, and sent him governor into Ireland, not daring to have him crowned there, lest Richard should ask the same favour in England. John was very well received in the island, where he was looked upon as the person that was one day to be their sovereign. But suffering himself to be guided by the advice of some young gentlemen who attended him thither, he so alienated the affections of the Irish that the king recalled him.

Pope Lucius III. dying this year, Urban III. his successor, appointed the archbishop of Canterbury his legate in England. Baldwin, a Cistercian monk, was then archbishop, having succeeded Richard, who died in 1184.

Henry's son Richard made a journey to Guienne,

where he ruled with an absolute authority, without any regard to the orders of the king his father. In this he was supported by the Gascoigns themselves, who chose much rather to have a sovereign of their own than to depend on the crown of England. After Richard had laboured to secure that province in his interests, he went into Poictou, in 1188, where he drew some troops together, in order to attack the Breagnes, who had given him some disgust. Geoffrey his brother, who was then in Bretagne, surprised at this unexpected behaviour, speedily levied a small army, and gave him battle; but as his forces were inferior in number, he was easily defeated. Richard would have pushed his design further, if the dread he was in of his father, who was preparing to chastise him, had not obliged him to retire into Poictou, where he pretended to stand upon his defence. Henry, perfectly well acquainted with his son's temper, which could not be tamed but by force, got ready an army capable of taking from him all hopes of making any resistance; but before he brought things to extremity, he sent him word it was his absolute command that he should not concern himself any more with the affairs of Guienne, which he could not enjoy till after the death of the queen his mother; and upon that condition, he would leave him in possession of Poictou; but in case he refused to obey, he would not only compel him to it, but likewise disinherit him of the crown of England. Richard, terrified at these menaces, and at the king's great preparations, thought fit to comply with his will; but as his submission was constrained, he was dissatisfied in his mind, the effects of which soon became visible. The example of William the Conqueror, who had preferred his second before his eldest son, seemed, in some measure, to authorize the king to threaten Richard in this manner. The dread of his brother's supplanting him, made him a dissembler to the king his father; but he was freed in part from his fears by the death of Geoffrey his brother, at Paris, where he was gone to assist at a tournament. This prince, who had already a daughter called Eleanor, left Constance of Bretagne, his wife, far advanced in pregnancy, who was quickly after delivered of a son named Arthur.

Philip, king of France, was dissatisfied because the English had in their possession several fine provinces of France; and therefore formed a design to wrest them out of their hands. Pursuant to this resolution, he imagined that the dissention between Henry and his son Richard, would furnish him with a favourable juncture, which he ought not to let slip. He was persuaded that these princes being at variance, and without armies, and not suspecting they were going to be attacked, it would not be impossible for him to take from them some part of their dominions in France. In this belief he made extraordinary preparations, giving out they were designed for such uses as served best to conceal his real intent. As soon as he was in a condition to act, he summoned Richard to appear and do him homage for Poictou, and required king Henry to deliver up the country of Vexin, and all that he had received as Margaret's dowry, widow to his eldest son. But these measures were not proper to obtain his ends. Henry and Richard being united for their common interest, kept him so well employed, one in Normandy, the other in Guienne, that he sued for a truce, which they granted him for two years. Having failed in this attempt, Philip seduced Richard, who communicated to that monarch the reasons he imagined he had to be dissatisfied with the king his father. Philip taking advantage of this confidence, seemed to pity his case, and have his interest very much at heart: he wondered that the king his father should deal so harshly by him; and

\* Brompton says, that the patriarch gave the king very ill language when he went with him to the sea-side; and upon the king's still excusing himself from going to the Holy Land, because his sons would rebel against him in his absence; the patriarch in great anger replied, "And no wonder, for from the devil they came, and to the devil they would go." This

he said, reflecting on an old story of a certain countess of Anjou, the king's great grandmother, who being reckoned a witch, was said to have flown out of window while she was at mass against her will, and was never seen afterwards. Brompton p. 1145.



that after having caused his elder brother to be crowned during his minority, he should even refuse him the same favour. He artfully intimated, that there was great reason to fear, he had some design to place on the throne his youngest son John. Richard received these marks of affection with much earnestness and confidence, so that Philip was in hopes of attaining his ends. The king of England suspecting, by Richard's long stay, that the intriguing court of France were meditating some deep scheme, sent a trusty messenger to his son, who informed the prince, that Philip's intention was to sow the seeds of discord between him and his father, and to enrich himself at their expence. Richard being prevailed upon by these remonstrances, abruptly left the French court, and returned to England in 1187.

The truce concluded in 1186, being expired, the two monarchs armed again. But just as they were renewing acts of hostility, they received a melancholy piece of news, which suspended their animosity for some time. This was, that the city of Jerusalem was taken by Saladin, sultan of Babylon, and that Guy de Lusignan, who was the last that swayed the sceptre of that kingdom, was in the hands of the infidels. As the union of the Christians had formerly been the means of conquering the kingdom of Jerusalem, so their dissensions were the occasion of its downfall, after it had lasted very near a whole century. This news, which put the princes of Europe under great consternation, was particularly fatal to pope Urban III. who died with grief. He was quickly followed by Gregory VIII. his successor, who having sat in the papal chair but three months, made room by his death for Clement III. The two kings of France and England were very sensibly affected with the loss the Christians had lately suffered in the east. Their zeal being roused upon that occasion, they resolved, with one consent, to drop their private quarrel in order to espouse the cause of God, and to have a meeting at Gisors, to consult about the means how to remedy this misfortune. At this interview, their first business was to renew the truce: then the two monarchs as well as the earl of Flanders, who was present at the conference, took upon them the cross, distinguishing themselves by three different colours. Philip chose a red, Henry a white, and the earl of Flanders a grey cross. The subjects of each prince that engaged in the crusade imitated them in this distinction. The zeal the two kings had shown was not long lived. Their ardour quickly gave way to an animosity so much the more surprising, as the occasion of it was very slight, and of little moment. Prince Richard, who was to make one in the expedition to the Holy Land having occasion for money to defray his expences, was come to Poictou in order to raise some. A dispute arose between him and Raymond, earl of Thoulouse; which engaged the two kings in their respective causes. Thus the war was renewed between the two kings, in 1188, when they seemed to breathe nothing but death and destruction against the infidels.

Whilst this war was vigorously carried on by both parties, Richard suddenly left his father, and went over to the king of France. It is very probable, this was brought about by Philip's intrigues, which the historians have not cleared up. Richard pretended to have two occasions of complaint against the king his father; the first was, that he detained from him the princess Alice, and had offered Philip, who pressed him to order his nuptials to be solemnized, to marry her to prince John upon more advantageous terms. The other occasion of complaint was, that Philip having offered to consent to a truce, Henry had refused to comply, affirming it was more proper to conclude a peace, whereby the pretensions of each party might be adjusted, before they engaged in their expedition to the Holy Land. This Richard did not like: his reason was, because by a peace he would have been obliged to yield up all his conquests in the earldom of Thoulouse, whereas by a truce he would have kept them in his possession. As much as Richard's revolt disquieted the king his father, so much

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did it rejoice Philip, who, from that time, had a great advantage over his enemy. In going off, Richard had set against the king part of his provinces in France, and by that means had almost disabled him from carrying on the war. Henry, thus situated, hastened in 1189, the conclusion of the peace; but Philip proposed such hard terms, that there was no accepting them. He required, that the marriage between Richard and Alice should be consummated; and that the prince should be crowned before his father's death, that no one in future might dispute his right to the crown. Henry did not approve of either of these two conditions: his love for Alice would not suffer him to behold her in the arms of another, and perhaps there were very strong reasons against his giving her to his son. On the other hand, he had experienced, too much to his cost, the ill consequences of having crowned Henry his eldest son, to be willing to run the same risk with regard to this, who seemed to him no less dangerous than his brother. The first attempt having failed, Henry made another effort towards obtaining a peace: but he found that Philip, grown more untractable, added a third article. He demanded that Henry should carry prince John with him to the Holy Land, lest in the absence of Richard he should seize upon the crown, in case their father died in the expedition. Henry, incensed at Philip's intermeddling so far in his family affairs, broke off the negotiation. This rupture confirmed Richard in his suspicion, that he had an inclination to deprive him of the crown, in order to set it on the head of John, his younger brother. All hopes of peace being vanquished, Philip received the homage of Richard for all the provinces in France belonging to the crown of England, pretending that Henry had incurred the guilt of rebellion, in warring against his sovereign, the French king.

This step being taken, they returned to the shedding of Christian blood with greater fury than ever, and the zeal they had expressed against the infidels insensibly cooled. Henry lay under a great disadvantage in this war. His subjects in France, for the most part, had abandoned him and sided with his son. This revolt was so general, that being gone to keep his Christmas at Saumur, he had the mortification to be attended but by three or four nobles. His vexation was still increased by the ill success of the following campaign. His troops, every where defeated, were at length reduced to so small a number, that it was not in his power to continue the war. His affairs being in this wretched situation, he desired the pope to interpose his authority to procure him a peace. But this method proved ineffectual. It is true, the pope sent legates into France, who threatened Philip with excommunication, in case he prevented the king of England from accomplishing his vow; but these menaces had not the effect that was expected from them. The French monarch boldly replied, that the pope had no business to intermeddle in the affairs of his kingdom, especially when the business in hand, was the chastising one of his vassals, who had been so audacious as to take up arms against him. And added, with an insulting air, "He did not question, but that the smell of the king of England's sterlings [*i. e.* money] made the legates talk in that strain." Henry dreading the consequences of so unfortunate a war, and finding the pope could do him no further service, was fain to agree to the terms Philip was pleased to impose upon him, the principal of which were these: "That all Henry's subjects, as well English as French, should swear fealty to Richard; and that those who had sided with the son, should not return to the father, till within one month at furthest before he set out for the Holy Land. That the two kings, with prince Richard, should meet at Vezelay in Nivernois, in order to begin their journey. That all the subjects of the king of England should have free passage all over France, paying only the old customs. That Henry should be obliged to pay to the king of France twenty thousand marks for the damages he had sustained in the war. That all the barons subject to the king of

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" England



"England should swear, that in case he violated the treaty, they would assist the king of France against him. That the cities of Tours and Mans should remain in the hands of Philip, until the king of England had performed all these articles\*."

Shortly after the conclusion of the war, Henry discovered, that his beloved prince John had held intelligence with Philip, and was concerned in all his brother's plots to dethrone a father who had always shown a tender affection for him. His grief on this account threw him into so violent a passion, that he cursed the day in which he was born, and uttered imprecations against his sons, which the bishops then present could never bring him to revoke. Quickly after he fell sick at Chinon; and perceiving his end was approaching, he caused himself to be carried into the church before the altar, where, after he had confessed himself, and shown some signs of repentance, he expired. His eyes were hardly closed when his domestics all deserted him, some of whom had even the insolence to strip him, and leave him naked in the church. His corps was removed to Fontevrault, where he was buried according to his own order †.

Thus ended the great and illustrious Henry II. The mixture of vices and virtues which were blended together in this monarch, makes it a hard matter to give him a general character which will exactly suit with him. He was valiant, prudent, generous, politic, studious, learned, and of an exalted genius. On the other hand, he was excessive haughty, of an immeasurable ambition, and a boundless lust: never satisfied with love or empire, he spent his whole life in pursuit of new conquests in both. He attempted the chastity of all that came in his way, not excepting the princess designed for his own son: failings which in a great measure counter-balance all his noble endowments. In the beginning of his reign, which was one of the happiest for some years, there was not in Europe a king more feared or respected. Encircled with glory and honour, which seemed to promise him great prosperity, he was looked upon as the happiest prince in the world, before his disagreement with Becket interrupted his felicity. But that fatal quarrel, which created him so many uneasinesses, being followed by dissensions in his own family, he beheld the reverse of the good fortune which till then had attended him. However, if this prince was unhappy, his misfortunes fell only on his own head, and not on his kingdom, which had never been in so flourishing a condition as in his reign. By his accession to the crown, England became one of the most powerful states in Europe. Besides the large and rich provinces which were annexed in his time to the English monarchy, the conquest of Ireland is what gives a great lustre to his reign, and ought to render his memory precious to the English. He died on the 6th of July, in the year 1189, and in the fifty-seventh year of his age, after having reigned thirty-four years, eight months, and twelve days.

\* Hoveden, p. 372, says, that the first article was, "that Alice should be delivered to one person in five whom earl Richard should chuse, and that she should be married to him at his return from Jerusalem."

† He was interred in the choir of the nunnery which he himself had founded with design to be buried there. A stately tomb hath been since erected for him and Eleanor his queen, as also for his son king Richard and his queen, at the charge of the lady abbess Jeane Baptiste de Bourbon, natural daughter to king Henry the Fourth of France; their effigies in brass, which before lay in other parts of the church, being removed and placed together in one monument. See Stanford's Genealogical History of the Kings of England, p. 64, 65.

‡ Henry duke of Saxony, King Henry's son-in-law, having been accused of treason against the emperor Frederic, was condemned to banishment for three years, and deprived of his dominions. Some years after the emperor restored to him that part of them, containing at this day the duchies of Hanover, Zell, and Wolfenbuttel. From this duke Henry, by Matilda, is descended his present majesty king George.

§ It may not be amiss from Hoveden and Diceto (who were eye witnesses) to set down the ceremonies at large, since we may learn from thence the whole form an ancient corona-

King Henry had five sons by Eleanor of Guienne his wife, of whom Richard and John were the only survivors: but Geoffrey his third son, had left behind him a son and a daughter. Matilda, his eldest daughter, who had been married to the duke of Saxony †, died immediately after him. Eleanor was wife to Alphonso, king of Castile, and Joanna, to William II. surnamed the Good, king of Sicily. Besides his lawful issue, Henry had two natural sons by Rosamond Clifford; namely, William, surnamed Long-Sword, who was earl of Salisbury, and Geoffrey, who was archbishop of York. By a daughter of Sir Ralph Blewit, Henry had also another natural son called Morgan, who, having been elected bishop of Durham, could not obtain the pope's confirmation, because he refused to take the name of his mother's father.

## C H A P. II.

### RICHARD I. SURNAMED CŒUR-DE-LION.

ON the death of Henry, Richard, being in France, paid homage to Philip, and returned him thanks for the protection he had granted him. This visit procured him the restitution of the places that monarch had taken during the late war. He then received the ducal crown of Normandy at Rouen, where he remained some time; and sent orders to England for the releasement of queen Eleanor his mother, who had been confined sixteen years. At the same time he entrusted her with the administration of the government during his absence, and empowered her to release what prisoners she thought fit. The queen, whose sufferings had made her sensible of those of other people, used with pleasure, for the relief of the unfortunate, the power the king her son had given her. She was even observed, during the residue of her life, to omit no opportunity of exercising her charity towards such as were debarred the sweets of liberty, the value of which she had been but too well acquainted with during her long confinement. Eleanor's compassion for prisoners had nothing in it but what was very natural; but Richard's treatment of those that had for his sake exposed themselves to the resentment of the king his father was very surprising. Instead of rewarding them, as they expected, he forbade them his presence. At the same time he affected to load with favours all that had stood out against his solicitations.

Richard having settled his affairs in France came to London, where he was solemnly crowned by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, who administered to him the customary oath. Ever since William the Conqueror, there had been no king but what had taken the same oath; though not one of them had made a conscience of keeping it. The ceremony of the coronation was somewhat disturbed by the massacre of some Jews, who

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tion; the archbishops of Canterbury, Rouen, Triers, (who came over with the king,) and Dublin, with other bishops and abbots in rich copes, and having the cross, holy-water, and censers carried before them, received the duke at the door of his privy-chamber, and conducted him with a solemn procession to the abbey-church of Westminster. In the middle of the bishops and clergy went four barons, each carrying a golden candlestick, with a taper; after whom came Geoffrey de Lucy, bearing the royal cap, and John the marshall next with a massy pair of gold spurs: then William, earl of Pembroke, with the royal sceptre: after him William Fitzpatrick earl of Salisbury, with a golden rod, having a dove on the top; then three other earls, David, brother to the king of Scotland, as earl of Huntingdon; prince John, earl of Lancaster and Darby, with Robert, earl of Leicester, each bearing a sword upright, the scabbards richly adorned with gold. after them six earls and barons bearing a checquered table, on which were laid the royal robes, and other regalia: then came William Mandevil, earl of Albemarle, bearing a large crown of gold set with precious stones: then duke Richard Bunkell (between the bishops of Durham and Bath) over whom a canopy of state was borne by four barons: then followed a great train of earls, barons, knights, &c. In this order he came into the church.



by striving too eagerly to get into the church to see the solemnity, offended the people, who fell upon them and killed several before their fury could be restrained: but the authors of this disorder were not suffered to go unpunished: the king having ordered a strict enquiry to be made, some of the chief ringleaders were put to death\*.

The zeal of the Christians for the Crusade, especially in France and England, ran so high, that the number of the Croisés was prodigious. Every one gloried, either in lifting himself to go in person against the infidels, or in advancing money towards carrying on the war. Richard had bound himself by a vow to this expedition, before the death of the king his father. He had renewed his engagement at the last interview between him and Philip, where these two monarchs had agreed to join their forces, and go to the assistance of the Christians in Palestine. Richard was hardly on the throne, when Philip sent to put him in mind of it; and so far was he from desiring to be excused, that his thoughts were wholly employed in making preparations for his journey, and all his other affairs laid aside for the sake of that. As this prince had great designs in view, and as his aim was to lead a powerful army into Palestine, there was a necessity of his raising vast sums of money for its maintenance. Accordingly he was intent upon that business, till he was to set forward. The late king had left in his coffers above a hundred thousand marks, and Richard had drawn almost the like sum from the high-treasurer and others, who had the management of the treasury in the late reign. These sums not seeming to him sufficient for the charges of his voyage, he sold almost all the crown lands. The bishops and abbots, as they had the most ready money by them, made a greater advantage of this juncture than other men. The bishop of Durham purchased the earldom of Northumberland for himself and successors; upon which the king said merrily, that "He had made a young earl of an old bishop." But this new dignity was not capable of satisfying the ambition of the prelate, he gave moreover ten thousand marks to be appointed regent during the king's absence. As it evidently appeared that Richard was unwilling to omit any means that might procure him ready money, to defray the expences of his intended voyage, the king of Scotland was of opinion, he ought to lay hold on this opportunity. To that purpose, he made him an offer of ten thousand marks to deliver up Berwick and Roxborough, and to desist from his claim to the sovereignty of Scotland. Richard very readily agreed to this proposal,

and gave up the two places, discharging, by an authentic charter, the king of Scotland and his successors, from the homage Henry II. had extorted from him. The generality of the people were very uneasy at these alienations; but the king stopped their mouths with this reply; "I would sell London itself could I meet with a chapman able to purchase it." The sums he had amassed by these extraordinary ways, not satisfying his ambition, he bethought himself of a new expedient to augment them. As great numbers had unadvisedly engaged in the Crusade, he procured from the pope a power to dispense with such as repented of their vow; by which means he levied large sums of money. After he had practised these general methods, he proceeded to exact money from the richest of his subjects. He borrowed of those who led unblameable lives: but those whose conduct had been reprehensible, he threatened to call to a strict account, and put them under a necessity of saving themselves by making him presents. It was by this means that he compelled Glanville, a rich lawyer, whom he had sent to prison, to purchase his liberty with fifteen thousand pounds sterling†. Though he had resolved to leave the great seal in his absence in the hands of Longchamp his favourite, whom he had made high-chancellor, he demanded of him a large sum to continue him in that post. Whilst he was thus heaping up money, the clergy were exerting their utmost endeavours to procure him soldiers. The pulpits resounded with the great merit of serving in the holy war. The confessors enjoined no penances but what tended to promote the grand design of recovering the Holy Land. By this means the army quickly became very numerous, and so much the better provided with all things, as there was not an officer or common soldier but what had furnished themselves with every thing requisite for so arduous an undertaking.

Notwithstanding these great preparations, Richard greatly feared, that, during his absence, the prince his brother might seize the crown. He would fain have taken him with him; but as John showed no inclination for the expedition, he would not compel him to make a vow against his will. To get rid of his fears, he resolved to load with favours the young prince, whose ambition he was not yet thoroughly acquainted with. He was persuaded, that the grants he should make him would engage him to a suitable return of gratitude; in this belief, he invested him with six earldoms, viz. Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, Nottingham, Derby, and Lancaster, and gave him to wife Avisa, heiress of the house of

church, where before the high-altar, laying his hand on the Evangelists and relics of saints, he took a solemn oath to endeavour to his utmost, 1<sup>st</sup>, That the church of God and Christian people might enjoy peace. 2<sup>dly</sup>, That he would prohibit all rapine and violence. 3<sup>dly</sup> That he would command just judgements to be given with equity and mercy. Then they put off all his garments from his middle upwards, except his shirt, which was open on the shoulders, and the archbishop anointed him on the head, the breast, and the arms; then covering his head with a linen cloth, he set the cap thereon, which Geoffrey de Lucy carried; and when he had put on his *dalmatica*, or upper-garment, the archbishop delivered to him the sword of the kingdom; which done, two earls put on his shoes, and he was led, with the royal mantle hung on him, to the altar, from whence the crown was taken and given to the archbishop, who set it upon the king's head, delivering the sceptre into his right hand, and the rod royal in his left. Thus crowned, he was brought back to his throne with the same solemnity as before. Then mass begun, and when they came to the offertory, the king offered a mark of pure gold, as his predecessors were wont to do. After mass, he was attended thus royally arrayed, to a chamber adjoining in like procession as before: whence (after a short repose) he with the same procession returned into the choir; and having put off his heavy crown and robes, he went to dinner. At the coronation feast, which was kept in Westminster-Hall, the citizens of London were his butlers, and those of Winchester served up the meat. Then the archbishops and bishops sat down with the king, whilst the earls and barons served in the king's place as their places and dignities required, Hoved. 373. Dicto, 647.

\* The example of the Londoners was followed in the towns of Norwich, St. Edmundsbury, Lincoln, Stamford and Lynn, where the rabble rose upon the Jews; but their greatest fury was exerted against them at York, where five hundred men, besides women and children, having prevailed with the governor to let them into the castle to avoid the rage of the populace; the high-sheriff came and required them to deliver it up, which they refusing to do, the people drew up in a body and attacked the castle. At last the Jews offered a great sum of money to go off with their lives; but the people denied to give them quarter. Upon which an ancient Rabbín proposed the killing themselves, rather than fall into the hands of the uncircumcised Christians. This motion was unanimously agreed to, and their method in putting their tragical resolve in execution was thus: every master of a family cut his wife's and children's throats first, then dispatched his servants, and concluded with the slaughter of himself. Will. of Newburgh, p. 4, c. 9.

† This was Ranulph de Glanville, whom Henry II. made chief justiciary of all England, *Cujus sapientia*, says Hoveden, *condita sunt Leges subscripta quas Anglicanus vocamus*, after which he gives us the Laws of Edward the Confessor and William I. as if these had never been brought into any regular form before his time. The book that now carries his name has kept the same title in its several editions, viz. *Tractatus de Legibus & consuetudinibus Regni Angliæ, tempore Regis Henrici II. composuit*, &c. In which we have terms of such writs as were then (and are mostly still) in use, upon all the several occasions there treated on. He is said to be the inventor of the famous Writ of Assize, or *de novet Dissessu*. He died in his voyage to the Holy Land, being very aged.



Gloucester. The archbishop of Canterbury forbade the marriage, on account of their being too near a-kin\*: but there was a kind of necessity for it. The late earl of Gloucester, father of Avis, for reasons unknown, had made prince John his heir. This settlement would infallibly have caused a great law-suit, wherein it was to be feared the prince would be cast, and from thence take occasion to raise disturbances. The death of his wife, who was daughter to the earl of Morton, made the king easy in that respect. By her death a very natural way offered of making up matters, by joining the two parties in marriage. Accordingly the prohibition of the archbishop, though founded on the canons, gave place for once to reasons of state, and John became also earl of Gloucester in right of Avis his wife. With all these favours, Richard withheld from his brother the government of the kingdom, while he should be absent from the realm, lest he should grow too powerful. His fears of this had even induced him to cause him to swear, that he would remain in Normandy; but before his departure he released him from his oath. It was to Longchamp†, his favourite, that he committed the regency, jointly with the bishop of Durham. After Richard had taken all the measures he thought necessary for the well-governing of the state, he was willing to secure its tranquillity, by renewing his alliances with the kings of Scotland and Wales; and with this view he desired those two princes to come into England, in order to regulate the affairs he might have with them, and to take from them all pretence of disturbing the peace of his subjects. The former, who had reason to sit down contented, made a strict alliance with him, and as some affirm, sent prince David his brother to attend him in his expedition, with five hundred Scotchmen. Griffin, king of Wales, had sent into England Rees, his eldest son: but some difference in point of ceremony arising, that prince returned home without seeing the king. However, as Richard's business with the Welsh was of no great moment, that accident caused him not to delay his voyage.

In the following year, 1190, all things being got in readiness for his departure, Richard passed over into France with all his troops, and marched for Marseilles, where his fleet had orders to wait for him. The two armies of France and England joined at Vezelai, as had been agreed upon. As soon as the two kings arrived there, they renewed their alliance, and obliged themselves to protect and defend one another upon all occasions. They agreed moreover, that all quarrels which might happen in their absence between their subjects, should be superseded till their return; and the bishops who had attended them thus far, promised to excommunicate all that should attempt to disturb the peace of the two kingdoms. After the two monarchs had concerted every thing that was thought necessary towards accomplishing their designs, they marched together as far as Lyons, where they parted. Philip set forward for Genoa, and Richard for Marseilles, where he was to meet his fleet. But he waited there a long time. A violent storm had so dispersed his ships, that they had not been able as yet to join again. It even happened, that part of them having been driven by stress of weather into Portugal, the king of that country had made use of the assistance Providence had sent him, to relieve the city of Santaren, besieged at that time by the Miramolin, or emperor of Africa. These hindrances having prevented the fleet from arriving at Marseilles by the time the king expected it, he could not prevail with himself to wait any longer. His eagerness to be at Messina, the general rendezvous of the Croises, made him fit out some vessels at Marseilles, and having embarked part of his troops he set sail for Sicily. Some accident having obliged him to come to an anchor at the mouth of the Tiber, the pope sent the bishop of Ostia

to invite him to come and refresh himself a few days at Rome: but he would not go. Quickly after he had the satisfaction to see his fleet arrive with the rest of the army, and continuing his course towards Messina, he arrived there the 20th of September. The sight of so vast an armament caused no less admiration in the Sicilians, than jealousy in the king of France, who beheld with regret, the forces of his vassal superior to his own. During the stay of these monarchs in Sicily, Richard had a dispute with Tancred, king of that country, who had shut up the queen dowager of Sicily in prison, because she had favoured the pope's designs. She was Richard's sister; and upon his arrival in that country, Tancred set her at liberty, and sent her to the king her brother: but Richard would not be so easily satisfied. He seized a castle and monastery near Messina, and soon after made himself master of that town. Tancred, having no inclination to wage war with so powerful a monarch as Richard, sued for peace; which being granted, he bound himself to pay to the queen dowager of Sicily, sister of Richard, twenty thousand ounces of gold for her dower, and the same number to Richard in lieu of certain legacies, which William the Good had left Henry II. his father-in-law in his will. By this same treaty, a match was agreed upon between Arthur, duke of Bretagne, nephew to Richard, and Tancred's daughter. Moreover, Tancred promised to fit out ten galleys, and six large ships, for the service of the Croises. Upon these terms, Richard desisted from all other demands whatsoever, and subjected his dominions to the pope's censures, in case he violated his oath. These two princes being in appearance perfectly reconciled, Richard made a present to Tancred of King Arthur's sword, to which the Britons had given the name of Caliburn. Tancred, though seemingly satisfied, was not really so: and his spirit of revenge prompted him to sow the seeds of dissention between the kings of France and England. With this view he shewed Richard, in 1191, a pretended letter, discovering the designs of the king of France against him. Hereupon Richard charged Philip with being a deceiver, and Philip looked upon Richard as his mortal enemy. This quarrel went so far, that the two monarchs came at length to an open rupture. Philip desired Richard to consummate his marriage with Alice, as he had promised to do; and Richard boldly replied, that he could by no means marry a princess, of whom the king his father had begotten a son, and offered to prove it by witnesses who were there upon the spot. Philip not thinking proper to push this matter any farther, persuaded as he was, that the honour of the princess his sister might greatly suffer by it, he desisted from his demand. After several conferences, he agreed that Richard should have liberty to marry whom he pleased; a liberty which that prince had already taken of himself, by concluding a marriage with Berenguella of Navarre. Richard and Philip, notwithstanding the seeming reconciliation, were never good friends afterwards.

The two monarchs spent the winter at Messina, and made themselves ready for their departure to the Holy Land as soon as the season permitted. Philip set sail first, Richard not being able to go with him, because he expected Eleanor his mother, who was bringing along with her the princess of Navarre his bride. These two princesses arrived a few days after Philip had sailed; but Eleanor returned home without making any considerable stay, leaving Berenguella with the queen dowager of Sicily, her daughter, who was to accompany the king her brother to the Holy Land. Immediately after Eleanor's taking leave, Richard put to sea with a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, fifty-two galleys, ten large ships of burden laden with provisions, and abundance of small vessels for the service of the fleet. No historian

\* Henry I. was great-grandfather to both.

† Longchamp was a Norman of mean extraction, who, by his interest with the king, was become bishop of Ely, high-

chancellor, and the pope's legate over all England. These dignities, together with the regency, rendered him the most powerful subject that had ever been in England.



has recorded the number of forces which embarked with Richard on this occasion: but by the number of ships employed in the expedition, it is easy to guess that the English army was very numerous. Whilst the fleet was between the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes, a sudden and violent storm arose, which dispersed the ships, and drove part of them on shore on the coast of Cyprus. That island was then under the dominion of Isaac of the Comnenian race, who after having been governor of it under the emperor of Constantinople, had usurped the supreme power, and assumed the title of emperor. He was a covetous and brutish man, that by his continual cruelties and extortions, had drawn on himself the hatred of his subjects; but they durst not openly show it. They waited for a favourable opportunity to free themselves from his tyranny, which his own avarice, and the arrival of the English fleet furnished them with sooner than they had expected. This inhuman prince, instead of assisting the English that were stranded near the port of Limisso, imprisoned those that had escaped the shipwreck, and seized their effects. He would not even suffer the ship which had the princesses on board, to enter into his harbour, but ordered them not to approach his coast, so that they were exposed to the boisterous wind and the troubled seas. The fleet, which had been separated, being at length joined again on the coast of Cyprus, Richard heard with indignation, the barbarity of Isaac towards the English. But not being willing to retard his voyage, he would have been contented with sending to demand the prisoners, and all that he had plundered them of, if the insulting answer he received from Isaac had not made him resolve to land his troops, with whom he so furiously attacked Isaac, that he compelled him to abandon the shore, after having made great havock among his forces. The English improving their advantage, assaulted the city of Limisso, which they carried the first attack; and Isaac, with his only daughter, were made prisoners. A few days after the pretended emperor escaped, but not being able to find an asylum, he voluntarily surrendered himself to the king of England, whom he earnestly besought not to put him in irons. Richard insulting over his misfortune, granted his request in a literal sense, by commanding him to be bound with silver fetters.

Richard's success in the taking of Limisso inspired him with the thoughts of subduing the whole island of Cyprus, in which undertaking he met with very little difficulty. The Cypriots were well pleased at being freed from their tyrant, so that without making any resistance, they submitted themselves to a prince whom they looked upon as their deliverer, and who confirmed to them all the privileges they had enjoyed under the emperors of Constantinople. During his stay in that island, Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, arrived, who had procured his liberty by delivering up the city of Ascalon to the sultan; Geoffrey his brother, Raymond of Antioch, Boamond his son, and some other princes and lords of Palestine, attended the dispossessed king, who was come to implore the protection of the king of England. Here Richard consummated his marriage with Berenguela, and not at Messina, as some have affirmed. Before he left Cyprus, he sent Isaac his prisoner to Tripoli in Syria, to be confined there; but he took Isaac's daughter with him to Palestine. The regard he showed for that beautiful princess, gave some occasion to suspect that compassion was not the sole motive of his keeping her near him.

During Richard's absence, the haughty behaviour and misconduct of Longchamp caused a disagreement between him and his colleague, the bishop of Durham, in the regency. By his intrigues, he found the means to exclude that prelate from the administration of affairs,

and to assume the whole power himself. He affected to appear in public with a retinue more numerous and splendid than that of a king. This exorbitant magnificence made an historian say, that when he lodged but one single night in a monastery, he consumed three years' revenue\*. He treated all persons with an insupportable insolence, using his power with a haughtiness scarce to be borne in a crowned head. Besides, he was a Norman, was exceeding partial to foreigners, and was become odious in the eyes of the English. The excluded bishop had wrote to the king, who upon the receipt of his complaints at Marseilles, sent him letters patent, by which he committed to him the government of the counties lying north of the Humber. The letters being arrived, the bishop gave them into Longchamp's hands, who, under pretence of examining them, refused to restore them, and by that means rendered them ineffectual. To this he added another and no less bold act; he ordered the bishop to be apprehended, and detained him in prison till he had delivered up certain castles which gave him great power in the north.

Richard had appointed six lords to serve as counsellors to the regents†; but Longchamp, who was not willing to take council of any person, never communicated any affairs to these lords: on the contrary, he affected to treat them with contempt. These arbitrary proceedings obliged the bishop of Durham and the six counsellors, to carry their complaints to prince John, who had hitherto been styled earl of Morton, a title he bore during his first marriage. The young prince readily promised them his protection, being glad that their disgust furnished him with an opportunity and pretence of interposing in the administration, from which he thought himself unjustly debarred. From that time making an advantage of the temper the nobles for the most part were in, with regard to the regent, he procured a promise from each of them to assist him; and the downfall of Longchamp was resolved upon. A pretence only was wanted, and they were not long without one. Some time before Richard's departure for the Holy Land, Geoffrey, his bastard brother, had been elected archbishop of York; which election displeased the king. In his passion with Geoffrey, he was just upon the point of ordering him to be taken into custody; but upon Geoffrey's protesting to him that he did not intend to take advantage of his election, he pardoned him, on condition he would never apply to the pope for his confirmation; enjoined him, on pain of his displeasure, to remain in Normandy till the expedition to the Holy Land was over. When the king was gone, Geoffrey, contrary to his promise, demanded and obtained the pope's bull, which confirmed his election; and without vouchsafing to give the regent notice of it, he designed to repair into England and take possession of his dignity. Longchamp having received intelligence of what was doing, had sent orders to Dover to apprehend him. Accordingly, upon his arrival, the bishop had but just time to get into a church‡, where he thought himself safe from all insults: but this precaution not being able to prevent the execution of the regent's orders, Geoffrey was drawn from the altar, and imprisoned in Dover-Castle. Prince John made use of this outrage as an incentive to act openly against Longchamp; and as he was supported by all the lords, he sent positive orders to Longchamp to release the archbishop. He, however, was not disposed to receive such absolute orders from a prince who had no right to command him, and therefore refused to comply. This was what John expected, and what he wanted. A few days after, the regent was summoned to appear before an assembly of lords spiritual and temporal, convened at St. Paul's Church in London. The combination was so strong, that Longchamp was suddenly deserted, and con-

\* He was originally but a farmer's son; and had usually fifteen hundred men in his retinue.

† Their names were Hugh Bardolf, William Earl Marshal, Geoffrey Fitz-Peters, William Brewer, Robert de Whirefield, and Robert Fitz-Reinfield. Brompt. p. 116a.

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‡ He changed his cloaths, and mounting a swift horse, got to the monastery of St. Martin's, and taking sanctuary in the church, he was dragged from the altar in his episcopal vestments through the dirty streets, and delivered to Matthew le Clerk, constable of Dover-Castle. Tindal.



strained to appear before the assembly, which seemed determined to cause his downfall. He was charged with having exceeded his commission in divers particulars, chiefly with having usurped the sole power, which ought to have been shared between him, the bishop of Durham, and the six counsellors. The archbishop of Rouen, and earl of Pembroke complained also, that having received a patent from the king, dated at Messina, whereby they were made joint-commissioners with Longchamp in the government, that prelate would never consent they should have any share in the administration. Upon these accusations Longchamp was ejected from the regency, which was lodged in the hands of the archbishop of Rouen, till the king's pleasure should be known\*. They took from him likewise the custody of the Tower of London and of Windsor-Castle, which the said archbishop was invested with. Not content with these rigorous proceedings, his enemies compelled him by threats to lay down his legate's cross in the church of Canterbury; after which he was thrown into prison. Some days after he escaped; but he was seized again on the sea-side, disguised in a woman's habit, with a bundle of linen under his arm. In this garb he was carried to Dover-Castle with a great number of people at his heels. However, prince John dreading the pope's resentment, if he detained his legate in prison, ordered him to be set at liberty, and gave him leave to retire into Normandy. As soon as he found himself safe, he laid his case before the pope and the king. It was a good while before his letter came to the king's hands: but the pope, who was much sooner informed of the affront done his legate, was extremely incensed at their having thus disgraced the legantine character. Without staying

to hear what John could alledge in justification of his conduct, he sent express orders to the bishops to excommunicate him. John, terrified at the pope's menaces would have restored Longchamp, if the bishops themselves, who dreaded to be again in the power of that imperious prelate, had not declared against it. Thus the pope's orders lay unexecuted, and Longchamp durst not return into England.

The deposition of Longchamp furnished John with an opportunity of partaking in the regency; and also endeavouring to secure the crown to himself, in case the king should die during his expedition. He was very sensible there was another prince that had a better title than himself; this was Arthur, duke of Bretagne, his nephew, son to Geoffrey his eldest brother. He made it his business to become popular in order to gain the affection of the English, particularly the Londoners, whose rights and privileges he had confirmed by an assembly-general. This gained him the affections of the citizens, so that when they swore fealty to the king, they voluntarily made a solemn promise to receive John for their sovereign lord, in case the king died without issue. In this manner did the prince gain ground by degrees, and endeavoured, by secret practices, to secure a party capable of supporting him against his nephew, and whom he would even have made instrumental in much blacker designs against the king his brother. In the interim, Richard, by his valiant achievements, which attracted the admiration of the whole world, was rendering his name immortal, and inspiring the Saracens with a dread that the destruction of their empire was about to be accomplished †.

Richard returned to England in 1194, after being absent

\* Diceto says, that the king ordained in his letters patent, that in case Longchamp did not faithfully manage the affairs of the kingdom according to the advice of his counsellors, they might act without him; particularly he enjoined, that nothing should be transacted without the archbishop of Rouen, whom, as he said, he had sent over for the better defence of the kingdom, which, if true, vindicates the proceedings of that assembly. Diceto, p. 659.

† As the Crusade, or Wars to the Holy Land, made a great noise all over the world; and as Richard of England took a great part in these wars, we think it necessary to lay before our readers, a brief account of the then state of the Holy Land, in order to introduce that prince's actions during his absence from England. Rapin having given a circumstantial detail of these matters, we shall transcribe, from his History of England, book VII. the following narration:

"All the conquests the Christians had made in the east, had been erected into a kingdom, of which Godfrey of Boulogne was the first king. This kingdom consisted of Palestine and part of Syria, which had been taken from the Saracens. Godfrey reigned but one year. He was crowned with a crown of thorns in the year 1099. Baldwin his brother succeeded him, and governed eighteen years, leaving the crown by his death to Baldwin II. his cousin, who held it three years. Fulk, earl of Anjou, having married his daughter, became king of Jerusalem after his father-in-law's decease, and reigned eleven years. He had by his first wife, Geoffrey, who was earl of Anjou, and father of Henry II. king of England. By his second wife, Fulk had issue two sons, of whom Baldwin the eldest sat on the throne of Jerusalem twenty-four years, and was succeeded by Almeric his brother, who reigned twelve years, Baldwin IV. his son and successor, finding himself childless, and without hopes of having any, made Baldwin his nephew, son to his eldest sister Sybil, by William of Montferrat, his heir. He died after a reign of twelve years, leaving the guardianship of young Baldwin V. and the regency of the kingdom, to Raymond, earl of Tripoli. In the mean time Sybil, mother of the king, married Guy of Lusignan, who in right of the princess his wife, claimed the guardianship of the king, and the government of the state. The earl of Tripoli in vain opposed his pretensions, by urging the late king's will. Guy, supported by his wife, seized upon the regency, and quickly after became king himself by Baldwin's decease, not without suspicion of having hastened his death by poison, in order to mount the throne. This revolution soon proved the occasion of a more fatal one. The earl of Tripoli preparing to try to dethrone Guy, whom he looked upon as an usurper, and as the murderer of the late king, unfortunately for the Christians of that country, Guy betthought himself of applying to Sala-

dine, sultan of Egypt, for aid. The infidel prince gladly embraced so favourable an opportunity of recovering a country from whence his predecessors had been expelled ninety years before. Under colour of assisting the king of Jerusalem, he entered Palestine at the head of a formidable army, and forthwith took Acres or Ptolemais, Asotus, Berytus, and some other places. At first he pretended that he conquered only for the king; but at length he thought he might safely pull off the mask, and openly show, that his design was to drive the Christians out of Palestine. In vain did Guy, who was not sensible of his error till it was too late, shut himself up in his capital. As the city was but ill provided with stores, it was not possible for him to hold out above a month, or to escape falling into the hands of his enemy; upon which he was fain to deliver up Ascalon to the sultan, and to procure his liberty. Thus Saladin found the means to destroy at once both the competitors, whose quarrel had furnished him with an opportunity to carry his arms into Palestine.

"For the recovery of this lost kingdom it was, that the kings of France and England had undertaken the present expedition, with numerous armies made up of all the nations in Europe, but chiefly of the French and English. Before Philip's arrival in Palestine, Guy of Lusignan, Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, James, of Avesnes, and several other princes and lords, with some German, Flemish, and Italian troops, had begun the siege of Acres, which had already lasted a whole year. As soon as Philip, who had sailed first from Messina, had landed his men, he encamped round the city, and continued the siege, though with little success. Richard arrived afterwards with fresh troops, vigorously carried it on; and at length, after Saladin had made divers fruitless attempts to raise the siege, the city surrendered upon terms. The siege is said to have lasted above two years, and the author of *Ricard's Travels to Jerusalem* affirms, that three hundred thousand pilgrims perished in this siege. Among whom were many princes and noble persons, viz. Conrad, duke of Servia, and several foreign earls; Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, Ralph de Glanville, chief justice of England, and some whose posterity still flourish, as *Ingram de Lincennes*, ancestor of the lord Say and Seal, the lord Dacres, Theophilus Clinton, earl of Lincoln, whose arms retain the badge of the Holy War, *Sans Cressants*, and *Croisles*; as also St. John, Mordaunt, Talbot, &c.

"Among the occurrences of this famous siege, I must not omit one, which though of no great importance in itself, was attended with consequences very remarkable, and, at the same time, very fatal to the king of England. In an assault made by the Christians, Leopold, duke of Austria, having carried one of the Towers, forthwith ordered his banner to be erected there. Richard taking this action as an injury done to the king



absent four years, as Raimon informs us, and was received by his subjects with demonstrations of joy and affection, which made him forget all the disgraces he had suffered during his confinement. His first care was to discharge the vow he had made, to offer to God the rich standard of Cyprus in St. Edmund's Church: which done, he

marched against some castles still in the hands of John's adherents, of which Nottingham Castle was the only one that held out a siege of some days. In the interim, he had ordered the prince his brother, who was retired to France, to be summoned to appear within forty days, to answer to the accusations which should be exhibited against

kings, who commanded in chief, sent some of his men to pull it down and tread it under foot. Leopold resented this affront very heinously; but as it was not then in his power to be revenged, he stifled his resentment, till he should meet with a proper season to show them. Unluckily for Richard, an opportunity offered when he least expected it, and you will find in the sequel, that the duke of Austria was amply revenged.

"The taking of Acres seemed to encourage the two kings to form fresh projects: but just as the Christian army expected to march towards Jerusalem, the dissention which arose between the two leaders, frustrated their expectations. Since they were joined, Richard had acquired a certain superiority, which extremely mortified the king of France. The number and good condition of his forces, his personal valour, which he had given several proofs of at the siege of Acres, and the very taking of that city, of which he had all the honour, gained him a particular esteem and regard from the whole army. Philip could not bear to see a distinction so much to the advantage of the king of England. His jealousy was visible on all occasions; but as he durst not openly complain that his rival was more respected than himself, he sought some other pretences to colour his resentment. The first he made use of, was to demand of Richard half the isle of Cyprus, pretending that their agreement was equally to share all their conquests. Richard made answer, that the articles of their convention related only to what should be won from the infidels: and added, that it was plain Philip understood them in that sense, since he had taken to himself what belonged to the earl of Flanders, who died at the siege of Acres, without ever having the least thought of giving him a share. To this was added another occasion of quarreling. The crown of Jerusalem was in dispute between Guy of Lusignan, and Conrad, marquis of Montferrat. Richard took Guy's part, and Philip openly declared for the marquis. The grounds and reasons of their respective pretensions were briefly these:

"Almeric, king of Jerusalem, had by his first wife, who was of the house of Courtenay, Baldwin IV. his successor, and a daughter called Sybilla. By his second wife, niece to Emanuel, emperor of Constantinople, he had a daughter named Isabella. Sybilla was married first to William of Montferrat, by whom she had Baldwin V. who was heir to Baldwin IV. his uncle. Sybilla's second husband was Guy of Lusignan, by whom she had several children, who all died before their mother. Isabella, sister of Sybilla, but by a second venture, had also two husbands. The first was Humphrey de Toron, who refused the crown offered him by the barons of Jerusalem, after the death of Baldwin V. Her second husband was Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, who claimed the title of king of Jerusalem in right of his wife, whose eldest sister was lately dead without issue. The business therefore was to know, whether Guy of Lusignan ought to keep on the title of king of Jerusalem, after the decease of Sybilla his wife; or whether he ought to resign it to the marquis of Montferrat, whose wife was then sole heiress to the kingdom. It is true indeed, they were disputing about an empty title, since Saladin was master of the capital city, and almost all the country. But, however, the title was of some consequence, at a juncture wherein it was expected, that the kingdom would be restored by the arms of the Croises. Philip had espoused the cause of the marquis of Montferrat; and it was perhaps for that very reason, that Richard stood by Guy of Lusignan; so jealous were these monarchs grown one of another: scarce a day passed, but what something or other happened which served to inflame their mutual animosity. Philip was jealous of Richard's glory, who in his turn complained that Philip, out of spite and envy, obstructed the progress of the arms of the Christians. In the midst of their heats and contentions; they were both seized with the same distemper, which had like to have carried them off: but they got over it with the loss of their hair.

"After their recovery in 1199, Richard appeared more eager than ever to push on his conquests over the infidels. But Philip resolved upon returning to France, his weakness caused by his late illness, scarce permitting him any more to exert upon action. But he had another reason, which swayed not less with him: that was, his extreme impatience to go and take possession of Artois, fallen to him by the death of the earl of Flanders. He imparted his resolution to Richard, who seemed very much surprised at it, being apprehensive that Philip in returning to Europe, had some design on his dominions in France. One of the articles of their agreement was, that neither of them should desert the cause without the other's

consent. Richard insisted upon that article, and refused to agree to Philip's departure, till such time as they were masters of Jerusalem. However, as he could not constrain him to stay, he left him to do as he pleased. But before he did so, Philip was, as it were, forced to take a solemn oath, in the presence of the bishops and principal officers of both armies, nor to attack any place belonging to Richard, either in France or in England, till forty days after the return of that prince into his own territories. Upon quitting Palestine, he left ten thousand of his men under the command of the duke of Burgundy, and publicly ordered him to pay the same obedience to the king of England as to himself. But in all appearance, he gave him other instructions in private. This is what Mezerai seems to own, when he says, that Richard would have become master of Jerusalem, had not the jealousy of the duke of Burgundy laid obstacles in his way.

"A little after the departure of the king of France, Richard and Saladin exhibited a spectacle of horror to their armies, by commanding the prisoners each had in his power, to be put to death. It is difficult to determine, which of the two princes was the first author of this barbarity. Some historians lay the blame on Saladin, others accuse the king of England. These last seemed to me to have the best ground for what they say. The Saracen monarch refused to perform the articles of the surrender of Acres; whereas no other reason is alledged that might induce the infidel to this piece of cruelty, but his natural fierceness, though he appears, upon other occasions, to have been of a very generous temper. Thus much is certain, that the duke of Burgundy, following Richard's example, ordered also what captives were in his hands to be beheaded. I do not take upon me to set out the bounds of the power which the laws of war give over prisoners whose sovereign refuses to perform the articles of a surrender, or how far the law of retaliation may extend; but methinks one can hardly be mistaken in saying, that whoever goes to the extent of his power, on such occasions, runs the risk of committing a very great injustice. Be this as it will, instances of the like barbarity are very rarely to be met with in history. It was article'd, that three thousand Christian captives should be delivered, and that the Turks should redeem their heads by paying a certain sum of money, and remain in custody till payment was made; and that in case these articles were not made good within forty days, they should be at the king's mercy for their lives. Saladin pretending these conditions were not with his approbation, would not perform them; upon which, it is likely Richard began with beheading the Turkish captives. Hoveden says, to the number of five thousand, but Vinsanck reckons but two thousand seven hundred.

"After the departure of the French, Richard had held a great council of war, wherein the siege of Ascalon was resolved upon. To execute this project, he marched along the sea side, whilst his fleet, freighted with all manner of stores, rowed in sight of the troops, and furnished them with necessaries. Saladin having had intelligence of the Croises designs, posted himself in an advantageous manner in the way they were to pass, with an army of three hundred thousand men. How great disproportion soever there might be between their forces, Richard resolved to attack him thus posted. He was very sensible, that if he could defeat that army, not only the taking of Ascalon would be the fruits of his victory, but even the siege of Jerusalem would become a much less difficult task; but, on the contrary, if he declined the fight, such a numerous army of infidels would continually obstruct the execution of his designs. Pursuant to this resolution, he approached the enemy, and having drawn up his army in order of battle, he marched up to them with an undaunted countenance. James of Avesnes commanded the right wing; the duke of Burgundy led up the left, and the king headed the main body of the army. Saladin had concealed part of his troops on his right hand, behind some hills which prevented the Christians from seeing them. As he expected mighty matters from this ambuscade, he was resolved not to lose the advantage which the ground gave him. Accordingly, without stirring from his post, he waited the coming of the enemy to attack him.

"The right wing of the Christians having begun the attack, the Saracens received James of Avesnes with a resolution, which, backed by the superiority of their numbers, put that body in such disorder that they could not recover themselves for a considerable time. James of Avesnes was slain whilst he was endeavouring to animate his dispirited troops, and



against him. As John did not appear within the time limited, the king caused a sentence to be passed against him, whereby his estates were confiscated, and he himself excluded from the succession to the crown. This affair being over, Richard was crowned again, lest his imprisonment might have raised any scruples in the

and bring them to charge again. At the same time the duke of Burgundy furiously attacked the right wing of the Saracens, which, pursuant to the general's orders, having retreated as they fought, caused the duke to advance, with more courage than conduct, a good way from the body of the army. Saladin, finding that matters went very well with his left wing, and that the duke of Burgundy with his wing was detached from the rest of the army, ordered the body that lay concealed to move forward. These troops descending down the hills in great multitudes, surrounded on all sides the wing commanded by the duke of Burgundy, and made a terrible slaughter of them.

"It depended then on Richard to save the honour of the Christians, and to repair their loss. He had fought on his side, with better success; and though he had met with a stout resistance in the body that opposed him, yet he had compelled them to retreat in disorder. He was still engaged in the pursuit of his enemies, when he was informed of the ill state of his right wing, and the danger his left was in. Upon which he gave over pursuing the flying enemy, and marching to the relief of the duke of Burgundy, he poured upon the victorious troops of Saladin, in order to snatch from them a victory, they thought themselves sure of. On this famous occasion it was, that he was seen to perform such astonishing acts of valour, that those who envied him most, could not forbear having him in admiration. Some tell us, he was personally engaged with Saladin, and, having dismounted him, would have taken him prisoner, had not the Saracens used their utmost efforts to rescue him out of his hands. Be this as it will, thus much is certain, that Richard's valour made such an alteration in the face of the battle, that Saladin saw himself obliged to reinforce his right wing with part of the victorious troops of the left. As this detachment could not but occasion some disorder, it gave the right wing of the Christians time to come to themselves. Finding they were not so hard pressed as before, they quickly rallied, and falling furiously on the Saracen troops that opposed them, they forced them at length to take to flight.

"In the mean time, Richard maintained the fight on the left, with a constancy and courage which seemed somewhat more than natural, considering the superiority of his enemies, who had drawn all their forces against him. It was, however, to be feared, that he would have been overpowered by numbers, had not his right wing, which no longer met with resistance, come into his aid. Then the Saracens, finding they were attacked on the flank by these fresh troops, began to break their ranks with such confusion, that it was out of Saladin's power to rally them. The Christians, taking advantage of their disorder, pressed them so briskly, that they put at length that prodigious army entirely to rout. Thus Richard, by his valour and conduct, obtained a complete victory over the enemies of the Christian name, of whom forty thousand lay dead in the field of battle. James of Avesnes was the only officer of distinction that fell that day on the side of the Christians.

"After this important victory, Richard continued his march towards the maritime cities of Ascalon, Joppa, and Cæsarea, which Saladin had thought fit to abandon, after having demolished the walls. It was of the utmost consequence to the Christians to repair the cities, that they might erect their magazines for the army, when they should advance further into the enemy's country. This, in all probability, was the sole reason which obliged the victorious prince to stay some time at Joppa. Some, however, have taxed him with not having known how to make the best of his victory, by marching directly to Jerusalem. But I doubt whether he is to be blamed upon their authority. There are so few capable of judging rightly in these matters, especially when the circumstances are but imperfectly known, that I do not think it the part of a prudent man to pass his verdict about them.

"During Richard's stay at Joppa, an adventure befel him, which had like to have been very fatal to him, and from which he was not delivered but by a kind of miracle. One day, after having very much tired himself with hunting, as he was lain down under a tree to sleep, and only six persons about him, he was roused by a sudden appearance of some Saracen horsemen, who were near the place where he slept. As they were but few in number, he had no manner of dread upon him, but immediately mounting his horse he rode after them, which they perceiving, feigned to fly before him, and by that means drew him into an ambuscade, where he saw himself surrounded

minds of his subjects. William, king of Scotland, assisting at the solemnity, carried the sword of state on the coronation-day, as earl of Huntingdon. This piece of deference, and his constant attachment to Richard whilst in prison, entirely gained him the affections of that prince, who omitted nothing to show him marks of his friendship.

on a sudden by a party of the enemy. He defended himself a long time with a wonderful bravery, without any thoughts of retreating, notwithstanding the odds against him. At length, four of his attendants being fallen, he was upon the point of being slain or taken, when William Despreaux, one of his company, cried out in the Saracen language, *I am king of England*. At which words, those that were upon Richard, left him to have their share in the taking of Despreaux, whom they imagined to be the king. This device gave Richard time to ride off full speed, whilst the Saracens, content with their success, conducted their prisoner to Saladin. Despreaux had the prudence not to discover himself till he came before the sultan, to whom he ingenuously confessed what he had done to save his master. Saladin commended his fidelity, and did him a great deal of honour. But as he was very sensible Richard would never suffer one that had done him so signal a service to remain long a captive, he set so high a value on his head, that he procured ten Emirs, or Saracen princes, in exchange for that faithful servant.

"As soon as the maritime places were sufficiently repaired, Richard marched towards Jerusalem, which he had resolved to besiege. In his way he had the good fortune to meet the Babylon-caravan, which was carrying to Jerusalem a prodigious quantity of rich merchandizes, and provisions of all kinds. The caravan was guarded by ten thousand horse, who finding themselves near the Christian army, would immediately have retreated; but Richard taking with him five thousand chosen horsemen, fell upon them with great fury, and having put them to flight, became master of the caravan. He took on this occasion three thousand loaded camels, and four thousand horses or mules, with an inestimable booty, which he ordered to be distributed all among his soldiers. After this lucky encounter, having continued on his march towards Jerusalem, he came to a hill, from whence he had the pleasure to survey that famous city, the taking of which was the chief end of his expedition. In the mean time, as the country round about was destitute of forage, he saw himself under the fatal necessity of putting off the siege till the spring. This delay furnished his enemies, and those that envied him, with a pretence to desert him. The duke of Austria led the way, and the duke of Burgundy quickly followed him, not being able to bear the thoughts of contributing any longer to the glory of a prince, whom he looked upon as the king of France's rival. His death, which happened at Acres just as he was going to embark, prevented not the French troops from sailing for Europe. The going off of the Germans and French; the marquis of Montferat's refusing to assist with the Italian troops in a conquest, which he laid claim to, but was designed for another; the news Richard received of what was doing in England; the apprehensions he was in that Philip would take the advantage of his absence, and declare war against him; the diminishing of his troops, as well by sickness as battle; all these things together were but too capable of making him think of returning home, and are reasons sufficient to justify the truce he made with Saladin, notwithstanding the vain declamations of those who have had the confidence to blame him for deserting the cause, when within view of Jerusalem. It is easy to see, that with the few troops which were left him, it was not possible for him to go through with an enterprize of so difficult a nature as was then the siege of that city. During the whole winter, they had found time to lay in all manner of warlike stores, and the garrison was scarce inferior in number to the Christian army. Saladin having notice of Richard's design to return home, thought it his interest to hasten the departure of so formidable an enemy, by offering him a three years truce. All the principal officers of the Christian army joyfully embraced his offer; every one was very glad, after so many hardships, to go and enjoy some tranquillity in his own country. Richard therefore accepted of a truce which was proposed upon these conditions: that the city of Ascalon should be dismantled, and not fortified up by either party during the truce; that Joppa or Jaffa, and Acres or Ptolemais, should remain in the hands of the Christians with the rest of the cities they were possessed of in Palestine; that the Christians should have liberty to go in pilgrimage to Jerusalem without paying any thing for it, and free commerce throughout all Saladin's dominions. The treaty being concluded, Richard sent Saladin word, that he might depend on seeing him again, to try once more to wrest the Holy Land out of his hands. The sultan, with a politeness which had nothing of the barbarian in it, returned in answer, that it must be his fate to lose that part of his dominions, rather



friendship. It is true, indeed, he did not think fit to give up Northumberland, which he earnestly desired to be put in possession of, on account of a dubious title, which even his predecessor had thrown up. But to soften, in some measure, this refusal, he granted him a charter, whereby the kings of Scotland were to enjoy

certain honours and privileges whenever they came to England. They were to be conducted by the sheriffs of every county from Berwick to the court, and allowed one hundred shillings a day during the journey, and thirty whilst they staid; and also twelve loaves of fine bread, twelve of the king's finnels, with four gallons of the

"rather it should be to the king of England, than to any other monarch in the world." Thus ended the famous Crusade, which had drained France and England both of men and money. It proved of very little benefit to the Eastern Christians, whilst it ruined those of Europe, by the prodigious sums therein expended. But that was not all; it became the occasion of destructive wars between France and England.

"Richard, fearing that in his absence Saladin would break the truce, convened the principal officers of the army, in order to elect a general capable of commanding the troops that were designed to be left behind in Palestine. The choice fell upon the marquis of Montferrat, to Richard's great surprize, who had openly declared against him. However, he gave his consent to the election, and sacrificed his private resentments to the public good of the Christians. Shortly after the marquis was stabbed by two villains, sent for that purpose by the old man of the mountains: that was the title they gave the head or chief master of a sort of people inhabiting about Antioch, called Chaffins, or by some such name. The old man of the mountains always kept in his service a set of people devoted to his will, whom he dispatched into all parts of the world upon the like occasions. Hence the French called him the Prince of the Assassins, or, perhaps, the word assassin is derived from the name of these people. These assassins were a precise sect of Mahometans, dwelling in six cities near Antaradus in Syria, being about forty thousand in number. They were ready to stab any prince whom the old man of the mountains should appoint them, or to go upon any other dangerous attempt. Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, was murdered in the streets of Tyre by two of them, whom he entertained in his service, they having pretended to turn Christians. M. Paris. As it was not known at first who was the author of this murder, Richard, as being no friend to the marquis, was, by some, suspected of it. But the marquis himself was so far from having any such thought, that just as he died, he ordered his troops to deliver into the hands of the king of England the city of Tyre, which he was in possession of. After the death of the marquis of Montferrat, Richard managed it so, that in his place was elected Henry, earl of Champaign, who was nephew to him as well as to the king of France. Then he caused him to marry Isabella, the deceased's widow, who brought him for her dowry the titular kingdom of Jerusalem. As for Guy of Lusignan, the king made up his loss of an empty title with the real donation of the kingdom of Cyprus, though he had sold it before to the Templars. Upon the repeated complaints of the Cypriots, to whom the tyranny of their new masters was become insupportable, Richard thought he had a right to revoke the sale he had made. Whether this was consistent with justice, is needless now to enquire. It is sufficient to observe, that Guy was put in possession of his kingdom, which remained in his family near two whole centuries.

"The affairs of the east being settled in this manner, Richard, impatient to return to England, embarked in 1193, at Ptolemais, from whence he sailed to Corfu, an island situated at the entrance of the Adriatic gulph. In all appearance, his design was to land somewhere in the bottom of the gulph, in order to continue his journey by land through Germany. However, some tell us, that he was driven against his will, by stress of weather, in those parts. Whatever his design might be, he was exposed to a violent storm, which forced him on the coast of Iltria, and from thence between Aquileia and Venice, where the galliot he was on board split upon a rock. It was not without great difficulty that he escaped that danger, in order to run forthwith into another. Whether for want of knowing the country better, or for some other unknown reason, he entered the territories of the duke of Austria, and took the road to Vienna. If this was not done through ignorance, it will be a difficult matter to dive into what he could possibly design by it. Besides that, this was by no means his way to England, it was a great piece of imprudence to hazard his person in the dominions of a prince, whom he had so mortally offended at the siege of Acres. Be this as it will, he kept on his journey disguised like a pilgrim, well knowing he had every thing to fear from the duke's resentment, should he happen to be discovered. His lavish expences, and the indiscretion of some of his attendants, were the occasion of a rumour being quickly spread, that the king of England was in those parts. The duke of Austria having notice of it, caused the pretended pilgrim to be watched so narrowly, that he was seized at a small village near Vienna. Having travelled some time with his attendants like so many pilgrims, with their hair and beards

grown to a great length, he dismissed them all, and taking horse with one servant came to the village, where sending out his servant to buy provisions, he was known by one belonging to the duke of Austria, and being seized, was forced to tell where the king was, who was taken as he lay asleep. The news having reached the emperor Henry VI. he sent and demanded the prisoner of the duke of Austria, who delivered him up, upon his being assured he should have a good share in his ransom. Thus Richard, whose fame filled the whole earth, and whose noble actions had given him the pre-eminence above all the princes of his time, lost his liberty, and saw himself in the power of the most sordid and ungenerous of princes.

"The news of Richard's imprisonment quickly flew over all Europe and particularly into England, where it caused a great consternation. Queen Eleanor his mother immediately took all possible precaution, to prevent this accident from occasioning some fatal revolution. She represented to the principal barons, that they could not give the king any effectual proofs of their fidelity, but by opposing, to the utmost of their power, the attempts of prince John, whose ill designs were not to them unknown. That it was chiefly with that they must begin, in order to preserve the peace of the realm; and that afterwards the other affairs might be taken care of. The exhortations of the queen, the unfortunate condition the king was in, and the fame he had acquired in the East concurred to keep up in the English barons, the fidelity which was due to their sovereign. As they did not question but John would lay hold on this juncture to disturb the state, they entered into an association to exclude him from the government, at the very time he was taking measures to seize it. The opportunity appearing to him very favourable, he had formed a design to take the administration of affairs into his hands, that he might with the greater ease, wrest the crown from the king his brother; but he was prevented by the diligence of the queen his mother, and the barons. He had the mortification to see other regents appointed during the king's imprisonment. However, he forbore not to use his endeavours to break an association so prejudicial to him. He affirmed, that his sole aim was to secure himself from the pretensions of the duke of Bretagne, his nephew, in case Richard should die in prison: but all his proceedings plainly showed, that his design was rather to obstruct the king's return, supposing he should be so fortunate as to obtain his liberty. Accordingly, he left no stone unturned to become master of the strong-holds, or to gain the governors to his interests. It is no wonder, if at such a juncture he prevailed with some of them; but in general he met with so great opposition, that he found at length there was no possibility of compassing his ends, without the assistance of the king of France. As soon as he was determined to apply to Philip, he departed in order to go and confer with him. As he went through Normandy, he staid some days at Rouen, where he tried all sorts of ways to corrupt the loyalty of the Normans; but not succeeding he set forward for Paris, where he made a treaty with Philip, who wanted nothing more than to embroil Richard's affairs.

"If we may credit certain historians, John obliged himself to marry the princess Alice, whom Richard had refused, and to do homage to the crown of France for the kingdom of England. I do not know whether these authors had good authority to assert these two particulars. It is certain, that the treaty itself, which is in the Collection of Public Acts, says nothing like it: neither is it probable that John, who was already married, should promise to espouse another wife. It seems more likely therefore, that Philip, as the treaty imports, was satisfied with admitting John to do homage for all the provinces in France belonging to the crown of England, which as sovereign lord, he pretended to have a right to dispose of.

"As soon as John had finished his matters in France, he embarked for England, with design to use his utmost endeavours to gain the king of Scotland to his side; but William remembering the generous usage he had met with from Richard, would give no ear to his solicitations, what means soever John employed to make him believe that the imprisoned king would never recover his liberty. All his endeavours, as well with regard to the Normans as the king of Scotland, proving of no effect, he bethought himself of another expedient. He caused a rumour to be spread that Richard was dead in prison, and upon that foundation demanded the crown. But as there was no advice of the king's death from any other hands, the English were not inclined to comply too hastily with his demand, without further confirmation. In the mean time, their



the best, and eight of the ordinary wine, &c. In the year 1195, Richard prepared to revenge the injuries he had received from the king of France. To do which he required a large army, which could be neither raised nor maintained without an extraordinary charge: his kingdom, already drained, was hardly in a condition to

refusal furnished him with a pretence to seize some places of strength, as willing to take by force what he could not obtain by fair means. But his party was so inconsiderable, that it was not possible for him to make any great progress.

"Whilst these things were transacting in England, Philip was not idle in France. Persuaded as he was, that the English taken up at home with John's pretensions, would not be able to send any succours beyond sea, he resolved to seize the provinces which Richard held in France. Pursuant to this resolution, unmindful of the oath he had taken upon quitting Palestine, he made himself master of Gisors, Evreux, and the country of Vexin, after which he laid siege to Rouen. He was in hopes to surprize the city, the taking of which would have drawn after it all the rest of Normandy; but he had the mortification to miss his aim. The earl of Leicester, who had got into the city some days before, made so brave a defence, that after an assault, wherein the French were repulsed with great loss, Philip was constrained to break up the siege.

"In the mean time, queen Eleanor, not content with having raised a strong barrier against the ambition of her younger son, laboured with all her might to get the king released. As the emperor had no plausible colour to detain him in prison; she imagined that a powerful mediation, such as the pope's, might have a good effect. In this belief she had frequently writ to his holiness, to entreat him to take in hand the cause of the king her son. All her solicitations not having been able to prevail with him, she sent him at length a very expostulatory letter, which plainly showed how highly she was provoked at his indifference. She complained, that he was unwilling to stir the least step in behalf of the imprisoned king: that he had refused to send a nuncio to the emperor, though he had often sent legates to all the Christian states, in matters of much less moment: that this behaviour was so much the more strange, as that it would be no disparagement at all to his dignity, were he to go in person and solicit the release of so great a king, who had just been exposing his life in the service of the church. In fine, she represented to him, that the many good offices which the holy see stood indebted to the kings of England for, well deserved some return; and that the services done the popes during the schisms, could not be forgotten without ingratitude: but all these instances were to no purpose. The pope did not think fit to concern himself about an unfortunate prince, for fear of displeasing the king of France, who pressed him on the other hand not to interpose in that affair.

"Whilst the queen laboured in vain to move the pope, the emperor, who was desirous to have some cloak for his injustice, ordered Richard to be conducted to Haguenaw, where the diet of the empire was assembled. The deputies, sent by the queen and council to the king to acquaint him with what was doing in England, met on the road their unfortunate prince, conducted in an ignominious manner like a criminal. This melancholy sight drew tears from their eyes, which the king seeing could not forbear weeping in his turn. After they had, by many affectionate expressions, let him see how much they were concerned at his misfortune, and assured him of the loyalty of his subjects in general, they informed him of the attempts of the prince his brother, and of his strict alliance with the king of France. These informations made him sensible, that in the present posture of affairs he should be very much in the wrong to stand disputing with the emperor about the terms of his freedom. In this mind he was brought before the assembly of the German princes, where the emperor charged him with six articles, whereof there was but one which he himself ought to have concerned himself about, and none at all relating to the German nation in particular. I. He accused Richard for making a league with Tancred to support that usurper in the possession of the kingdom of Sicily. II. He alledged, that by his contests with the king of France, he had obstructed the taking of Jerusalem. III. He charged him with having unjustly taken by force the kingdom of Cyprus; and employed the arms of the Croises in deposing a Christian prince. IV. He taxed him with the affront done the duke of Austria at the siege of Ptolemais. V. He charged him with having a hand in the murder of the marquis of Montferrat. VI. and lastly, He laid to his charge, as a great crime, the truce he had concluded with Saladin; and accused him of having held intelligence with that infidel prince, to the great detriment of Christendom in general.

"Though neither the emperor nor the princes of Germany had any manner of right to sit as judges over the king of Eng-

supply his present occasions. However, money was wanting, and divers ways and means were used to raise it, which were not very honourable. In the first place, he demanded again all the crown lands which he had alienated upon his going to the Holy Land. His pretence for so doing, was, that the purchasers had over-

land, Richard did not think proper to dispute their authority. He was too much afraid of giving any handle for delays, which could not but be very prejudicial to him: in all appearance that was the only aim the emperor proposed to himself. He was contented therefore with briefly saying, that although he looked upon himself as accountable to none for his actions, he was willing however to vindicate himself before that illustrious assembly; not that he considered the persons there present as his judges; but because it was of great consequence to his honour to let the world see his innocence. Then he made his defence against the emperor's allegations. To the first he replied, that his treaty with Tancred in no wise related to the emperor: that he did not make Tancred king of Sicily, but found him so; and treated with him as with the king in actual possession of the crown. To the second he answered, that the king of France's jealousy was the sole cause of the small progress that was made in the conquest of the Holy-Land; and that the whole blame ought to be laid on that prince, since he first deserted the cause. To the third, which related to the conquest of Cyprus, he made answer, that he took not that kingdom from a lawful prince, but from an usurper and tyrant; who, by his barbarity had justly drawn down his vengeance on his head. That he had made appear plainly that he had not acted in that affair from a principle of ambition or avarice, since he had voluntarily resigned the island to Guy of Lusignan, to make him amends for the loss of the kingdom of Jerusalem. As to the fourth article, he contented himself with saying, that the duke of Austria was sufficiently revenged of an affront which he might have demanded satisfaction for in a more honourable manner. As for the murder of the marquis of Montferrat, he said, with some emotion, that all his past actions were so many evidences of his being incapable of using such base means to be revenged on his enemies; and added, that the marquis himself had cleared him before he expired, by commanding the princess his wife to put into his hands the city of Tyre, which he would never have done, without doubt, had he suspected him to have been the author of his death. He spoke more largely to the charge of his holding intelligence with Saladin. He represented, though in a very modest manner, the great hand he had in the victory obtained over the infidel prince. He accused the duke of Burgundy of having deserted him purely out of jealousy, when he was just upon the point of laying siege to Jerusalem. In fine, he added, it was easy to see that in making a truce with the Saracens, he had no sordid interest in view, since of all the booty which he had got by taken the Babylon Caravan, he had reserved nothing to himself but only the ring which he wore on his finger.

"This defence, which very much confounded the emperor, raised the compassion of the German princes for Richard. They were so well satisfied of the great injury done to that illustrious prince, that with one consent they besought the emperor to deal more generously by him. But their entreaties could not induce that covetous and selfish prince to relieve his prisoner, before he had exacted from him an exorbitant ransom. He was the more extravagant in his demands, because the king of France had sent the bishop of Beauvais to offer him a large sum to keep Richard in perpetual imprisonment. The captive king, therefore, was forced, in order to obtain his liberty, to bind himself to pay a hundred and fifty thousand marks of pure silver, of which the duke of Austria was to have a third for his share. The emperor required further, that this sum should be brought into Germany at the hazard and charge of Richard. To these hard terms he added, that Richard should cause the emperor of Cyprus and his daughter to be set at liberty; and that he should give Eleanor of Bretagne, his niece, in marriage to the duke of Austria's eldest son. Some say, moreover, that the emperor, not content with these advantageous conditions, obliged Richard to make an absolute resignation to him of the kingdom of England, which, however, he presently re-invested him with, to hold it of him by the annual tribute of five thousand pounds sterling. Indeed, one cannot say, that this fact is altogether improbable, considering the wretched state Richard was then in. Nevertheless, one can hardly believe, that, as much a prisoner as he was, he could ever bring himself to stoop to so mean an action. Besides, we do not find that the emperor ever laid any claim to England by virtue of this pretended resignation. Accordingly, the same historians which assert this particular, add, that Henry before his death renounced all right to England. To make the matter the more probable, it is pretended,



and above received the money they had disbursed, out of the profits of the estates, though they had enjoyed them but a very few years. He put in practice another, and no less unlawful method, to fill his empty coffers. The great seal, which he had carried with him, having been lost during his voyage, he ordered a new one to be made; and obliged all those that had any patents or commissions under the old seal, to have them renewed, and sealed with a new one. These two methods not appearing to him sufficient, he invented two more. The first was to prohibit tournaments, and then to grant the nobility a licence to hold, or be present at them, upon payment of a certain sum of money, in proportion to their rank and quality\*. The second was, to restore to his good graces Geoffrey his natural brother, and permit him to enjoy the archbishopric of York. The bishop of Coventry, a zealous friend of prince John, who had been sentenced the same time with him, received likewise the same favour: but it cost the former two thousand, and the latter five thousand marks.

Richard having got together the forces he designed against France, was acquainted as he sat at table, that Philip had laid siege to Verneuil. His indignation appeared on this occasion, and he swore he would not turn his face, till he arrived where the enemy was. To keep his oath, he caused part of the wall of the room where he was at dinner to be pulled down, and going directly out, went to the sea-side, and embarked immediately with his troops, who were waiting for him on the shore, and soon after arrived in Normandy. Upon his approach, Philip raised the siege, just as he was upon the point of becoming master of the city. Some say, he

was constrained to it by his army, which being seized by a panic, betook itself to flight, leaving the tents and baggage in the camp. Some time after, Richard being at Rouen, the queen his mother introduced prince John who throwing himself at his feet, begged pardon for his crime. The king received him civilly, as he had promised the queen; but, however, gave him to understand that he was not satisfied of the sincerity of his repentance. "I forgive you," says he, raising him up, "and with I could as easily lose the remembrance of the injuries you have done me, as you will forget my pardon of them." During the war with France, a truce was several times made, and as often broken: many battles were fought, with various success. By one action near Blois, Philip lost all the ancient records of his crown, together with all his baggage. It was customary then for the king to carry along with him wherever he went, the archives of the kingdom. Mezerai laments the loss France sustained on this occasion, and deplores the great damage done to the history of that kingdom with respect to the events before this engagement. The forces of the two kings were too much upon an equality for either of them to hope to make any great progress in the war. After they had harassed and tired one another about four years, finding that all their advantages amounted to no more than the taking some paltry towns, which were often retaken soon after, they gladly embraced an opportunity which offered to put an honourable conclusion to the war: and therefore, complying with the pope's exhortations, who sent his legate into France to try to make peace between them, they consented to a truce for five years, which put some stop

pretended, that the emperor's donation of the kingdom of Arles to Richard, was to make him some amends for the sovereignty of England which he had just given up: but this very thing makes it presumed, that they have confounded the homage which Richard, in reality, did the emperor for the kingdom of Arles, of which that monarch had made him a grant, with the homage for England. And, indeed, it appears from the Collection of Public Acts, that Henry conferred the title of king of Arles on Richard, who, no doubt, did him homage for that imaginary kingdom, which the emperors had not been in possession of for many years.

"As soon as the treaty was signed, Richard sent word of it to the queen his mother, desiring her to use all possible means to raise the money for his ransom forthwith. This was no inconsiderable sum at that time in England. Richard himself, when he went to the Holy Land, had almost quite drained the kingdom of all the coin. Besides, the Croisades had likewise carried off large sums. For this reason, it was no easy matter to supply the present exigency. However, the zeal of the lords justiciaries caused them to find the means to raise a hundred thousand marks, what by taxes, (ever knight's fee being taxed twenty shillings, according to Hoveden,) and what by borrowing one year's wool of the abbies of the Cistercians, and religious houses of the order of Sempringham. This order was first established at Sempringham in Lincolnshire, (now a seat of the Clintons, earls of Lincoln,) in the year 1148, by one Gilbert, then lord of the manor, from whom they were called Gilbertines. They were a promiscuous order of men and women together, who increased so fast, that the founder himself lived to see seven hundred Gilbertine friars, and one thousand one hundred sisters. But their modesty was not to be bragged of, since it is said, that three parts in four of these sisters were pregnant at one time. Tindal.—To this was added some plate, which the churches furnished upon the queen's promise to make it good again, after the king's return.

"In 1194, whilst they were taken up in England with levying the money for the king's ransom, Philip and John left no stone unturned to break the agreement he had made with the emperor. As soon as Philip had notice of it, he sent John word, to look to himself, since the Devil was like to get loose. This news threw the prince into a great consternation. He saw all his hopes vanish, and himself upon the point of falling into the hands of a very justly incensed brother, without knowing how to ward off the terrible blow. In this perplexity he had no other course to take, but to enter into a more strict alliance with Philip, and endeavour, with his assistance, to break the measures Richard had taken for his deliverance. As these two princes were joined in one common interest, they agreed to act in concert, in order to engage the emperor by advantageous offers, to detain Richard in prison. The bishop of Beauvais was again commissioned to make Henry the fol-

lowing proposals: that provided he would promise to detain Richard till Michaelmas following, Philip would pay him down fifty thousand, and John thirty thousand marks: that after that term, they would return him monthly one thousand pound sterling all the time Richard should remain in durance: that in case he would deliver him into their hands, they would pay the whole ransom of a hundred and fifty thousand marks. In fine, if he refused to comply with this offer, the ambassador had orders to tender him the same sum, provided he would keep him prisoner one year more. These offers wrought so on the self-interested emperor, that he put off the king's deliverance till the next diet, which was to meet at Spire in a few months, though Eleanor was come to Worms with a hundred thousand marks, and hostages for the payment of the remainder. It is easy to guess at Richard's consternation, when he heard this unwelcome news. He was not ignorant of his brother's designs to seize his crown, and was satisfied that Philip would assist him with all his forces. On the other hand, he was but too well acquainted with the emperor's temper, to hope to be able to soften a heart, which was an entire stranger to all generous sentiments. In this wretched state, looking upon himself as entirely ruined, the time he passed till the diet, was the most melancholy and irksome of his whole life. It was not without reason that he was alarmed, since the emperor had actually determined to comply with the king of France, and sacrifice his honour to sordid interest. The diet being met at Spire in the month of September, the emperor addressed himself to the German princes in terms which plainly imported, that he made no account of his agreement with the king of England. Surprized at this procedure, they could not forbear telling him their thoughts of the matter. They represented to him in a forcible manner, that as they themselves were guarantees of the treaty, they could not stand by and see it violated, without great detriment to their honour. They even gave him to understand, he should not break it with impunity. Whether Henry stood in fear of their threats, or whether shame made some impression on his mind, he was prevailed with to set his prisoner free, upon receiving the hundred thousand marks, and hostages for the fifty thousand that were left unpaid. Richard no sooner saw himself at liberty, but he set forward with all speed for the Low Countries, without stopping on the road any more than needs must. This speed was no more than what was necessary, since Henry, who had repented of his having released him, sent after him to seize him; but it was too late. As soon as he came to Antwerp, he embarked for England, and safely arrived at Sandwich on the 30th of March, 1194, after a four year's absence, fifteen months whereof he had passed in prison."

\* An earl twenty marks, a baron ten, and a knight four, if without land, two.



to the calamities their subjects laboured under, This truce was concluded at a conference they had together, wherein it was agreed, that each party should remain in possession of what was in his hands. At this conference, Philip feigning to espouse the interests of Richard, accused prince John of having ill designs against his brother. Richard giving credit to him too easily, dispossessed his brother once more of all the territories he had restored to him. But John openly vindicated his innocence, by sending to the court of France two knights, who offered to maintain by arms, that the prince had been falsely accused. Philip not thinking fit to accept of the challenge, Richard perceived that his brother was innocent, and again put him in possession of his estate.

During Richard's stay in France, the city of London, in 1199, was in great danger, by reason of a sedition raised by one William Fitz-Osbern, commonly called William Long-Beard, from the great length of his beard. This man, by affecting continually to be an advocate for the poor and meanest of the people, had gained the affections of the populace. He made use of his great credit with the people to stir up a sedition in the city, on account of a tax, the burden of which, he alledged, would wholly fall on the poor. Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, who was then the chief justiciary, could not appease the tumult but by causing the principal citizens to take to their arms. Long-Beard, finding himself hard put to it, fled to the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, where he was seized, and afterwards hanged in chains with nine of his accomplices. According to Ralph de Diceto, his body was stolen away and buried, and his followers pretended that maricles were wrought at his grave; but guards being set at the place, and those that came thither to pray soundly beaten for their pains, the cheat was seen through, and people quickly left off their devotions to the pretended saint.

Richard having made a truce with France, had an opportunity of returning again to England, and enjoying some tranquility, after all the fatigues he had endured ever since his accession to the crown. His presence was indeed necessary in England, in order to reform some abuses which had crept in during his absence. Accordingly this was what he had resolved to do; but an unexpected accident obstructed his design. A Limosin gentleman having found in his estate a treasure which had been hid there for many ages, the king pretended, that as it was found in a country of which he had the sovereignty \*, it belonged to him. The gentleman was willing to compound the matter by giving him part. But finding he was bent upon having the whole, he applied to Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, for protection, who sheltered him in his castle of Chalus. Richard, not liking this opposition, marched into Limosin, in order to lay siege to the castle which the gentleman had retired to. When he came nigh the place, he intended to go round the castle, in order to view it. But as he approached too near, one Bertrand or Bertram de Gourdon, an archer, who was upon the walls, let fly an arrow at him, which wounded him in the shoulder, close to his neck. The wound was not in itself mortal; but the surgeon who dressed it made it so by his unskilfulness. It is said, the king himself by his intemperance did not a little contribute to inflame it. Be this as it will, the wound gangrened, and he died of it the eleventh day, April 6, 1199, after having gone through a deal of misery. The castle being taken before he expired, and the person that wounded him brought into his presence, he asked him the reason why he fought his life. Bertrand replied, with an astonishing boldness, that it was to avenge his father and brother,

whom the king had slain with his own hand; and added that he gave God thanks for his having so well succeeded, and was ready to undergo with pleasure the most grievous torments, since he had been so fortunate as to rid the world of such a tyrant. Though one would think this answer would have exasperated the king against him, yet the dying prince forgave him, and ordered him to be set at liberty, with a present of a hundred shillings. But immediately after the king's death, Marchad, general of the Flemings, caused the miserable wretch to be fled alive. Richard before his death made a will, wherein he left his kingdom, with all his other dominions, and three parts in four of his money, to John his brother, reserving the rest for the poor and his domestics. He had formerly, at Messina, settled matters otherwise, and made his nephew, Arthur duke of Bretagne his heir. This appears by his letter from thence to the pope, now to be seen in the Collection of Public Acts. But whatever may have been his motive, he changed his opinion. He ordered his body to be interred † at Fontevrault, at the feet of the king his father, to testify his sorrow for the many uneasinesses he had created him during his life. His heart was to be carried at Rouen, as a testimony of his affection for the Normans. But his bowels he ordered to be sent into Poictou, designing to show by that the little esteem he had for the Poictevins, with whom he was dissatisfied. He left behind him only a natural son named Philip, to whom he bequeathed the lordship of Cognac in the duchy of Guienne.

Richard was a valiant prince, and for the greatness of his courage was surnamed Cœur de Lion. After having commended his valour, says Rapin, which favoured somewhat of a brutish fierceness, in vain do we seek in him for some other virtue that might afford matter for panegyric. Those that praise him for his bounty and magnificence, do not consider, that if he was liberal and spendid, it was at the expence of his subjects, from whom he extorted several large sums by unjustifiable means. But on the other hand, we find in him abundance of vices, and some of the most enormous. His rebellion against his own father is a blamish one may justly cast on his memory. We find likewise in this prince, says the same author, an insatiable love of money, which proved the cause of his death: A pride, which made him look upon his equals with contempt, and his inferiors as his slaves. All those who have wrote the history of this king's reign, agree, that pride, avarice, and lust, were his three most prevailing vices. It is said that being one day admonished by Fulk, curate of Neuilly, a man famous for his zeal, to throw off those wicked habits, which were commonly called his three daughters, he replied jestingly, that it was his design; and to that purpose, he had resolved to give the first to the Templars, the second to the Monks, and the third to the Bishops. Richard was tall and well made. His eyes were blue, and sparkling, and his hair of a bright yellow, inclining to red. It may be said, that England, where he never was above eight months during the whole course of his reign, which lasted near ten years, was very unhappy under his government. He loaded his subjects with frequent impositions and excessive taxes. And yet no other benefit accrued to the people for their prodigious sums, but a little glory for their king, which, however, they were satisfied with as redounding to the honour of the nation. It is remarked, as a thing deserving particular notice, that this prince, who had restored the use of the cross-bow, received his death's wound from that instrument. But Rapin questions whether this remark is built on a good

\* The country of Limosin was held of the duchy of Guienne.

† Upon his coffin were inscribed in golden letters, the six following verses, setting forth his most glorious achievements; such as his victory over the Sicilians, his conquest of Cyprus, his sinking the great carrack of the Saracens, the taking of the Babylonian caravan, and the defending of Joppa against the infidels.

" *Scribitur hoc tumulo, rex aureus, laus tua, tota*

" *Aurea, materia conveniente nota.*

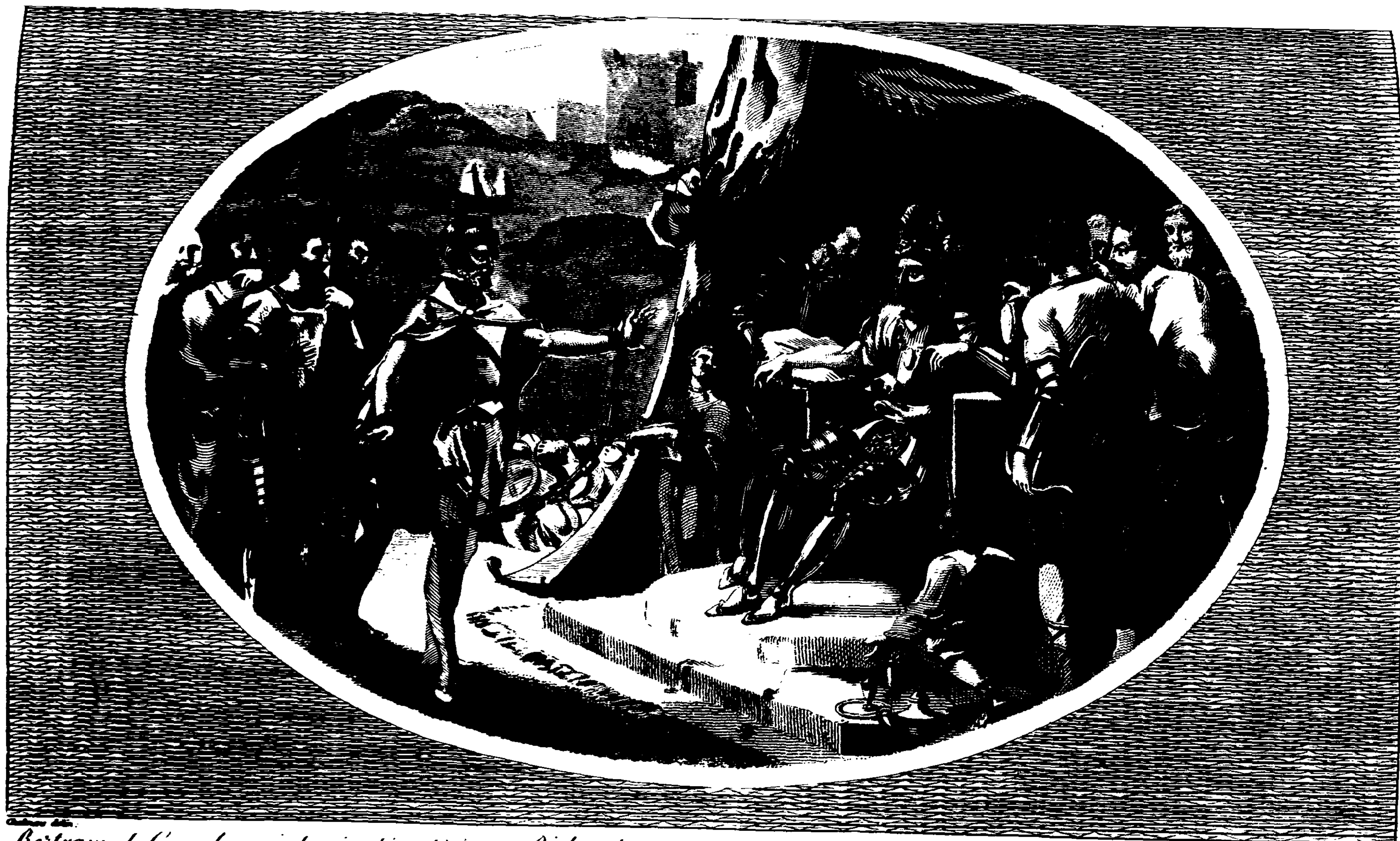
" *Laus tua prima fuit Siculi, Cyprus altera, Dromo*

" *Tertia, Caravana quarta, Joppa, Joppe.*

" *Suppressi Siculi, Cyprus possessa, Dromo*

" *Morsus, Caravana capta, retenta Joppa.*"

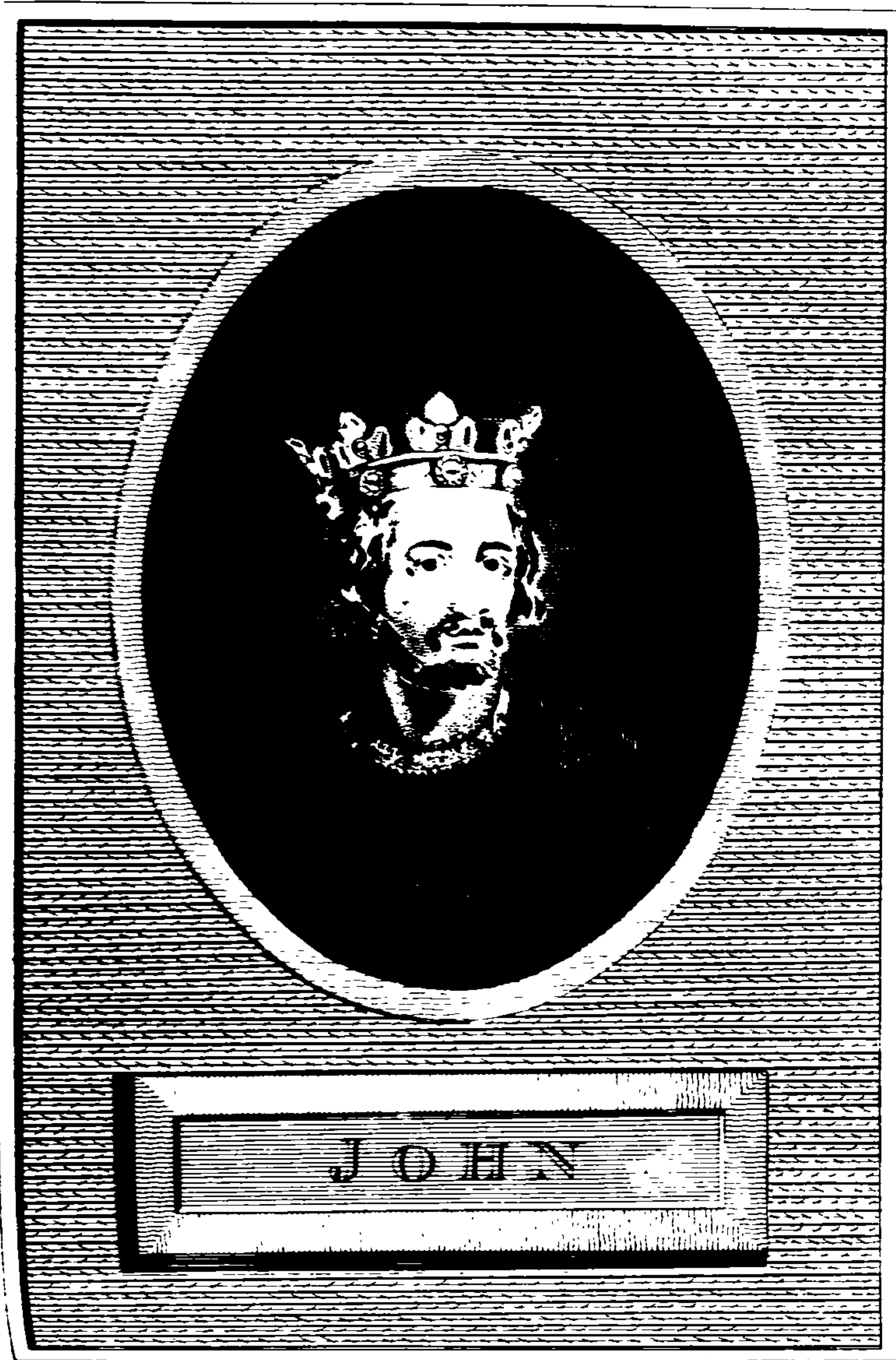




*Bertram de Gourdon vindicating himself before Richard I. after having mortally wounded him with a poisoned Arrow from the castle of Chalus.*

*Published by W & J. Sturtevant, No 22 Holborn Hill, Feb. 21. 1792.*







foundation; because the English made use of the cross-bow in the conquest of Ireland, in the reign of Henry II. and it was very unlikely they should have disused it, in the few years that had since passed over.

Richard was the first king of England, who carried in his shield Three Lions Passant, wherein he was imitated by his successors.

During this reign, the city of London began to put a new face on things with respect to its government, and was divided into several companies or corporations. About the time of this reign lived also the famous Robin Hood, with his companion Little John, who infested Yorkshire with their robberies. Some will have him to have been of a great family, and reduced to that course of life by his riotous living. He never hurted either man or woman, spared the poor, and robbed only the rich. Proclamation being issued out against him, he fell sick at the nunnery of Birkley, and desiring to be let blood, was betrayed and bled to death.

### C H A P. III.

#### JOHN, SURNAMED LACK-LAND.

**N**OTWITHSTANDING by the will of Richard, his brother John was made heir to all his dominions, yet his right was not, by that settlement, rendered incontestable. How absolute soever a prince may have been in his life-time, after his decease his last will is but little regarded, unless it be supported by force. In the affair of the noble inheritance Richard had left by his decease, two queries offered, which were not easy to be decided. The first was, whether, according to law, Arthur, duke of Bretagne, as representing Geoffrey his father, elder brother to John, had as good or better title than John his uncle, who was one degree nearer. In the second query, it was required to know, whether in case the laws favoured the nephew, Richard had power to dispose of his dominions by a will contrary to the laws and customs. But John, who had no inclination to contest the matter with any prince, looked upon his own right indisputable; and therefore judged that expedition would be a more effectual means to gain his point than a decision, which might be to his disadvantage. He had with him beyond sea, two men, who seemed to him proper instruments for his designs, by reason of their great interest in England. The first was Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, the other William Marshal, who was afterwards earl of Pembroke. These two lords being wholly devoted to his service, promised to use all their credit in his behalf. Not to lose time, which to him was so precious, he dispatched them immediately to England, enjoining them to act in concert with the queen his mother, and the chief justiciary, who had been for some time in his interests. The four persons on whom John had relied, served him zealously and successfully. The justiciary had great power during the interregnum, The archbishop was at the head of the clergy. Eleanor was exceedingly beloved and respected in the kingdom; and William Marshal was a lord of distinguished worth, though he was not yet considerable for his posts. After they had concerted the properest methods to serve the prince effectually, they laboured to bring over the magistrates of the cities to their side. Their aim was to gain the people through their means, that they might afterwards meet with less opposition from the nobles. Their endeavours having been crowned with success, they thought they were strong enough to venture upon summoning the lesser nobility to take the oath of allegiance to John. There were but few that refused to comply, as well because they imagined they acted in conformity to the general inclination of the people, as because they were unacquainted with the young duke of Bretagne, who had never been in England. These two steps being made, the bishop and lay barons were summoned to take the same oath: but they were not so easily dealt with. Besides, several of them ques-

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tioned whether John's pretensions were well grounded, and looked upon themselves as the judges of that affair; so that they were far from believing they were bound to submit to the decisions of others. But, as the body of the people had already declared for John, they did not chuse absolutely to refuse taking the oath required of them. Accordingly, on pretence of examining into the laws of the realm, they demanded a further time. In the interim, imagining a civil war was unavoidable, they began to fortify their castles, and make preparations to support the justest cause, or that which appeared to them to make most for their own interest. These proceedings startled the prince's friends; they were very sensible he was not beloved, and were apprehensive that the barons might be determined to oppose him. To prevent this, they called at Northampton an assembly-general, where they exerted their utmost endeavours to gain such as were most opposite to them. Among other things, they promised, in John's name, that he would fully restore all the rights and privileges of the nobles and people. This promise, joined to others made in private to the most obstinate, produced the effect they expected. The lords unanimously engaged themselves to swear allegiance to John, and by that means the whole kingdom was disposed in his favour before his arrival. An embassy which was sent at this time from the king of Scotland, to demand Northumberland, gave some uneasiness to those that were at the head of affairs. They were afraid he had a design to obtain possession of that country, which would have been no very hard matter. But they contented the ambassadors by fair promises, assuring them, that as soon as John was arrived, he would give their master entire satisfaction.

During the time that John's adherents were labouring for him in England, he himself was not idle in France, where he was detained by two important affairs. The first was a negotiation he had begun with Robert of Turnham, who had the custody of Richard's treasure in the castle of Chinon, of which he was willing to see the issue before he came to England. He was at length so fortunate as to gain that officer, who put into his hands the money he had in his keeping; and surrendered to him the two important cities of Saumur and Chinon, of which he was governor. The other affair which kept John beyond sea, was to get himself owned for sovereign by the provinces which the English held in France: though in England every thing went according to his wish, it was not so in France, where yeoung Arthur his nephew created him a great deal of uneasiness. Besides his natural right to these provinces, it was thought the king of France would assist him with all his forces to get the possession of them: and indeed, nothing could be more advantageous for that prince, than to promote the wresting of them from the English monarchy. Moreover, every one seemed inclined to favour Arthur. The governor of Angers had already delivered up that place to him, and all the lords of Poictou, Touraine, Maine, and Anjou, had resolved to own him for sovereign: so that John was, as it were, excluded from a great part of his brother's inheritance. But having Richard's treasure in his hands, he took care to secure the principal Norman lords. He also levied an army, and laid siege to Mans, which had sided with the duke of Bretagne. This place having made no long resistance, he believed it necessary to strike a terror into the Normans, by an instance of severity which might make them dread declaring against him. With this view it was, that he ordered the walls of Mans to be razed, and the chief burghers made prisoners. These rigorous proceedings had the desired effect; and John soon after went to Rouen, where he was crowned duke of Normandy by the archbishop of that city, who had been instrumental in disposing the people's minds to favour him.

It not being politic to attempt the reduction of the other provinces in France, before he had taken possession of the crown of England, he determined to come to England; and being arrived at London the 25th of May, 1199, he caused himself to be crowned in Westminster-

T. 1.

Abbey



Abbey the next day. Before the ceremony began, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, made the following speech to the lords and people assembled :

“ No person can have a right to the crown of this kingdom, unless after humbly invoking God's Holy Spirit, he be first unanimously elected for his extraordinary virtues, and then solemnly anointed and consecrated. In this we imitate what was practised with regard to Saul and David, whom God was pleased to set over his people, though neither of them was the son of a king, or royally descended. The former was chosen for his valour, the latter for his humility and piety ; it being God's will, that such as were to be clothed with sovereign power, should be distinguished in an eminent manner by their virtues. If, therefore, any one of the family of the late king out-shines the rest in noble qualities, we ought to make no scruple to submit ourselves to his authority. I say this in behalf of the noble duke John here present, brother to our illustrious king Richard, who died without issue. This prince being endowed with all sorts of virtues, and particularly with an undaunted courage and consummate wisdom, on account both of his birth and merit it is that we elect him for our sovereign lord, after having humbly invoked the Holy Spirit.”

After this short harangue, the archbishop set the crown on John's head, having first administered to him the customary oath. The bishop of Durham, however, protested against the coronation, as done in the absence of the archbishop of York. But as this pretence was founded neither on law nor custom, no attention was paid to it.

John was thirty-two years of age when he came to the crown, which served only to render him unhappy. During the whole course of his reign, he met with nothing but misfortunes, and those the most terrible ; having to deal with three irreconcilable enemies, namely, Philip Augustus, king of France, pope Innocent III. and the barons of his own realm. The first stripped him of almost all the provinces which his predecessors had held in France. The second wrested from him the crown of England ; and if he restored it to him afterwards, it was upon the terms of a shameful homage. In short, the barons of England compelled him to give up all the prerogatives which his predecessors had enjoyed ever since William the Conqueror.

But to proceed : as soon as John was crowned, his first care was to reward those who had been instrumental in placing him on the throne. William Marshal was created earl of Pembroke : Geoffrey, the chief justiciary, received the title of earl of Essex : archbishop Hubert looked upon as a recompence the office of high-chancellor, which the king conferred upon him ; though many were of opinion, that his accepting it was a disparagement to his ecclesiastical dignity. Indeed, they had seen chancellors made archbishop of Canterbury ; for instance, Thomas Becket ; but this is the first time that an archbishop had been invested with the chancellorship.

The new king having made sure of the English, stood no longer in the kingdom than was necessary to amuse the king of Scotland. This prince was very pressing for the restitution of Northumberland and Cumberland, and threatened to carry his arms into those counties, unless speedy satisfaction was made him. John had no design to comply with his demands, but did not think proper to give him a denial at such a juncture. To extricate himself out of this difficulty, he chose by a soft answer to satisfy him with a general promise, when his urgent affairs in France should permit him to enter into a negotiation with him.

Constance, mother of Arthur, had perceived by John's proceedings, that he designed to seize upon all the provinces which Henry II. and Richard had been possessed of in France. But as she found it not in her power to withstand him, she had taken a resolution to put the duke her son under the protection of the king of France. With this view she had desired that monarch to give

her a meeting at Touts, where she had delivered the duke into his hands. At the same time she gave him possession of the principal places of Bretagne, Touraine, Poictou, Anjou and Maine, to hold them in the name of Arthur. This greatly pleased Philip, who desired the recovery of the provinces which the English were possessed of in France. He had even waged several wars in order to compass his ends, though with little success. It is no wonder therefore, if he did not fail to lay hold of so favourable an opportunity. Under pretence of acting for Arthur, he had already broke the five years truce he had made with Richard. He had even made himself master of Evreux and the province of Maine, whilst the Breagnes had surprized Angiers ; from whence Morchad, king John's general, had driven them a little before. News of these things being brought to England, caused John to hasten his departure, in order to settle his affairs beyond sea. Upon his arrival at Rouen, he drew an army together of English and Normans, which was quickly reinforced with the troops that the lords of his party brought from the other provinces. This great armament surprized Philip ; and being unwilling to run any hazard, he appeared desirous of putting an end to their differences by way of negotiation ; and to that end demanded a truce for fifty days. Instead of making the best of his advantages, John suffered himself to be outwitted by his enemy, and granted him a truce. He imagined, that the terror of his arms obliged the king of France to desist from his projects ; but before the truce was expired, the two monarchs had an interview between Butivant and Gaillon, in order to accommodate matters. Philip talked very haughtily, and demanded all the Norman-Vexin for himself, and Poictou, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine for Arthur ; for which provinces he had already received that prince's homage. This demand, so opposite to John's designs, having broke off the conference, and caused all hopes of peace to vanish, hostilities commenced on both sides.

Joanna, countess of Thoulouse, and queen dowager of Sicily, sister of king John, died in the beginning of this war at Rouen, whither she went to pay a visit to the king his brother. She was buried at Fontevrault, in a very splendid manner, near the kings Henry and Richard, her father and brother.

During the time that John was taken up with the ceremony of his sister's funeral, Philip was in Bretagne, where he made himself master of some places which had revolted against the duke, and took the part of John. Amongst these places was the castle of Balun, which Philip ordered to be demolished as soon as it was in his power. This procedure having given offence to William de la Roche, governor of the young duke, he complained of it as a breach of the treaty he had made with Philip, in the name of his pupil : whereupon Philip haughtily replied, “ That it was not to be expected that the consideration for the duke of Bretagne's interest should hinder him from consulting his own.” At the same time, without giving the governor any further satisfaction, he marched on and laid siege to Lavardat. But upon king John's approaching at the head of a numerous army, he thought fit to retire into Maine. For the same reason, he found himself obliged to quit that province, and shelter himself in his own territories. In the mean time, what he had done in Bretagne, and in reply upon that occasion, opened the eyes of William de la Roche. This prudent governor, finding that Philip had no other view, than to make use of his young master as an instrument to advance his own affairs, thought it his province to endeavour to blast his designs. Accordingly, he carried off Constance and Arthur from the court of Philip, and brought them to king John, after he had reconciled them to him. This might have proved fatal to the king of France, if he had not recovered his loss, which he looked upon as very necessary to serve for a mask to cover his ambition. There was some in the court of king John, who bribed by Philip or out of affection to the young duke, gave Constance to understand, that her own and her son's life were in danger.



danger near a prince, who was to be so great a gainer by their death. These intimations often repeated, made such an impression on the minds of the prince and young duke, that they privately withdrew from the court of king John, and threw themselves into the arms of their former protector the king of France. Arthur's return having furnished Philip with a plausible pretence to continue the war, it caused John to lose all the hopes he had flattered himself with whilst he had the young prince in his custody. John had strengthened himself with the alliance of the emperor Otho of Saxony, his nephew, who had promised him a powerful assistance. He likewise gained over to his side the earl of Flanders, and, by an unexpected turn, all Guienne had just declared for him. All these advantages were sufficient to enable him to carry on the war without any dread of the enemy. The province of Guienne was so considerable, that John immediately laid aside all his other designs to take possession.

In the year 1200, the cardinal of Capua intimated to John the inclination of Philip to make peace; and after a short truce, which gave them an opportunity to enter into negociation, a peace was concluded by the mediation of that cardinal, who was also the pope's legate, upon these conditions:

"That Philip should give no assistance to the duke of Bretagne, but should suffer John to take possession of Poictou, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, without molestation.

"That he should restore to John the earldom of Evreux, Berry, Auvergne, and all in general that he had taken from the English since Richard's death.

"That immediately after the restitution of Berry and Auvergne, John should yield up these two provinces, for a certain time, to prince Lewis, son of Philip, and pay him twenty thousand marks of silver for the dowry of Blanche of Castile his niece\*, when that prince was to marry.

"That in case John died without issue, he should leave these two provinces to Lewis.

"That John should not assist, directly, nor indirectly, the emperor Otho his nephew, who was at war with France."

This treaty, as may be readily imagined, did not turn to the advantage of the duke of Bretagne. The young prince finding he was too weak to stand against the king his uncle, without the assistance of France, quickly lost all the provinces that had declared for him. He saw himself even obliged to do homage for Bretagne to king John, as his predecessors had always done to the dukes of Normandy. But notwithstanding the king of France had thus deserted him, he chose rather to stay with him, than to trust himself with an uncle, of whom he had entertained a suspicion, which could not be entirely erased from his memory. On the conclusion of the peace, queen Eleanor set forward for Spain to fetch Blanche of Castile her grand-daughter, who was to be married to prince Lewis. As the kingdom of France was then under an interdict, she conducted the young prince to Rouen, where the nuptials were solemnized. All the articles of the treaty being executed except the delivery of Berry and Auvergne, which was to be done to the prince of France, John faithfully performed his engagement. Thus the two courts parted, in all appearance, in perfect unity.

The emperor, offended at the peace which was concluded without consulting him, sent ambassadors to the king his uncle, to upbraid him with it; and at the same time he demanded some jewels, which Richard had left him in his will. But as John stood no longer in need of his assistance, he did not care to give him that satisfaction he required. If John faithfully executed his part of the treaty, Philip was no less punctual to perform what he had promised. He beheld with a seeming unconcern, the progress of the king of England; who taking the advantage of Arthur's weakness, dispossessed him of all the provinces which had been given him. Bretagne alone, to which John could lay no claim, remained

in subjection to the duke. Whilst John was making these conquests, he became greatly enamoured of Isabella of Angoulême, one of the greatest beauties in her time. She had been contracted to Hugh, earl of Marche: but being then too young, the marriage had not been consummated. Several obstacles had afterwards intervened, which prevented the accomplishment of the affair, though the contract still remained in force. John's violent passion for this lady prompted him to seek all imaginable means to possess her. But his ends could not be attained without very great difficulty. He had no less than two marriages to break through at once, namely, his own with Avifa of Gloucester, who, during the several years they had been together, had never given him any occasion to complain, and that of Isabella with the earl of Marche. However, his new love having made him call to mind, that Avifa was related to him within the degrees of consanguinity forbidden by the canons, and that the archbishop of Canterbury had protested against his marriage, he besought the pope to annul it. Whatever may have been the pope's motive, he appointed the archbishop of Bourdeaux and two other bishops, judges in the case. After a slender examination, the commissioners declared John's marriage with Avifa null and void; which done, the king demanded Isabella of the earl of Angoulême her father, who gave her to him, without making the least conscience of breaking his word, in order to procure a crown for his daughter. A little after the king's marriage, Constance of Bretagne, who had been married to Ralph, earl of Chester, having lost her second husband, or as some say, voluntarily quitted him, espoused for her third husband Guy de Thouars. She died in 1201, having lived about a year with her new spouse. By this third marriage she left a daughter called Alice, who was duchess of Bretagne, after the death of her brother Arthur.

John thought himself happy in having obtained, by a moderate sum, the resignation of Berry and Auvergne, the provinces in France, which his ancestors were formerly seized of. But the English looked upon the treaty as so dishonourable, that they could not forbear murmuring at it. They began to think their king a coward, who purchased a peace, at a time when all things seemed to promise him good success in the war. These murmurings gave him but little uneasiness. He imagined he had done enough in depriving the duke his nephew of the protection of France, and reducing him to Bretagne alone, of which also he thought he should one time dispossess him. Having settled his affairs in France, and secured his new acquisitions, he returned to England, where shortly after, having convened an assembly or parliament, he demanded a subsidy of three shillings upon every hyde of land, for the payment of the dowry of Blanche of Castile his niece, according to his agreement with Philip. His demand met at first with great opposition. People could not understand what business the English had to pay the dowry of a Spanish prince's, in order to marry her to a French prince. Nevertheless, as it was the first subsidy he had demanded, they did not think proper to deny him; though it was with great reluctance that they were brought to a compliance. Geoffrey, his natural brother, who was archbishop of York, made light of the consent of the states for this tax, and forbade the collectors to levy it within his diocese. John had no suspicion that this prelate would give him any uneasiness by his opposition, after the signal service he had done him, during Richard's absence, in delivering him out of prison, and openly espousing his cause against Longchamp. But notwithstanding the reason he had to be displeased with him, yet he was willing to keep up the appearance of friendship; and to that end, he required him to attend him in France, imagining that by his absence this affair would drop of itself. The archbishop refused to comply with his orders, and by that means furnished the king with a pretence to seize his temporalities. This punishment was not capable of humbling his haughty spirit. He excommunicated the sheriff of the country of York, with all his officers employed

\* She was daughter of Alphonso VIII. and Eleanor, daughter of Henry II.



ployed in levying the tax, and laid his whole diocese under an interdict, because the people were not forward to assist him. He flattered himself that the whole kingdom would be ready to declare in his favour; but when he perceived that no body stirred, and that he was left to act alone, he sought the means to be reconciled to the king. The present juncture proved favourable to his design; and John being upon the point of causing himself to be crowned, together with his new queen, thought it unbecoming, at such a season, to refuse the pardon his brother so earnestly requested. Immediately after the king's coronation, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, died at London a reputed saint.

The king of Scotland since the death of Richard, became very importunate for the restitution of the two counties, to which he laid claim. He had been often amused with general promises; but no satisfaction being given, he openly threatened to do himself justice by force of arms; whereupon John could no longer put off that affair, which began to make him uneasy: but, instead of treating by ambassadors, he conversed with William in person. To that purpose he desired him to come to Lincoln, where he went himself to meet him. Before they entered upon the affair, John required, that in the first place William should do him homage. To which William having consented, the ceremony was performed on a hill \* without the city, in the presence of the archbishop of Canterbury, who administered the oath to the vassal-king; but it is not known for what territories William did this homage. The homage being done, the king of Scotland would have moved his affair, but the king had the address to put it off till another time, on pretence he could do nothing without the consent of the states. He even obliged William to swear, that he would not marry his daughter without his approbation. Whilst these two monarchs were at Lincoln, the body of Hugh, the late bishop of that city, being removed thither from London, they both went out to meet it, and for some time bore the coffin on their shoulders. It was here likewise that the Cistercians, who had refused to pay the late tax, sent to the king twelve abbots, who falling prostrate at his feet, humbly implored his mercy. The king, struck with the sight, fell on his knees and asked their blessing, promising them to found an abbey for their order. Some time after he performed his promise, and built the abbey of Bowley, which some call Beaulieu, in Hampshire, which he endowed with the privilege of sanctuary, and with large revenues.

The see of Lincoln becoming vacant, the king, according to the usage of his ancestors, recommended a person to the canons of that church. But although the prince's nomination had till then been greatly regarded, this were rejected in a contemptuous and insulting manner. Pope Innocent III. having resolved to prevent princes from having any hand in the elections of bishops and abbots, had taken measures beforehand to get the king's nomination rejected. For this reason, no doubt, it was, that finding themselves secure of the pope's protection, the canons showed so little regard for their sovereign. Some time after, John received a fresh mortification; Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been a zealous stickler for him, grew cool, when the business in hand was the maintaining the rights of the clergy, and the privileges of his see. Hitherto there had been no synod held in England without the king's licence. This deference they thought might be paid the king without any injury to the church or clergy; but Innocent III. had formed the project of depriving princes of every thing that looked like jurisdiction over the church, Hubert informed of this design, and directed by the pope, began at first to disregard the king's commands; and not only convened a synod without asking leave, but even held it notwithstanding the king's positive prohibition by his chief justiciary. Hubert, not content with having thus slighted the orders of his sovereign, endeavoured, in 1201, to equal him in some measure, and even to surpass him in magnificence.

Whilst the king was celebrating the feast of Christmas at Guildford with great solemnity, the archbishop affected to do the same thing at Canterbury, with such pomp and splendour, that the king was highly offended. To punish, in some measure, the vanity of the archbishop, he caused himself to be crowned again at Canterbury, with the sole view of putting Hubert to a very great expence.

John's subjects were not all pleased with the treaty he made in France, and his behaviour, since his return into England, had given the barons cause of disgust. If they had taken their oaths of allegiance to him, it was upon condition, that he would restore the privileges of the nobles and people; but in vain had they expected the performance of his promise, since he had cleared his hands of the war, wherein he was at first engaged. On the contrary, they saw him daily usurping an arbitrary power, which made them apprehensive of his having formed a design against their liberties. They had already been displeased at the subsidy which he had extorted from them: after which they had seen him go into the north, where, on pretence of some damage done to his forests, he had, by an act of authority, contrary to the privileges of the people, exacted large sums from the northern counties. To all this he added fresh occasions of complaint, by debauching their wives and daughters, without any regard to the quality or merit of those whom he dishonoured by these base and unbecoming actions. All these things bred in the minds of the barons so great a prejudice against him, that by degrees they took measures to prevent greater evils, which they believed hung over their heads; they began to hold private conferences, wherein they agreed to stand by one another, in case any one of them should be oppressed. At those conferences it was resolved, to embrace the first opportunity that offered, to let the king see that they were fully bent not to submit to an absolute power. An opportunity presented sooner than they had expected. The Poitevins having revolted, the king designed to go in person against them; and to that end summoned all the immediate tenants of the crown to meet him at Portsmouth, in order to attend him into France. The barons looking upon this as a favourable juncture, assembled themselves at Leicester on some futile pretence; and a few days after they sent this message to the king, "That before they went over with him, they insisted that he should restore them to their privileges, pursuant to his promise before his coronation." John being of an impetuous temper, refused to hearken to their requests, though several of his ministers persuaded him to give some satisfaction to the barons, or at least to put them off with good words till the heat of their resentment was somewhat abated; but he would not follow their wholesome advice. He was so provoked at the insolence of the barons, that without considering he was going to draw on himself their hatred by his violent measures, he summoned them to appear and deliver up their castles as pledges of their fidelity. At the same time he marched at the head of some troops against Beauvoir [Belvoir] Castle †, which he became master of in a few days. This procedure having terrified the barons, who had not yet taken any measures for their defence, they submitted to the king; and having put their children into his hands as hostages, they went to Portsmouth; where John, for some unknown reasons, dispensed with the barons attendance, upon their paying him two marks of silver for every knight's fee. In the mean time, he sent the earl of Pembroke with some troops into Normandy, whither he followed him in person, as soon as he thought he might do it with safety. Upon his arrival at Rouen, Philip desired a parley with him, in which he gave him such marks of esteem and friendship, that a prince of greater penetration than John, would have been deceived. As this interview they confirmed their former treaty, and several great lords were reciprocally made tories, who bound themselves to serve against the aggressor, in case of a rupture between the two kings. Before they parted, the two monarchs



monarchs agreed to contribute the fortieth part of their revenues to the holy war; and exhorted the wealthiest of their subjects to follow their examples. Philip, not content with caressing John in an extraordinary manner, desired the favour of his company for some days at Paris, where he lodged him in his own palace. In short, he omitted nothing that he thought might tend to convince him that his affection for him was real. But this seeming friendship was only shown, that Philip might the more easily draw him into a snare; and the king of France, with a view to get possession of the French provinces which were in subjection to John, made use of Hugh, earl of Marche, as a proper instrument to begin to bring matters to the point he desired. This earl could not, without extreme concern, see king John in possession of a lady, which had been designed for himself. To this was added a deep resentment of the injury he had received. These things gave room to presume, that he would eagerly embrace any opportunity of taking revenge. Philip having formed a project upon the disposition the earl of Marche was in, spared no pains to irritate him up to revolt, assuring him of a powerful assistance. The earl finding himself sure of the protection of France, began by secret cabals to corrupt the Poitevins. He succeeded so well, that in a short time they were ready to revolt against king John, for whom they had no regard. Hereupon Hugh applied to the young duke of Bretagne, who told him that the time was come, wherein he might with ease wrest from the hands of his uncle the provinces he had seized. Arthur being informed by the earl, that the king of France had engaged to support him, was of opinion that he ought not to let slip so favourable an opportunity. The Breagnes, his subjects, readily joined in the conspiracy. They imagined that Arthur's name was a good omen of his future grandeur; and for no other reason they believed, that he would gain as great a reputation in the world as the famous Arthur, whose name he bore. Thus the love, jealousy, and resentment of the earl of Marche, the ambition of Arthur, and the avarice of Philip, concurred together to king John's ruin.

In the mean while, 1202, he spent his time in mirth and feasting with his new queen, without the least suspicion of the danger that hung over his head. He was roused from his supineness by the haughty treatment he met with from Philip, at a second interview between them near Gaillon. The French monarch demanded for Arthur all the provinces that John held in France, with some reasonable satisfaction for the earl of Marche; and in case of refusal, he summoned him to appear before the court of peers, and abide by their judgement. But John not thinking his affairs were in so bad a situation as to oblige him to purchase a peace upon such hard terms, he refused to comply with Philip's demands, and disdained his citation. This refusal furnished the king of France with a pretence to invade Normandy, where he took several places before John could be in readiness to oppose him. Towards the middle of autumn, Philip, satisfied with his first campaign returned to Paris, where he celebrated the nuptials of Mary his elder daughter with Arthur; and a few days after Arthur departed, attended with two hundred horsemen, to take upon him the command of the revolted Poitevins. When he had arrived near Poictou, he received information, that queen Eleanor his grand-mother was in Mirabel with a few attendants; upon which, resolved to surprize that place, he marched directly thither, and soon became master of the town; but it was otherwise with the castle, to which the queen had retired. The resistance he met with there having made them sensible, that he should hardly be able to compass his ends with so small a number of troops, he called in the earl of Marche to his assistance, who ran to the expedition, as to certain victory. Their career, however, was soon stopped; for king John, who had received intelligence of the dangerous situation of the queen his mother, by forced marches went to her relief. By his expedition he came near his enemies before they had made any great progress in the

siege. However, it was in their power to retreat; but the animosity of the two leaders against John, made them resolve to give him battle. The success answered not their expectations; for upon the first onset, John put the Poitevin troops to the rout, and drove them back to Mirabel, where he had made great slaughter of them. This victory was rendered still more complete by the taking of the duke of Bretagne, the princess Eleanor his sister\*, the earl of Marche, and two hundred knights, who fell into the hands of the Conqueror. John made so ill an use of his victory, that it would have been better for him if he had been vanquished. Arthur was sent to Falaise, and the princess Eleanor his sister to Bristol Castle in England, where she was confined forty years. Philip was so confounded at the news of Arthur and the earl of Marche being taken prisoners, that he raised the siege of Arches, which he had begun some days before, and returned to Paris.

John was impatient to see the duke his nephew, in order to endeavour to persuade him to renounce the protection of France; and with this view he went back to Normandy, not doubting but by the situation Arthur was in, he would gladly embrace the opportunity of being reconciled to him. Upon his arrival at Falaise, he caused him to be brought before him, and in a very kind and obliging manner, tried in vain to persuade him to relinquish the protection of the king of France: but the young prince was not well instructed in the maxims of politics, the chief of which is dissimulation, and therefore he could not conceal his sentiments. Instead of accepting the king's offers, he upbraided him with usurping the crown of England as well as the provinces in France. Without considering that he lay at his mercy, he was so transported with passion as to threaten him, "That to the last moment of his life, he would never cease seeking occasion to be revenged." After so plain a declaration of his mind, John ordered him to be conducted to Rouen, and shut up in the New Tower, under the care of Robert de Vipont; and a few days after the young prince suddenly disappeared, without its being ever certainly known what became of him. The king's friends reported, that Arthur endeavouring to make his escape out of prison, was drowned in the river Seine. But very few gave credit to this report; on the contrary, it was the general opinion, that the prince was murdered by the orders of the king his uncle. There are even some historians who have given us the particulars of his death. Nevertheless, whatever may have been the cause of this prince's death, it is certain John never cleared himself from its imputation to his charge. There was so much the more reason to believe him guilty, as he made no inquiry concerning it, with a view to bring the perpetrators of the horrid deed to justice.

The same year, according to Mat. Paris, the pope demanded a fortieth part of all the ecclesiastical revenues in England, towards the charge of the holy war.

On the death of Arthur, John returned into England, and caused himself to be crowned a fourth time, after which he went again to Normandy. He found that the report of the duke of Bretagne's murder was every where spread, with such circumstances as much blackened his reputation and honour; and yet he was backward in examining into the manner of the prince's death; for which reason every body was convinced, that the king himself was the author of that barbarous act. The Breagnes more especially complained of the tragical death of their sovereign. They maintained, that if John did not slay him with his own hand, it was at least evident, that his murder could not have been effected without his consent, or even his orders. The king of France, ever ready to seize the least opportunity, exasperated them as much as possible by the means of his emissaries, who intimated to them, that in case they applied to Philip as John's sovereign lord, he would do them ample justice. This was encouragement enough to the Breagnes, who burned with desire to revenge the death of their duke. Guy de Thouars, husband to the deceased duchess, and guardian of Alice his daughter, assembled the nobility of

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Bretagne,

\* She was called the beauty of Bretagne. Most of the nobility of Poictou and Anjou were made prisoners in this battle. M. Paris.



Bretagne at Vannes upon this occasion. At this meeting it was unanimously resolved to make application to the king of France for justice; and agreeable to this resolution, the bishop of Rennes, and another lord, were commissioned to carry their complaints to Philip, who gave them a favourable answer. He appeared more incensed against John than the Breagnes themselves, and openly declared that neither honour, nor justice, nor conscience, would suffer him to let such a parricide go unpunished. To let them see that he was in earnest, he demanded justice of the court of peers, before whom he displayed the barbarity of the murder committed on the body of the duke of Bretagne, in a place held of the crown of France, of which the king of England his vassal was accused. The court ordered John to appear before them, and answer to the crime laid to his charge. Upon the receipt of the summons, John dispatched ambassadors to Philip, to represent to him, that their master could not come to France without a safe-conduct; to which the king answered, "He may come in peace." But when the ambassadors demanded a safe-conduct for his returning, he roundly told them, "That depended on the sentence which should be passed upon him." Then the ambassadors remonstrated, that their master was not only duke of Normandy, but also king of England; and although he himself should think fit to expose his person to so manifest a hazard, the barons of the realm would never consent to it: "What is that to me?" replied Philip, "Is not the duke of Normandy my vassal? If he has thought fit to acquire a higher title, ought I, upon that account, to lose my right of sovereignty?" The ambassadors plainly perceiving that Philip was resolved to push on the affair, retired without making any answer, and returned with all speed to inform their master how the court of France stood affected. As soon as the time appointed in the summons was expired, Philip caused John to be condemned for non-appearance, and ordered that all his dominions in France should be re-united to the crown. Philip endeavoured to put this sentence in execution. It is remarkable, that in the sentence\*, there is not a word of the satisfaction due to the Breagnes for the death of their sovereign, though they were parties in the suit; and though Philip seemed to concern himself in the affair merely upon their account. He therefore began by invading Normandy in 1203, with a very powerful army; and as he met with but little opposition, he reduced the best part of Normandy to his obedience. The progress of his arms was incapable of rousing king John, who seeming insensible of his losses, thought of nothing but his diversion†, as if his affairs had been in the most prosperous condition. When news was carried him that Philip had taken any place, he only replied, "I will soon recover it again." But without stirring from Rouen, or making the least preparations, he gave his enemy time to secure his conquests, and to make new ones every day. It is easy to judge what difficulties Philip would have met with in his undertaking, if he had had a less slothful enemy to deal with, by the resistance one single place, called Castle-Gaillard made, which cost him a five months siege‡. The English barons who attended the king into Normandy, earnestly besought him to exert himself. But finding he was deaf to all their remonstrances, they returned to England, not being able to bear any longer the being witnesses of his sloth. In the mean time, Philip took the advantage of his indolence, and daily gained ground. Not content with what he obtained by his arms, he endeavoured, by the means of his emissaries, to stir up in

Normandy a general revolt, which might give him an opportunity of becoming at once master of the whole province. He caused it to be insinuated to the Normans, that seeing they could not hope for assistance from the king of England, it would be better for them to return to the crown of France, from whence they had been wrested; that by a voluntary submission, they would be sure to preserve their ancient privileges; whereas a resistance, which could not but prove ineffectual, would infallibly deprive them of their liberties. Notwithstanding John's lethargy, his presence kept several of the principal cities of Normandy in obedience. But the moment they saw he was about to depart for England, they thought they might lawfully provide for their safety. Hardly was he embarked, before they concluded a treaty with Philip, whereby they obliged themselves to own him for their sovereign, provided they were not relieved in a year's time: but when they were informed that there were no preparations making in England, most of them came in before the year was expired. Thus of all Normandy, the city of Rouen only continued in obedience to the king of England.

Upon king John's arrival in England, he charged his barons with having deserted him, and been the cause of his losing Normandy. Under this pretence, the most unreasonable that ever was, he exacted, in 1204, from his barons, the seventh part of their moveables; and though he had not the same cause of complaint against the clergy, he involved them in the same trouble. Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, was his instrument in oppressing the clergy, whilst the chief justiciary rigorously exacted the money from the laics. All England beheld with astonishment the indolence of the king. Soon after he obtained from parliament a subsidy of two marks and a half for every knight's fee; which was granted him in hopes that the money would be expended in regaining what he had just lost. But instead of acting according to the intention of the parliament, he laid it out in vain expences, being satisfied with sending ambassadors to France, to endeavour to procure him a peace. Philip, puffed up with his good success, was so far from abating any thing of his demands, that he further required, that the princess Eleanor, sister of the late duke of Bretagne, should be given in marriage to his second son, with all the territories the English enjoyed in France. This demand was rejected with disdain: for John, not only could never resolve to give his niece such a dowry, but it would have been of very dangerous consequence to him, to put into the hands of Philip, a princess, who since the death of the duke her brother, had the same claim as he to the crown of England.

Soon after the departure of the English ambassadors, Philip sent one into England as his champion, who challenged all those that maintained the king his master was in the wrong, for what he had acted against John. The court of England did not think fit to commit to the decision of a single combat, the right it had to complain of the proceedings of the king of France. However, this valorous champion was acquainted, that as he was desirous of fighting, a person should be found with whom he might try his strength. John Curvy, earl of Ulster, a person of a gigantic stature, and an approved integrity, was at that time in confinement in the Tower, and he was pitched on as a proper person to encounter the French Hector. The prisoner being brought to court, the king asked him, whether he was willing to fight in defence of his cause? "Not of thine," answered the earl boldly, "but of that of the kingdom I will fight to the

\* P. Emilius, in his life of Philip, has recorded the sentence to this effect: "That John, duke of Normandy, being unmindful of his oath to Philip his lord, had murdered his elder brother's son, an homager to the crown of France, within the feignitory of that kingdom; whereupon he is judged a traitor, and as an enemy to the crown of France, to forfeit all his dominions which he held by homage, and

"that re-entry be made by force of arms." Paulus Aemil. de vit. Philipp. p. 175.

† M. Paris, p. 175, says, he continued at Caen, feasting magnificently with his new queen, and lying in bed with her every day till noon.

‡ It was built by king Richard on the rock of Andeli, on the Seine; and was defended by Hugh or Roger de Lacy.



"last drop of my blood\*." But whilst he was recovering his strength, which had been much impaired by a long imprisonment, the French champion having heard talk of the prodigious force of his adversary's arm, privately withdrew into Spain, not daring to appear any more either in France or England.

Philip was not in the least daunted at the flight of his champion, but fought to bring about, by the assistance of many, what he was not able to do by the help of one. He therefore laid siege to Rouen, the citizens whereof finding there was no likelihood of being relieved, surrendered upon condition they should enjoy their ancient privileges. But as Mezerai observes, "This precaution proved as feeble against absolute power, as parchment against iron." As soon as Philip was master of Rouen, he ordered the walls to be demolished. Thus all Normandy was reduced under the empire of France, and united again to that monarchy, after it had been severed from it for the space of three hundred and twenty years. It had been governed by twelve dukes of the Norman race, of whom king John was the last. After the conquest of Normandy, Philip invaded the rest of the English provinces, which at length submitted to the conqueror, after having waited in vain for assistance from England. Of all that John's ancestors had enjoyed in France, nothing was left him but the duchy of Guienne, which Philip did not think fit to attack.

Queen Eleanor, widow of Henry II. and mother of John, died this year in a very advanced age. She had the mortification before her death to behold the decay of the monarchy, to which she had given so great a lustre by the provinces she had annexed to it.

The murmurs of the English at the loss of their territories in France, roused John from the lethargy he had been as it were buried in. When it was least expected he seemed resolved to exert himself, in order to regain both his reputation and the provinces Philip had taken from him. The Poitevins, dissatisfied with being under the dominion of the king of France, having determined to revolt, sent to John for succours, in 1205. As he was persuaded that the inhabitants of all the other provinces were in the same mind, he thought he could never have a better opportunity. In this belief he summoned all the vassals of the crown to meet him with their troops at Portsmouth, where he had ordered his fleet to be ready. But just as he was going to embark, the archbishop of Canterbury and earl of Pembroke threw themselves at his feet, beseeching him to desist from this expedition, which could not be attended with success. They represented to him, that neither in Poitou, near in any other neighbouring province, he was in possession of any one place to repair to in case of necessity; that Philip would wage war with too great an advantage, since he was master of all the fortified towns; that it was exposing himself to manifest danger to trust the Poitevins, who had so often deceived him, and who, perhaps, pretended to invite him to their assistance, only that they might deliver him into the hands of his enemy. In short, they told him, that in an enterprize of this nature, he so visibly hazarded his own life, with his and the nation's honour, that his faithful subjects could not look on with indifference, but must use their utmost endeavours to divert him from it. These remonstrances making no impression upon his mind, they began to speak in another tone, and threatened him so, that he was constrained at last to hearken to their advice. Thus, altering his resolution on a sudden, he was content with sending some succours to the Poitevins, under the command of the earl of Salisbury, his natural bro-

ther. After which he dismissed the army and fleet, who cursed the authors of this advice†. He was no sooner returned to London, but he repented of having followed the counsel of the earl and archbishop; but instead of quarreling with them, he vented his anger on the nobility, from whom he extorted large sums of money, under the specious pretence of their having refused to attend him. He supposed, without any ground, that the earl of Pembroke and archbishop of Canterbury had spoken for the whole body. This was the second time he had exacted money from his subjects by an act of arbitrary power, without the consent of the states. But he did not do it with impunity. The sequel will make appear, that although vengeance was deferred, it only became by that means the more terrible, when the barons found an opportunity to make him feel the effects of their rage.

Soon after the loss of the French provinces, the death of the archbishop of Canterbury threw him into fresh troubles. The election of the archbishops had for some time been a continual subject of disputes between the suffragan bishops and the monks of St. Augustin's. The former claimed a right to interpose in the election, as they had used to do several times. The monks maintained, on the contrary, that this right belonged to them alone, according to ancient custom, and to the utmost of their power kept possession of it. Immediately after the death of Hubert, some of them having combined together, and resolved to elect by themselves an archbishop, to that purpose, meeting at midnight in the cathedral, they chose Reginald their sub-prior, in hopes to have afterwards credit enough to obtain the pope's confirmation. This irregular election was transacted with all possible secrecy. The sub-prior had bound himself, by oath, not to divulge the matter, till he himself had informed the pope of it: so that the rest of the monks had not the least suspicion of what had been done. The electors, willing to compleat what they had begun, contrived the means to have him sent to Rome, on some errand or other, attended by some of their cabal. But he had not the power to keep the secret. The moment he came on the other side of the water, he took upon him the title of archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks his companions had no more discretion than himself. The news being carried to the king, he imagined that the whole monastery had been concerned in these underhand doings, and accordingly was preparing to make the monks repent of their rashness in electing an archbishop without his licence. But they cleared themselves, and appeased his anger by their submission. The clamours of the monks, who had no hand in the intrigue, having made the electors sensible, that after the discovery of the secret it would be too difficult a tax to go through with their undertaking, chose to desist from it. Then the whole society being united in order to proceed to a new election, the king recommended to them John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, who was unanimously chosen, placed in the archiepiscopal chair, and invested with the temporalities. And the year following, fourteen monks were dispatched to the pope, to inform him of what had passed, and to demand his confirmation of the new archbishop. At the same time, the suffragan bishops of Canterbury sent a deputation also to Rome, to complain of the monks assuming the sole right of electing the archbishop, and to inform his holiness of the reasons they had to alledge against it. Whilst the deputies were on the road, the king, whose courage was somewhat roused, led a considerable army into Poitou, and reduced to his obedience the greatest part of that province. But he was so weak again, as to suffer him-

\* It is related of this same earl of Ulster, that afterwards being in France in the English army, Philip, at a conference with John, desired to see some trial of his strength. The earl being come into the presence of the two kings, ordered a large stake to be fixed in the ground, on which he placed a helmet; then looking round him with a menacing eye, he cut the helmet in two pieces with his sword. The blow was so violent, and the sword stuck so fast in the stake, that none but himself

could move it thence. Philip having asked why he looked round him so fiercely, he made answer, that in case he had missed his blow, he would have chopped off the heads of all that were present, that no man living might be witness of his shame. Rapin, book viii. sect. 1.

† The nobles and knights were put to vast expences for this expedition.



self to be outwitted by Philip, who, finding himself unprepared, demanded and obtained a truce of two years.

During these transactions the sub-prior of St. Augustin's arrived at Rome, and earnestly solicited the pope to confirm his election. But Innocent, having perceived that this matter had not been regularly transacted, took some time to consider of it. In the interim, the other deputies being arrived, gave him information of all particulars, and petitioned him to confirm the second election. On the other hand, the agents of the bishops brought their complaints likewise against the monks, and showed him the reasons on which they built their right. To decide these differences, the pope ordered the deputies to come on a day appointed to Viterbo, where he designed to stay some time. Here it was, that in the presence of the pope, these matters were debated with a great deal of warmth, though as to the first case, the reasons of either party were but little regarded. Innocent, who had before-hand resolved what to do, voided both the elections, and ordered the deputies of the monks to proceed to a new one. At the same time he enjoined them to chuse cardinal Stephen Langton, an Englishman, who was then at his court. The monks surprized at this unprecedented order, would at first have dispensed with obeying it. They alledged in their vindication, that they were not impowered by their monastery, and besides, the king's consent was necessary; but the pope would not hearken to these reasons. He told them, that as deputies, they were the representatives of the whole monastery, and that the consent of princes was not necessary in elections where he was present himself. Accordingly, without given them time to reply, he commanded them, on pain of excommunication, to elect cardinal Langton for their archbishop. The monks, terrified at the presence and threatenings of the pope, complied, though with great reluctance, with his orders. There was but one who had the courage to stand out. This extraordinary election was immediately confirmed by the pope, who, with his own hands, consecrated the archbishop elect.

In the year 1207 John entirely lost the affection of his subjects, by extorting from them, by violent methods, the thirteenth part of their moveables. It was to no purpose that the clergy, as far as it concerned them, opposed it. Notwithstanding their opposition, the act passed in parliament\*, and the tax was levied as well upon the clergy as laity, though the former never gave their consent, and the latter had been as it were compelled to grant it. This violence occasioned abundance of complaints and murmurings amongst the clergy, who till then had enjoyed the privilege of not being taxed without their consent. However as it was not in their power to help themselves, they endeavoured to be revenged by exclaiming against the king's conduct, and rendering him odious to the people. The archbishop of York himself, natural brother of the king, a prelate of an impatient temper, excommunicated all those that were employed in gathering the tax,

and withdrew himself from the realm. Though the clergy's complaints was not without grounds, yet the king's friends looked upon them as impertinent. They affirmed that it was very strange that the ecclesiastics should refuse to assist the king in his necessity; they who a little before had suffered, without the least murmur, that a legate should exact of all the beneficed clergy large sums for the pretended occasions of the Holy See. If the money which the king received from this tax had been expended in the service of the state, it would have been some satisfaction to the nation, but they saw it vainly squandered away in the entertainment of the emperor, who was come to pay a visit to the king his uncle. His design was to persuade him to break the truce he had made with France; but how urgent soever he might be, it was impossible to bring John to a rupture: and, to soften his demand in some measure, the king made him a present of five thousand marks, which served to defray the charges of his journey.

Pope Innocent began now to be very uneasy, lest king John should not be pleased with Langton's election, which had been extorted by manifest force, and an unprecedented encroachment; but that our readers may not be unacquainted with the pope's reasons for this encroachment, we shall acquaint them, that for some time after the conversion of the English, the popes chose such as were capable of well-governing the rising church, and generally pitched upon Italians, because there were but few ecclesiastics in England qualified for that high station. But ever since archbishop Theodorus, who was the last sent from Rome, the popes had never pretended to meddle with electing the archbishops without the consent of the kings. They were satisfied with confirming the elections, the obliging the archbishops to go to Rome, and demand the pall. Since the Conquest, it had never happened that they had so much as nulled the election of an archbishop; and therefore to mollify the king, and induce him to pass over the more patiently his unwarrantable election of the archbishop, Innocent wrote him a very remarkable letter†.

It is a difficult matter, says Rapin, to guess at the drift of this mysterious letter. Whether it was only a witty conceit of the pope's, or whether his intent was to give the king to understand, that he would have need of all the virtues represented by the rings, in order to withstand the attacks he was preparing against him. Be this as it will, for fear John should mistake his meaning, quickly after he sent him a more intelligible brief, wherein he exhorted him to own cardinal Langton for archbishop of Canterbury. He represented to him that he was a native of England, cardinal of the Roman church, and learned in all the sciences. Moreover, he assured him, that his exemplary life and Christian virtues would be very advantageous to England for spiritual, as his prudence and political virtues would be for temporal concerns. However, as he did not intend to make Langton's election depend on the good pleasure

\* *In communi concilio.* Annals of Waverly. An. 1207.

† Remarkable indeed! so much so, that we cannot persuade ourselves to withhold a copy of it from our numerous readers:

POPE INNOCENT to JOHN King of ENGLAND.

"AMONG the riches that mortals prize as the most valuable, and desire with the greatest earnestness, it is our opinion that pure gold and precious stones hold their first rank. Although we are persuaded that your Royal Excellence has no want of such things, yet we have thought proper to send you, as a mark of our good-will, four Rings set with stones. We beg the favour you would consider the mysteries contained in their form, their matter, their number, and their colour, rather than their value. Their roundness denotes eternity, which having neither beginning nor end, ought to induce you to tend without ceasing from earthly things to heavenly, and from things temporal to things eternal. The number four, which is a square, signifies firmness of mind, which is not to be shaken by adversity, nor elevated by prosperity, but always continues in the same state. This is a perfection

to which your's would not fail arrive, when it shall be adorned with the four cardinal virtues, justice, fortitude, prudence, and temperance. The first will be of service to you in passing sentence, the second in adversity, the third in dubious cases, and the fourth in prosperity. By the gold is signified wisdom. For just as gold is the most precious of all metals, wisdom is of all endowments the most excellent, as the prophet witnesses in these words: "The spirit of wisdom shall rest upon him," and, indeed, there is nothing more requisite in a sovereign. Accordingly Solomon, that pacific king, only asked of God wisdom, to enable him to well govern his people. The blue colour of the emerald denotes faith; the clearness of the sapphire, hope; the redness of the ruby, charity; and the colour of the topaz, good-works: concerning which our Saviour saith, Let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works. In the emerald therefore you have what you are to believe, in the sapphire what you are to hope, in the ruby what you are to love, and in the topaz what you are to practice, to the end you may proceed from virtue to virtue, till you come to the vision of the God of Gods in Sion."



of the king, nor design to submit it to his examination, by another letter he sent his commands to the monks of St. Augustin's and the suffragan bishops of Canterbury, to receive the cardinal as their metropolitan.

Soon after John had been informed of what had been transacted at Rome, he was highly offended, and accused the monks of St. Augustin's of having deceived him, as well in the third as in the first election, and resolved to be revenged of them. To that end he sent two knights, Fulk de Cantelupe, and Henry de Cornhullen, who entering the monastery with drawn swords, commanded the monks, in the king's name, to depart from the place immediately, unless they had a mind to have their monastery burnt about their ears, and likewise to depart the kingdom within three days. This threat so terrified the monks, that without making the least reply, they withdrew into Flanders to the abbey of St. Bertin, and some other neighbouring monasteries. But this revenge not being capable of giving him all the satisfaction he required, he thought 'by vigorously exerting himself, he should be able to bring the pope to revoke what he had done. In this belief he wrote Innocent a very sharp letter, "wherein he unbraided him with the injury he "had done in nulling the canonical election of the bishop "of Norwich, without having the least pretence for it. "Moreover, he complained that he had caused to be "elected by violence, and contrary to all manner of "right, a person educated in France, and one who was "altogether a stranger to him, and who had always "held a strict correspondence with his open enemies. "He added, that this incroachment was directly con- "trary to the prerogatives of the crown, from which he "was resolved never to recede, any more than he would "from the election of the bishop of Norwich. After "which he roundly told him, that if the satisfaction he "demanded was denied him, he would break off all in- "tercourse with Rome, the which was a thing of no "small consequence, since it was certain, that the holy "see received more money from England than from any "other Christian state; and for that reason, greater re- "gard ought to be paid the king of England than any "prince whatever. He concluded with letting him "know, that there were prelates enough in the kingdom "qualified to govern the church, without being forced "to have recourse to the popes, if they took upon them "to abuse, in so bare-faced a manner, their authority."

It appears, however, that Innocent did not take this business in hand with a view to drop it on the king's bare expostulation. He returned a very civil and mild answer in appearance, though, in the main, it was more proper to irritate than appease him. "He begins with "blaming John for answering his humble and kind let- "ter in so rough a manner, that he seemed rather to "design to affront him, than to require the reasons of "his conduct. He then proceeds to extol the merits "of cardinal Langton; he assures him, that he was a "prelate of very great understanding, and profound "learning, and one that had long studied at the univer- "sity of Paris, where he had taken his degree of doctor "of divinity. He adds, that John was in the wrong to "complain since the consent of princes was not requi- "site at elections made in the presence of the pope: "that, however, out of mere condescension, he had dis- "patched two monks to inform him of it, who by con- "trary winds had been detained at Boulogne. In short "after trying to prove that Langton's election was "agreeable to the canons, he represents to him that "Henry II. his father, and Richard his brother, had "given up the right of nominating bishops and abbots; "and therefore, without interfering with elections, it was "his duty to receive, without any inquiry, the prelates "which the church should judge capable of directing "the spiritual affairs of this kingdom. He concludes "with this notable threat, that submission to him would "be more for his advantage, than an obstinate resistance "against God and his church, in a cause for which the "blessed Thomas Becket had shed his blood." These "last words were terrible, for a prince whose father had

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suffered so much in a similar case. But John, far from being frightened, resolved, on the contrary, to use his utmost endeavours, and to run all hazards in order to free his neck from the galling yoke of Rome.

The pope's letter was followed, in 1208, by an order to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to go to the king, and persuade him to submit to the orders of the church, and, if they found him contumacious, to put the kingdom under an interdict. The bishops thus commissioned by the pope, were obliged to obey him; and therefore they acquainted the king with his holiness's orders, and entreated him to avoid, by his submission, a scandal which would fall no less on his subjects than on himself. But the king still remained inflexible. He swore, by God's teeth, his usual oath, that if the kingdom was interdicted, he would immediately send all the ecclesiastics to seek their living at Rome, and put out the eyes, and cut off the ears and noses of all the Roman priests which should be found in his dominions. Having told the priests his attention, he commanded the three prelates to depart from his presence. His passion, which was already but too violent, was greatly increased by the insolence of Simon Langton, brother of the cardinal, who importuned him in an insulting manner to own his brother for archbishop. The king, tired with his importunities, told him, it was a very strange thing, that an Englishman should press him to renounce the prerogatives of the crown. To which Langton insolently replied, that nothing could be done on his behalf, unless he would wholly put himself upon his brother's mercy.

The year before, John had a son born to him by Isabella of Angouleme, to whom he gave the name of Henry. And this year the queen was brought to-bed of another, who was called Richard,

The three prelates, who had already addressed the king, and were not able to obtain any thing from him, pronounced at length the sentence of interdict upon the whole kingdom, and retired beyond sea. Immediately divine service ceased in all the churches, and the sacraments were no longer administered, except to infants and dying persons. Public prayers, and all ecclesiastical rights were laid aside. The church-yards were shut up, and the bodies of the dead thrown into ditches like dogs, without any priest daring or being willing to assist at the funerals. Thus we may easily imagine, what a dreadful consternation the people were thrown into, owing to the interdicting of the kingdom by the pope's command. But these rigorous proceedings were not capable of reducing the king to the proper obedience. On the contrary, John, finding that the court of Rome had no longer any regard for him, resolved to act with the same haughtiness, and make the pope know he was able to stand against him. Pursuant to this resolution, he confiscated the estates of all the ecclesiastics who obeyed the interdict, and sent orders to the sheriffs to make enquiry after them, and expel them the kingdom. But the sheriffs perceiving they could not put the king's orders in execution, without using great violence, durst not push matters so far. So that none went out of the kingdom but such as having too zealously espoused the pope's quarrel, chose rather to go into voluntary banishment, than remain exposed to the indignation of the king. Those who staid behind were in no better circumstances: outrages were daily committed against them, for which they could find no redress from the magistrates, who always desired them to go to their master the pope; telling them, that he might be able to afford them protection. There was scarcely a priest in England but what kept a concubine; and the king, under pretence of enforcing the canons of the councils, ordered all their concubines to be imprisoned, with a command, that from thence none should be freed till they had paid large fines. Some of the ecclesiastics, in spite of the interdict, administered the sacraments; but as they were incessantly exposed to the insults of the zealous, the king took them under his protection, and ordered the magistrates to hang upon the spot such as



should do them any outrage. The pope was no sooner informed of the matter, than he excommunicated all those who disobeyed the interdict, or executed the king's orders. Such was the wretched state of the people of England. Those who were faithful to their sovereign fell under the pope's censures, and the king made it his business to persecute all who submitted to the orders of the papal court.

In the beginning of the year 1209, Henry, brother of Otho the emperor, came to king John to demand, in behalf of the emperor his brother, an aid of money, which the king liberally granted, though he was himself in extreme want of it.

The calamities of the English moved neither the king nor the pope. They both continued inflexible, each resolving not to yield to his adversary. However, John was not without his uneasiness. Though he was not fearful of the pope's thunderings with respect to spiritual; yet he could not behold, without great distress of mind, that the generality of the people were inclined to hearken to the court of Rome. The knowledge of this making him apprehensive, that sooner or later some plot would be formed against him, he thought it his best way to prevent the designs of his enemies by raising an army. Therefore having complained, that the king of Scotland had violated the treaty of Lincoln, by marrying one of his daughters, without asking his consent, he levied his troops. Having marched his forces to the frontiers of Scotland, the Scotch king sent ambassadors to John, with overtures of peace, offering fifteen thousand marks and his two daughters in hostage. In his return from the northern frontiers, he ordered all the hedges to be cut down, and the ditches to be filled up throughout his forests, that the deer might have liberty to feed every where\*. When he came to Northampton, he was met there by the prince of Wales, who fearing he had a design to carry the war into his country, hastened to prevent him by his submission. This prince accompanied the king as far as Woodstock, where he did him homage†.

The continuation of the interdict was a clear evidence to the king, that the pope did not design to drop his pretensions, but that he would, upon this method not succeeding, make use of more violent measures. In this belief, he judged it requisite to take care beforehand to screen himself from his attempts. Nothing seemed to him so proper to frustrate the designs of the court of Rome, as to cause his vassals to renew their homage. But the pope perceiving that the interdict, which had continued above a year, produced not the effect he expected from it, resolved to pronounce against John the sentence of excommunication, and committed the publication of it to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, who were to have it published every Sunday and holiday in all the churches throughout England. But as these prelates had still a great regard for the king, they did not think fit to obey their orders with that readiness the pope desired. However, the news of the king's excommunication was so spread over the kingdom, that none were ignorant of it, though the sentence had not been yet published. The archdeacon of Norwich, who was one of the directors of the exchequer, having notice of it, quitted his office with leave,

alleging that his conscience would not suffer him to remain in the service of an excommunicated prince. This proceeding cost him dear. The king, incensed at the little regard he had shown for his person, ordered him to be confined in a close prison, where it is affirmed, that his death was hastened by violent means‡. This instance of severity was not capable of preventing Hugh de Wells, lately erected bishop of Lincoln, from wounding the king in a more sensible part. This prelate having obtained leave to go and be consecrated by the archbishop of Rouen, instead of going to Normandy, went directly to Rome, where he received consecration at the hands of cardinal Langton. If the king had had him in his power, he would, without doubt, have treated him with as little mercy as he had the archdeacon of Norwich. But not being able to do any thing else, he was content with seizing his revenues; but the prelate was not much concerned at it.

The king's excommunication, however, made no impression on his mind, but he still remained unmoved. Besides, as the sentence had not yet been published, and as people might pretend to know nothing of it, the greatest part of the nobility still adhered to their prince, notwithstanding the excommunication. He had even hopes that the sentence was only some penal threatening, which he might cause to be revoked, upon his showing some steadiness and resolution; but as it would have been imprudent to depend upon that, he levied, in 1210 a great number of forces, well knowing that nothing was more capable of breaking the pope's measures, than the having a good army always in readiness. Some commotions in Ireland gave him an opportunity and a pretence to raise these troops, the charges of which were defrayed by the Jews, not voluntarily, but by the seizure of their goods§. John having embarked with his army, safely arrived at Dublin, where he was met by upwards of thirty petty princes, who came to take the oath of allegiance to him. Having received their homage, he marched against the king of Connaught, the author of the disturbances which had brought him into Ireland. This prince having been taken prisoner in a battle, the war was happily ended, and the whole island reduced to the king's obedience as formerly. Before he returned, John caused the laws and customs of England to be established for the future in Ireland, and made the bishop of Norwich his chief judiciary||. On his return, in order to keep his army together, he quarreled with the prince of Wales; but as he wanted money for the maintenance of the troops, he imposed, by his own authority, a tax of a hundred thousand marks upon the estates of the ecclesiastics. He then marched against the Welsh, and compelled them to give him twenty-eight hostages.

In the year 1211, pope Innocent sent two nuncios into England, under pretence of making peace between the king and his clergy; but nothing was farther from his thoughts than the bringing about a reconciliation, which could not but be very prejudicial to himself. His sole aim was to dive into John's intentions, that he might be able to take his measures accordingly. The two nuncios being arrived they persuaded the king to promise he would give the banished ecclesiastics leave to return to their churches. He further agreed, that cardinal Langton should be put in possession of the see of

\* This year also the king issued a proclamation, forbidding the taking of all sorts of feathered game throughout England, which was the first edict of this kind, as Tyrel observes, book vii. p. 739.

† An unlucky accident happened at this time, which was a great prejudice to Oxford, and serves to show the flourishing condition of that university in those days. A certain clerk having by chance killed a woman, made his escape: the mayor coming to his lodging, found three other clerks that lived in the same house, which they had hired together. These being seized, were a few days after, by the king's order, hanged up, in contempt of the ecclesiastical liberty; upon which near three thousand scholars left that university, some going to Cambridge, others to Reading. M. Paris.

‡ A leaden cope was put upon him with the pressure of

which, and for want of victuals, he died in a few days. M. Paris.

§ M. Paris says, the Jews of both sexes were seized all over England, and cruelly treated till they would ransom themselves according to the king's pleasure. Amongst the rest a Jew at Bristol, though cruelly tormented, refusing to ransom himself, the king ordered that his tormentors should every day pull out one of his cheek teeth, till he would pay down ten thousand marks. Accordingly they pulled out seven in as many days, but on the eighth day he relented, and so with the loss of seven teeth, parted with the ten thousand marks to save the rest.

|| John de Grey, who caused the money to be coined of the same weight and fineness as in England: that the like money might be common in both kingdoms.



Canterbury, and gave his word, that the church of England should enjoy all the liberties, privileges, and immunities she was possessed of in the time of Edward the Confessor. The nuncios, finding the king had so far complied, demanded restitution of all the damages which the ecclesiastics had sustained; but as the king was not inclined to agree to their proposal the negotiation broke off, and the nuncios returned, after having published the sentence of excommunication against the king, which the bishops had till then kept back. The sentence of excommunication was followed by the pope's bull, which absolved John's subjects from their oath of allegiance, and enjoined them, upon pain of excommunication, to refuse all obedience. Those terrible proceedings had so great an effect, that most of the barons, overjoyed at having an opportunity to be revenged of the king, began to combine together to depose him, and place another on the throne. Matthew Paris assures us, that the majority of them signed an address to the king of France, inviting him to England, and promising to own him for their sovereign.

Notwithstanding this John, to the astonishment of all the world, appeared unconcerned. Far from foreseeing the impending danger, he spent his time in feasting and continual diversions, as if he had no affairs of importance upon his hands, and the pope's bull had been of no consequence. At the same time the Welsh, who could never long remain at rest, having made some incursions into the English territories, John became so enraged, that he commanded the twenty-eight hostages he had in his power to be hanged up. After which, in 1212, he resolved to carry the war into their country and root them out. Whilst he was preparing for this expedition, the king of Scotland sent him intelligence of a dangerous conspiracy that was formed against him in England; but John, without paying any attention to this information, continued his march to Chester, with a view to begin the war with the Welsh. Upon his arrival at that city, he received fresh notice, about the conspiracy, which was confirmed from so many different places, that he could no longer doubt of the truth. His security now giving place to his fears, he began to consider the officers of his army as so many secret enemies whom he could not trust: he therefore dismissed his troops, and retired to London, where he imagined he should be in more safety. Some time after, his fears being somewhat abated, by his receiving certain advice, that the barons were in no readiness to execute their designs, he demanded hostages of them as pledges of their allegiance. There were but few who ventured to deny him, for fear of being sacrificed to his suspicions, before they should be in a state of defence. Indeed their measures were as yet very uncertain. If it be true, that they had applied to the king of France, that monarch had not yet given them any positive answer. Whilst John was anxiously waiting the issue of the conspiracy of his enemies' he met with a mortification, which made him very uneasy, though he appeared to take no notice of it. One Peter de Pontefract, a hermit, who was famous in the kingdom for foretelling things to come, prophesied publicly that by Ascension-day following John should be disposed, and the crown transferred to another. The king being informed of this, sent for the hermit, who, in his presence, persisted in what he had said, and the king commanded him to be confined\*.

In the mean time the pope, says Rapin, who had no mind to hault in so fair a way, took at Rome all necessary measures to compass his ends. As he was desirous that it should appear in the eyes of the world, that his

zeal for justice and religion was the sole motive of his actions, he took particular care to conceal that he had any personal interest in his quarrel with the king of England. The better to hide his design, he caused a petition to be presented him by cardinal Langton, and the rest of the proscribed bishops, wherein they humbly entreated him to apply a remedy to the calamities the church of England had so long laboured under. This petition having furnished him with a pretence to call a Consistory, he made a speech to the cardinals, wherein he aggravated, to the utmost of his power, the injuries king John had done, and did daily do, to the church. He concluded with saying, that the obstinacy of that prince, not being to be subdued by the church censures, he had called them together, on purpose to consult about the means necessary to make this stiff-necked son return to his duty. The result of the council was, that John deserved to be deposed, and that the pope should place another king over England. Pursuant to this advice, Innocent thundered out the sentence of deposition against king John; and soon after, he empowered Philip king of France to put the sentence in execution, promising him, as a reward, the remission of all his sins, together with the crown of England to him and his heirs for ever, when he had dethroned the tyrant. A few days after, he published a bull, in which he exhorted all Christian princes to help forward, as far as in them lay, this expedition, which was intended purely to revenge the injuries done to the catholic church. In this bull he took into his protection whosoever should contribute either money or any other assistance towards the subduing the enemy of the church, and granted them the same privileges with those who visited the Holy Sepulchre.

Towards the close of this year, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, natural son of Henry II. departed this life. He was a prelate of a narrow genius, but proud, pragmatical, and exceeding passionate, one that would have done a great deal of mischief, had he been as able as he was willing. This year also great part of London was burnt down; the fire began in Southwark, and having consumed the church of St. Mary Overy, went on to the Bridge; and whilst great numbers of people ran, some to behold, others to quench the flames, the houses on the other end of the bridge took fire; so that the multitude being thus enclosed, many were forced to leap into the Thames, whilst others, crowding into the boats that came to their relief, were the cause of their own destruction, the boats and people sinking together; so that between the fire and the water near three thousand persons perished by this unfortunate accident, which happened on the 10th of July.

Philip's commission set him at the height of his wishes. He made, in 1213, exceedingly great preparations for war; and the ships, of which his fleet was to consist, came from all parts to the mouth of the Seine, whilst the princes his vassals, and the great men of his realm led their troops to Rouen, which place he had appointed as the rendezvous of his army†. Such vast preparations could not be a secret to king John, who for his part used his utmost endeavours to put himself in a condition to oppose the invasion he was threatened with. He summoned all the vassals of the crown to meet him at Dover with their troops, under pain of forfeiting their fiefs, and being exemplarily punished in their persons. He also issued out orders, that all the ships belonging to his subjects should be ready at the same place; threatening to banish the masters who should fail to be there on any pretence whatsoever. These orders shortly procured a greater number of troops than he could maintain, whereupon he sent away part of his

\* Matthew Paris says, John was very inquisitive to know of the Hermit whether it was by death or otherwise that he was to lose his crown; but all he could get from him was, that he might be assured he would not on that day be king, and said if he were convicted of a lie, he might then deal with him as

he pleased. Upon which the king caused him to be confined till he should see the issue of his prediction.

† The pope wrote also to the great men, knights, and warriors of divers nations, to undertake this war, signing themselves with the Cross, as if it were for that of the Holy Land. fleet,



fleet, and kept but sixty thousand of his most warlike men \*. But whilst the two monarchs were with equal ardour getting in readiness, the one to attack, and the other to defend; and whilst the sea was covered with ships, and the coasts of each kingdom were overspread with troops, who expected every moment to enter upon action, the pope gave his last instructions to Pandulph †. When he came into the presence of the king of England, he represented to him, that his enemy's forces were so numerous, that they were able to conquer England, though the whole nation should be united for their common defence; but that John was very far from being able to rely on the people's affections. And to convince him of the truth of his assertion, discovered to him, that Philip had privately received assurances from the chief barons that instead of opposing his arms, they would assist him to the utmost of their power. This intelligence corresponding with what John had already received, he appeared shocked at it, neither could he hide from the legate the fears that had seized his frame. This was precisely what Pandulph was aiming at. As soon as he perceived the terror of the king, he took occasion to acquaint him, that he had but one way to secure himself from the danger which hung over his head; and that, to put himself under the pope's protection, who, as a kind and merciful father, was still willing to receive him with open arms, was the best way he could take. But, added he, to deserve this favour, "you must become a dutiful son to the church; and to that end, you must promise to perform faithfully whatsoever the pope shall enjoin you; who, in imitation of Him, whose representative he is on earth, desires not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his evil ways."

No prince was ever in such a disagreeable situation as John; he stood between two precipices, both of which were equally dangerous. On which side soever he turned, he was on the point of falling either into the hands of his most inveterate enemy, or of lying at the mercy of a pope, whom he had so long braved, and who was the sole cause of his misfortunes. Of these two evils, the last seemed to him the least insupportable, because he saw not through the pope's design. The legate took care not to impart to him at first all the conditions the pope required of him for the grant of his favour and protection. He was satisfied for the present, with obliging him solemnly to swear, that he would obey the pope in all things relating to the affair for which he stood excommunicated: that he would make full satisfaction to the clergy and laics, for the damages they had sustained on account of the interdict; that he should pay immediately, in part of restitution, the sum of eight thousand pounds sterling; that he should receive into favour the proscribed bishops, and others, particularly cardinal Langton, and the prior and monks of St. Augustin's; that he should confirm all these things by his letters patents, and cause such bishops and barons as the pope or his legate should appoint, to stand sureties for him; that he should also declare, if he, or any other by his order, should violate this agreement, he would for ever lose the custody of vacant churches, and the bishops and barons his sureties, should be authorized to serve the pope against him. He likewise obliged himself to send letters of safe-conduct to the archbishop of Canterbury, and the other exiled bishops, that they might return in safety to their respective churches. Lastly, he swore not to prosecute any person, whether laymen or eccle-

siastics, for any matter relating to the affair in hand. Having succeeded thus far, Pandulph threw off the mask; and when the article came to be explained, in 1213, the legate told him, that the offences he had committed against God and the church were of so heinous a nature, that they could not be atoned for but by the absolute resignation of his crown into the hands of the Pope. He added, that he could not give him absolution but upon that condition only. Whereupon the king repaired to Dover Church the next day; and having taken the crown from his head, he laid it, with the other ensigns of royalty, at the legate's feet, who represented the pope. He then signed a charter, whereby he resigned to the pope the kingdom of England, and lordship of Ireland. From this time he acknowledged himself a vassal of the holy see, and as such bound himself to pay the yearly rent of a thousand marks, namely, seven hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. The legate, having obtained his purpose, kept the crown and sceptre five days before he restored them to John, telling him, that it was a singular favour from the holy see. This extraordinary transaction rendered John contemptible in the eyes of all the people of Europe. One would think that John should have been sensibly affected with what had happened, but he appeared to be the first that forgot it. He even seemed to triumph at having kept his crown in spite of the prediction of the hermit of Pontefract. Notwithstanding what he had foretold was exactly come to pass, John ordered him to be hanged on a gibbet for a false prophet.

Pandulph, who had now no farther business in England, was set out from Dover, without having taken off the interdict, or given the king absolution. He went to Philip, who buoyed himself up with the hopes of the conquest of England. On their interview, he ordered Philip, in the pope's name, not to go forward with the intended expedition. He acquainted him, that the king of England having become a dutiful son of the church, and the occasion of his arming ceased, there was no farther necessity of executing the pope's sentence. But Philip positively refused to obey the legate's orders. He asserted, that it was for the sake of obtaining the remission of his sins, that he had made these preparations against England, at the pressing instances of the pope, and that no contrary orders, nor all the threats in the world, should hinder him from prosecuting his design. He therefore convened a council of the principal lords of his kingdom, and of the princes his vassals who were then about him, with a view to persuade the lords to make oath, that they would not desert him, though the pope should proceed to thunder out his censures and his anathemas against him. The princes and lords who were present seemed inclinable to comply with the king's request, but the earl of Flanders strongly opposed it; and that in a manner which very much reproached Philip's character. He represented, that the expedition projected against the king of England, was in itself neither just nor honourable, and that it was become impracticable, because the pope had refused to countenance it by any mark of his approbation. He added, that it would be much more agreeable to the rules of honour and equity, to restore to that prince what had been taken from him in France, than to frame new schemes how to take advantage of his misfortunes. Philip was highly nettled at the earl's boldness, which bore too hard upon his conduct; and therefore he thought it necessary to humble the earl of Flanders. His view was to strike

\* The writs, which were issued out upon this occasion, and which are recited at length in M. Paris, plainly make appear, that there was no such thing in those days as standing armies either in England or France; but that the only forces for the defence of the kingdom were the militia of England, consisting of the earls and barons, with their tenants and vassals under them, who were obliged by their tenures to come, into the field in case of an invasion from abroad, or a rebellion at home. The writs are directed to all the sheriffs of the kingdom, commanding them to summon all the earls, barons, knights, freemen, and esquires. The writs for the ships

were directed to all the bailiffs of sea-ports, &c. See M. Paris, p. 233.

† He was one of the two nuncio's above mentioned, who upon this occasion, was made legate for England. His public instructions were to use his utmost endeavours to prevail with king John to submit to the church. But his private ones were to put the finishing stroke to the project he had formed. He passed through France, where he beheld Philip's great preparations, and commended his zeal and diligence; after which he hastened to the king of England at Dover.



terror into the rest of his vassals by his example, and at the same time to deprive the king of England of the assistance he might receive from so steadfast a friend. Philip therefore ordered his fleet to sail towards the coast of Flanders, whilst he marched with his army to attack the earl by land. The progress of his arms were at first very considerable. In all likelihood, the earl of Flanders would have been entirely crushed, if John had not sent his naval force to his aid. The earl of Salisbury, who commanded the English fleet, having surprized that of Philip, entirely destroyed it\*. This disaster set aside all Philip's designs, and he was obliged to drop his undertaking, and return to Paris. This victory roused the courage of king John. Being assured of the future assistance of the pope, he resolved to carry the war into France, and endeavour to regain the districts he had lost in that country. With this view, he caused his army to march to Portsmouth, where he had ordered his fleet to be in readiness. But just as he thought to embark, the barons sent him word they could not attend him, unless he was first absolved from his excommunication†. Whereupon he dispatched a safe-conduct to cardinal Langton, and the rest of the banished bishops, that he might receive absolution from their hands. At the same time, he acquainted them, that he was ready to perform all his engagements, and particularly those which related to them. On their arrival the bishops went to the king at Winchester, who exhorted them to have pity on him and the kingdom. The cardinal led him to the church, where, in the presence of a multitude of people, he administered to him an oath, the purport of which was as follows: "That he would protect Holy Church to the utmost of his power: that he would re-establish the good laws of his predecessors, and especially those of king Edward: that he would cause justice to be ministered to his subjects by his courts, according to ancient custom, and not arbitrarily: that he would restore to corporations and private persons, their rights and liberties: lastly, that he would, before Easter next, make full satisfaction for all the damages he had caused." This done, the king renewed his oath of fealty and obedience to the pope, according to the tenor of the charter he had given the legate; after which the cardinal gave him absolution. The king having received absolution, went again to Portsmouth, where he met with fresh difficulties. Having made the barons acquainted with his design to embark, they refused to attend him, telling him they had staid so long at Portsmouth, that they had spent all the money designed for the expedition, and therefore were in no condition to leave this country. John was greatly displeased at this disappointment, but he endeavoured to conceal his vexation, by taking shipping himself with only his own family, and setting sail for Jersey, where he waited some days, in expectation of the barons, but finding no person followed him, he returned to England, with a resolution to chastise the disobedience of the barons‡. Upon his arrival, therefore, he drew some troops together, and marched towards the center of the kingdom. The cardinal archbishop went to him at Northampton, and opposed the making war upon the barons, telling him, that if he persisted in his resolution, he would violate the oath he had taken at his absolution. The king, remaining deaf to the archbishop's remonstrance, continued his march as far as Nottingham. Langton, not at all discouraged at this repulse, followed him the next day, and declared to him, that he would excommunicate all those that should take up arms before the interdict

was removed. The king, now become apprehensive that his troops would desert him, desisted from his enterprise, and was content with appointing a day for the barons to appear and answer for their disobedience.

The lords spiritual and temporal, being met at London concerning the restitution the king had promised, Langton spoke warmly against the king. He said, "that before he gave him absolution, he had caused him to swear that he would restore the church, the nobility, and the commonalty, to their rights and privileges: but that it was visible to all, that he had not made the least step towards the performance of his oath: that, on the contrary, he had intended to make war on his barons, before they had been legally tried; which was a clear evidence of his ill designs. And therefore, continued he, it is absolutely necessary for the good of the public, to press him to perform his engagements. But as difficulties might occur in drawing up the particulars they were to demand of the king, he told them, that they might make use of a charter of one of their former kings, of which he had accidentally found a copy, notwithstanding the pains that had been taken to bury it in oblivion." The charter the cardinal spoke of, was that which Henry I. granted to his subjects, in the beginning of his reign, and which the cardinal publicly read before the assembly§. The barons, who before had only a confused notion of this charter, were very well pleased with its being found, but more so with the contents. Therefore, without delay, they came to a resolution to make it the foundation of their demands. They then entered into a confederacy, and bound themselves by oath, to exert their utmost endeavours to obtain the re-establishment of their ancient privileges, and mutually to assist each other. The cardinal also promised to endeavour to facilitate the accomplishment of their designs. This is the first league or confederacy which was ever made in England against the king, in defence of the liberties of the people. On account of this league, John sent a messenger whom he could depend on, to his holiness, to inform him of the troubles he was likely to be involved in, and to entreat him to grant him his assistance on so pressing a necessity. His request was seconded by a very handsome present, that he might the more readily grant his request. Innocent secretly rejoiced at the news of the dissension which was like to break out between the king and the barons. With a view therefore to establish his authority more firmly in England, without giving the least hint of his knowing any thing of the confederacy of the barons, he sent, in 1214, cardinal Nichols, bishop of Trivoli, as his legate into England, with a power to take off the interdict, and compose the difference between the king and the clergy concerning the affair of restitution. John offered to pay down a hundred thousand marks, a sum with which the legate seemed tolerably well satisfied: but the bishops rejected his offer, chusing to let the kingdom labour under the intolerable burden of an interdict, rather than recede in the least from any of their pretensions. "The legate was not displeased at their obduracy, which gave him an opportunity of acquainting the king with the orders he had received from the pope. He represented to him, that he could never hope to live in peace till he had put himself entirely under the protection of the apostolic see; that in order to do it effectually, it was necessary for him to make a second resignation of his crown, the first being liable to so many exceptions; that afterwards the pope, finding himself indispensably

\* It is said, that the English took three hundred ships, and sunk one hundred, and that the French themselves set fire to the rest, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands.

† M. Paris says, it had hitherto been deferred, under pretence that the archbishop of Canterbury was to come over and perform it in person on the pope's behalf.

‡ Ralph de Coggeshal lays the miscarriage of this voyage No. XV.

chiefly upon the barons of the north, who, being summoned, affirmed they were not obliged to follow him, according to the tenure of their estates. This is a clear evidence, that the barons of the realm were not obliged to attend the king when he made war on his own head, but only in case of an invasion from abroad, or a rebellion at home. Tindal.

§ See a translation of this charter, p. 114.



"obliged to stand by him, would infallibly free him from all his troubles \*."

The bad situation of John's affairs prompted him to make a second resignation of his crown. A general assembly of all the lords of the realm was convened at Westminster, in which he solemnly resigned his crown to the pope a second time, with all the formalities the legate was pleased to require. He even signed another charter, wherein care was taken to supply all the defects of the former. To give it a greater air of authenticity, it was sealed with gold, the first having been sealed only with wax. The king then delivered it into the hands of the legate, for the use of the pope his master. The barons perceived that the secret of their confederacy was discovered, and that John's renewing his resignation of the crown, was the price of the protection he had obtained of the pope. Cardinal Langton solemnly protested against this resignation, and laid his protestation upon the altar. Pope Innocent was greatly chagrined at Langton's protestation, yet durst he not complain lest the whole kingdom should catch the growing flame, and England be induced to join with Langton in the defence of their liberties. Soon after the resignation, the pope took occasion to mortify the archbishop, by giving cardinal Nichols, his legate, the power to fill all vacant benefices in England. The legate abused his power most shamefully; he was not content with conferring the benefices on Italians, on his relations and creatures, but even gave some to persons yet unborn. Langton appealed to the pope against the legate's proceedings, and sent Simon his brother to Rome to prosecute the appeal. Innocent was but little inclined to listen to complaints against a legate who had just done him such signal services. Besides, Pandulph, who was sent to Rome with the charter sealed with gold, had spoken much to the prejudice of the archbishop, and of all the English lords. He had represented them as a company of turbulent persons, and extolled the king as the most pious of princes. The pope, therefore, pleased with Pandulph's relation, paid no regard to Langton's remonstrances, and dispatched orders to his legate to take off the interdict, which had lasted above six years. As for the satisfaction which the clergy demanded, he ordered that the king should make restitution with forty thousand marks. Thus ended the grand affair, which rendered the king of England a vassal and homager to the pope.

The king having, in a shameful manner, got rid of his excommunication, he drew together a numerous army, with which he went to France, where he entered Poictou, which he subdued with the same ease that it had been taken from him. Encouraged by this success, he marched into Anjou, and rebuilt the walls of Angiers which he had formerly caused to be demolished. This sudden attack surprized Philip, who being then taken up in the Low Countries in a war with the emperor and the earl of Flanders, could not return in time to oppose this fresh invader. However, prince Lewis his son, having speedily raised an army, advanced towards Anjou, whilst the English were laying siege to the strong castle of La Roche au Moine. On the approach of the French army, John raised the siege, and resolved to give Lewis battle. But the Poitevins refused to follow him, so that he was not only forced to drop his design, but even to retreat with precipitation. Notwithstanding this accident, John's forces were so numerous, that he

did not despair of success in the war, had it continued but the news of the battle of Bovines† which Philip had gained in Flanders, made him think of retreating. This victory, the most considerable that France had ever obtained‡, having made John apprehensive, that the whole burden of the war would lie upon him, demanded a truce for five years, by the mediation of the pope's legate.

The same year on the king's return from France, the barons came to a resolution of demanding, in a body the re-establishment of their privileges. Under the pretence of a pilgrimage, the chief earls and barons met at St. Edmundsbury, where they resolved to demand of the king a confirmation of the charter of Henry I§. This charter, as hath been observed, contained in substance, the liberties which the people of England enjoyed during the dominion of the Saxon kings. Here they agreed, that immediately after Christmas, they should go to the king in a body, and present him their petition. Having come to this resolution, every one returned to his own home, in order to provide himself with men, with horses, and with arms, that they might be able to compel the king, if he refused to grant their request.

At length, about the middle of January, in the year 1215, the barons went to the king at London||, where they demanded, in plain and express terms, the re-establishment of the laws of St. Edward, together with all the rights and privileges contained in the charter of Henry I. They also alledged, that they required no more than what he himself had sworn to perform, before he received his absolution, and for that reason their most humble petition could not be looked upon as an innovation, much less as proceeding from a spirit of rebellion. The king found, notwithstanding the modest and respectful terms in which the petition was couched, that the barons were resolved upon war, in case he rejected it; and therefore, desiring them to wait till Easter for his answer, he assured them, that he would then fully declare his intentions; whereupon they withdrew\*\* from the royal presence. In the mean time, the king, dreading the consequence of a refusal, caused the oath of allegiance to be renewed by all his subjects, and homage done him by all his immediate vassals. He then took upon him the Crusade, as if he intended to go to the Holy Land, with a view to obtain the protection of the church. About the same time also the king granted a charter for the freedom of elections to bishoprics and abbeys, to chuse their bishops and abbots, without any letters of nomination or recommendation from the king, which was contrary to the usage of his ancestors. So that the nominating to abbeys, deans, and chapters, fit persons to be elected bishops, was never after fully restored to the crown till the 25th of Henry VIII.

When Easter was come, the barons met at Stamford, to the number of above a thousand knights, all well-mounted, well-armed, and in a condition to make themselves dreaded. The king, then at Oxford, having received intelligence of their number and posture, did not think fit to trust his person in a conference with them. Before they had advanced any nearer††, he sent the earl of Pembroke to know, what the laws and liberties were which they mentioned in their petition. Hereupon they sent a long writing to the king, which contained the laws and customs of the kingdom in the time of the Saxon kings; and affirmed, that if the king would not confirm them, they were resolved to compel him, by

\* See Rapin, book viii.

† Bovines is a small town seated on the river Maese, or Meuse, ten miles south of Namur, and two north of Dinant.

‡ This famous battle was fought on the 27th of July. Though the allies, viz. the emperor Otho, Ferdinand earl of Flanders, with the dukes of Louvain and Brabant, had no less than one hundred and twenty thousand men, and though the king of France had not near so many, and was moreover thrown off his horse and trod under foot, yet at length he entirely vanquished his enemies. Otho was put to flight, and died some time after with grief, five earls were taken prisoners, one of

which was William Long-Sword, king John's half brother. No prince after that dared to withstand Philip. †† Ibid.

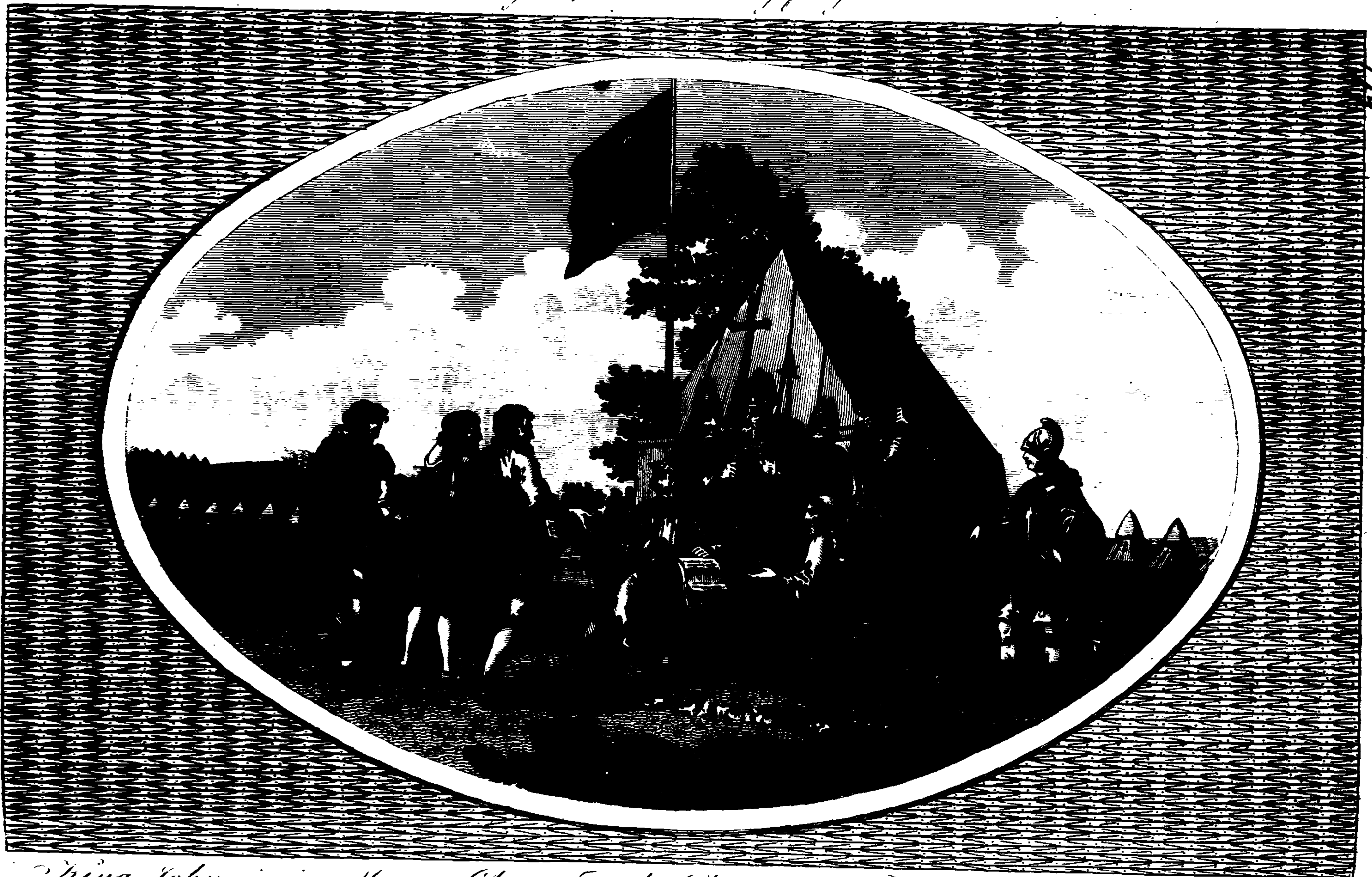
§ See note † p. 114.

|| This happened on the spot of ground where the Inner and Middle Temples now stand.

\*\* According to Matthew Paris, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely, and William, earl Marshal, were sentries for the king, that on the day appointed he would give them satisfaction.

†† They were then at Brackley in Northamptonshire. M. Paris.





King John signing Magna Charta and the Charter of the Forests, in Runnymede Meadow.

Warren, sculp.



seizing his castles: John had no sooner perused the writing, than he was highly offended; and exclaimed, that the barons wanted to deprive him of the government of his kingdom, and swore, that "he would never grant his subjects such liberty as would make himself a slave."

The barons were convinced by this answer, that the king did not intend to grant their request, unless he was compelled; and therefore, they chose lord Robert Fitz-Walter their general, styling him, "the Marshal of the Army of God, and of Holy-Church." They then marched to Northampton\*, and laid siege to the castle fifteen days. That place holding out longer than they expected, they raised the siege and went to Bedford, of which they became masters†. A few days after, they received advice, that a negociation which they had privately set on foot, with some of the chief burghers of London had succeeded to their wish, and that one of the gates of the city was to be put into their hands. They therefore set forward with such expedition, that in two marches they arrived at Aldgate. This gate being thrown open to them, they entered the city at day-break, before the king, who was then at the tower, had the least notice of their approach. They now resolved to besiege the king in the tower; and whilst they were employed in the siege, they sent circular letters to all the lords of the king's party, and to those who stood neuter. Without using any preamble, they acquainted them, that their estates would be plundered, and their houses demolished, if they did not come and join with them in defence of the common cause of the kingdom. These threats compelled those who intended to stand neuter, to join with the barons. Some, on whom the king depended, deserted him through fear of the barons. This

defection having rendered the king more tractable, he sent the earl of Pembroke to the barons, to inform them that he was ready to grant their demands. After a short negociation, it was agreed, that the king and barons should meet upon a day appointed, in a meadow called Runnemede‡, in order to settle matters in a manner more conducive of the public good, and the satisfaction of the people.

The barons, on the day appointed, went in great numbers to the place agreed on whilst the king appeared attended by a few lords only. The commissioners were immediately appointed, and the conference directly began, which lasted nine days, when the king signed two charters, wherein the barons had inserted every thing they thought necessary. The first was called *Charta Communium Libertatum*, or Magna Charta, and Charter of Liberties, or the Great Charter§; the other was called *Charta de Foresta*; or the Charter of the Forests. These charters are the grand foundation of the English liberty and constitution. They were signed by the king and all the lords spiritual and temporal of the realm, sealed with the great seal, and confirmed by the king's solemn oath. For the further securing the performance of them, there were chosen, with the king's consent, five and twenty barons, to any four of whom, all persons might apply to complain of the breach of the charters. It was further agreed, that the four barons, who should first receive information of any grievance, should acquaint the king with it; and if it was not redressed within forty days, they should give notice of it to all the barons, for whom in that case, it should be lawful to take up arms and seize the king's castles in order to oblige him to make reparation for the wrong done. All violence, however, to the king's person, the queen and their issue, was excepted.

§ We shall here gratify our reader's curiosity, by inserting translations of these charters:

*The CHARTER of LIBERTIES, or the GREAT CHARTER, granted by King JOHN to his Subjects.*

"JOHN, by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou: to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, sheriffs, officers, and to all bailiffs and other his faithful subjects, greeting:

"Know ye, that we\*, in the presence of God, and for the health of our soul, and the souls of our ancestors and heirs, and to the honour of God, and the exaltation of Holy Church, and amendment of our kingdom, by advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and cardinal of the holy Roman church; Henry, archbishop of Dublin; William, bishop of London; Peter, of Winchester; Jocelin, of Bath and Glastonbury; Hugh, of Lincoln; Walter, of Worcester; William, of Coventry; Benedict, of Rochester, bishops; and master Pandulph, the pope's sub-deacon and ancient servant, brother to Aymeric, master of the Temple in England; and the noble persons William, the marshal, earl of Pembroke; William, earl of Salisbury; William, earl of Warren; William, earl of Arundel; Alan de Galloway, constable of Scotland; Warren Fitz-Gerald, Peter Fitz-Herbert, and Hugo de Burgh, seneschal of Poitou; Hugo de Nevil, Matthew Fitz-Herbert, Thomas Bassett, Alan Bassett, Philip de Albiney, Robert de Ropele, John Marshal, John Fitz-Hugh, and others our liegemen, have in the first place granted to God, and by this our present charter confirmed for us and our heirs for ever.

"I. That the church of England shall be free†, and enjoy her whole rights and liberties inviolable. And we will have them so to be observed, that it may appear that the freedom of elections, which was reckoned most necessary for the church of England, and which we granted and confirmed by our charter, and obtained the confirmation of from pope Innocent the Third, before the discord between us and our barons, was of our mere free will; which Charter we shall observe, and do will it to be faithfully observed by our heirs for ever.

"II. We have also granted to all the freemen of our kingdom, for us and our heirs for ever, all the under-written liberties, to have and to hold to them and their heirs of us and of our heirs.

† That is, all ecclesiastical persons within the realm, their possessions and goods, shall be freed from all unjust exactions and oppressions; but, notwithstanding, shall yield all lawful duties, either to the king, or to any of his subjects. Vid. Coke.

\* Northampton is the county town of Northamptonshire. It is seated on the river Nen, over which it has two bridges. Its castle, together with its walls, have been long since demolished. It had once seven churches, which are now reduced to four; and the great one, called All-Hallows, stands in the middle of the town, and is adorned with a handsome portico. In 1675, the greater part of the town was reduced to ashes by an accidental fire; but it was soon after rebuilt, and the market-place was made spacious, handsome, and commodious. Its market is on Saturdays. The assizes, as well as the quarter-sessions, are held here; and the inhabitants send two members to parliament. It has the title of an earldom; and is sixty-six miles N. W. by N. of London, and thirty S. E. of Coventry.

† The castle was put into their hands by William Beauchamp the owner. The town of Bedford is seated on the river Ouse, which divides it into two parts. Its castle has long been demolished, and its site is at present occupied as a bowling green. It has five churches, and is fifty miles N. of London.

‡ From *Runne*, a Saxon word signifying counsel or deliberation, and *Mede*, a meadow. It is situated between Staines and Windsor. Both parties met on the 15th of June, and pitched their tents afunder in the meadow. On the king's side appeared the archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin, with the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, Bath, Worcester, Coventry, and Rochester; Pandulph, the pope's legate; and Aymeric, master of the Knights Templars in England. And of the laity, William Marshal, earl of Pembroke; the earls of Salisbury, Warren, and Arundel; with the barons Alan de Galloway, William Fitz-Gerald, Peter and Matthew Fitz-Herbert, Thomas and Alan Bassett, Hugh de Nevis, Hubert de Burgh, seneschal of Poitou; Robert de Roppesley, John Marshal, and Philip de Albiney. As for those on the barons side, they were almost innumerable, according to Matthew Paris. The chief were, Robert Fitz-Walter the general, Richard, earl of Clare; Geoffrey, earl of Essex and Gloucester, Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk and Suffolk; Saher, earl of Winchester; Robert, earl of Oxford; Hugh earl of Hereford; William Marshal the younger, Eustace de Vescie, William de Mowbray, John Fitz-Robert, Roger de Monte Begon, William de Lanvailey, Richard de Percy, Robert de Ross, Peter de Bruijs, Nicholas de Stubevil, Roger de Creilly, &c. &c.

\* Here we may observe, with sir Edward Coke, (Instit. p. 2.) that King John was the first of the kings of England who made use of the plural number in his grants; other kings before him wrote in the singular number: they used *I*; but King John and his successors,



cepted. But to remove many doubts which might arise among the people, about taking up arms against their sovereign, the king consented, that all persons should swear, that they would assist the barons in all cases relating to the two charters. To these concessions he added letters patent, directed to all his sheriffs, empowering

them to take the oaths of all his subjects, that they would punctually observe the two charters, and if it was necessary, would do their utmost to compel the king to do the same.

The king heartily repented of his having signed the two charters, and would willingly have freed himself from

" III. If any of our earls\*, or barons, or others, who hold of us in chief by military service shall die, and at the time of his death his heir shall be full of age, and owe a relief, he shall have his inheritance by the ancient relief†; that is to say, the heir or heirs of an earl, for a whole earl's barony, by a hundred pounds: the heir or heirs of a baron, for a whole barony, by an hundred marks; the heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, by an hundred shillings; and he that oweth less shall give less, according to the ancient custom of fees.

" IV. But if the heir of any such shall be under age, and shall be in ward‡, his lord shall not have the wardship of him, nor his land, before he hath received his homage; and after such heir shall be in ward, and shall attain to the age of one and twenty years, he shall have his inheritance without relief or without fine§: yet so, that if he be made a knight while he is under age, nevertheless the land shall remain in the custody of the lord, until the aforesaid time.

" V. The warden of the land of such heir, who shall be under age, shall take of the land of such heir only reasonable issues, reasonable customs, and reasonable services||; and that without destruction and waste of the men or things upon the estate: and if we shall commit the guardianship of those lands to the sheriff, or any other, who is answerable to us for the issues of the land; and if he shall make destruction and waste upon the ward-lands, we will compel him to give satisfaction, and the land shall be committed to two lawful and discreet tenants of that fee, who in like manner shall be answerable for the issues to us or to him whom we shall assign, as hath been said.

" VI. But the warden, so long as he shall have the wardship of the land, shall keep and maintain the houses, parks, warrens, ponds, mills, and other things pertaining to the land, out of the issues of the same land; and shall restore to the heir, when he comes of full age, his whole land stocked with ploughs, and all other things, at least whatever he received. And all these things shall be observed in the custodies of vacant archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbies, priories, churches, and dignities, which appertain to us; except that these wardships are not to be sold.

" VII. Heirs shall be married without disparagement\*\*; so that before matrimony shall be contracted, those who are nearest to the heir in blood shall be made acquainted with it.

" VIII. A widow, after the death of her husband, shall forthwith and without any difficulty, have her marriage††, and her inheritance; nor shall she give any thing for her dower, or her marriage, or her inheritance, which her husband and she held at the day of his death: and she may remain in the capital messuage or mansion-house of her husband, forty days after his death; within which term her dower shall be assigned, if it was not assigned before, or unless the house shall be a castle; and if she departs from the castle, there shall forthwith be provided for her a complete house, in which she may decently dwell, till her dower be to her assigned, as hath been said; and she shall, in the mean time, have her reasonable estover, (i. e. competent maintenance) out of the common revenue. And there shall be assigned to her for her dower, the third part of all her husband's lands which were his in his

\* There was no duke, marquis, or viscount, then in England. The first duke was Edward the Black Prince, who was created duke of Cornwall, in 11 Edw. III. Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, was created marquis of Dublin in 8 Rich. II. The first viscount on record, and that sat in parliament by that name, was John viscount Beaumont, created 18 Henry VI. Coke, p. 5.

† The ancient relief (from the Latin word *relevare*, to ease by abatement, or to take up again,) was the fourth part of the yearly value.

‡ As long as the heirs of the king's tenants in chief were under age, they were said to be in ward; but this wardship was taken away by stat. 12 Car. II. cap. xxiv.

§ By being made a knight, the heir was out of ward as to his body; but his land remained the custody of the lord, as in this article, Coke, p. 11.

|| By issues are meant the rents and profits of the lands or tenements of the ward; by customs, things due by custom, or prescription, and appendant to the lands or tenements in ward; by services, the drudgery and labour due from copyholders to their lords. Coke, p. 2, 13.

\*\* That is, according to their rank, &c. Vid. Jacob's Law Dictionary.

†† *Maritagium*, that is, shall have liberty to marry where she will. According to Bracton, an heiress could not marry without

life-time, except she were endowed with less at the church-door.

" IX. No widow shall be destined†† to marry herself, so long as she has a mind to live without a husband. But yet she shall give security that she will not marry without our assent, if she holds of us; or without the consent of the lord of whom she holds, if she holds of another.

" X. Neither we nor our bailiffs§§ shall seize any land or rent for any debt, so long as there shall be chattels of the debtor's upon the premises sufficient to pay the debt, and that the debtor be ready to satisfy it. Nor shall the sureties of the debtor be distrained, so long as the principal debtor be sufficient for the payment of the debt.

" XI. And if the principal debtor fail in the payment of the debt, not having wherewithal to discharge it, or will not discharge it when he is able, then the sureties shall answer the debt; and if they will, they shall have the lands and rents of the debtor, until they shall be satisfied for the debt which they paid for him; unless the principal debtor can show himself acquitted thereof against the said sureties.

" XII. If any one have borrowed any thing of the Jews more or less, and dies before the debt be satisfied, there shall be no interest paid for that debt, so long as the heir is under age, of whomsoever he may hold: and if the debt fall into our hands, we will take only the chattel mentioned in the charter or instrument.

" XIII. If any one shall die indebted to Jews, his wife shall have her dower, and pay nothing of that debt; and if the deceased left children under age, they shall have necessities provided for them according to the tenement (or real estate) of the deceased, and out of the residue the debt shall be paid; saving, however, the service of the lords. In like manner the debts due to other persons than Jews shall be paid.

" XIV. I will not impose any scutage|| or aid in our kingdom, unless by the common council of our kingdom, except to redeem our person, and to make our eldest son a knight, and once to marry our eldest daughter; and for this there shall only be paid a reasonable aid.

" XV. In like manner it shall be concerning the aids of the city of London; and the city of London shall have all its ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water.

" XVI. Furthermore, we will and grant that all other cities and boroughs, and towns, and barons of the cinque-ports\*\*\*, and all other ports, shall have all their liberties and free customs: and shall have the common council of the kingdom concerning the assenting of their aids†††, except in the three cases aforesaid.

" XVII. And for the assenting of scutages we shall cause to be summoned the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and great barons of the realm singly by our letters.

" XVIII. And furthermore, we shall cause to be summoned in general by our sheriffs and bailiffs, all others who hold of us in chief†††, at a certain day, that is to say, forty days before their meeting at least, to a certain place, and in all letters of such summons, we will declare the cause of the summons.

" XIX. And summons being thus made, the business shall be done with the consent of the lords of whom she held her estates, otherwise she forfeited them.

†† Compelled by seizing her goods.

§§ Sir Edward Coke says, that the sheriff and his under-bailiffs are intended by this expression.

|| Scutage was military service, which was due to the king from the tenants in chief. It is to be understood also of what the feudatories paid the king in lieu of that service, and his wife of the tax which was imposed on each vassal for the service of the public. Since William the Conqueror, the kings had frequently imposed scutages, without the consent of the states. Rapin.

\*\*\* The cinque-ports lay in the county of Kent. They had great privileges, which king John himself had augmented. They were Hastings, Dover, Romney, Hith, and Sandwich, which Rye and Winchelsea are now added. The governors of them were called barons, as they are at this day.

††† This is, according to Dr. Brady's explanation, they shall send their representatives or commissioners to the common council of the kingdom.

††† It seems to follow from this article, that none but tenants in chief had a right to sit in the common council or parliament. Otherwise it was natural to mention here the representatives of the commons, had they enjoyed that right in those days. Rapin.



from complying with his engagements, by a total revocation of all he had done; but what course to take in order to bring it about he could not devise. Men and money were both wanting; but to obtain which he would have been obliged to apply to the barons for assistance. This however, could not be done, because it was

against them he designed to use his forces. At length he sent his agents, Walter, bishop of Worcester, his chancellor; John, bishop of Norwich; Richard de Marisco, or Maris; who went to the pope; William Gernon, and Hugh de Boves, into France, Germany, and Flanders, with orders to promise such as would enter

proceed on the day appointed, according to the advice of such as shall be present, although all that were summoned come not.

"XX. We will not for the future grant to any one, that he may take aid of his own free-tenants, unless to redeem his body, and to make his eldest son a knight, and once to marry his eldest daughter; and for this there shall be only paid a reasonable aid.

"XXI. No man shall be distrained to perform more service for a knight's-fee, or other free tenement, than is due from thence.

"XXII. Common-pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be holden in some certain place: trials upon the writs of *novel disseisin*\*, and of *mort d'ancestor*†, and of *darreine presentment*‡, shall be taken but in their proper counties, and after this manner: we, or (if we shall be out of the realm) our chief justiciary, shall send our justiciaries through every county by turns yearly, who with the knights of the shire, shall hold the said assizes in the counties §.

"XXIII. And those matters, which at the coming of the justiciaries so sent into the counties to hold the said assizes, cannot be determined, shall not be determined in any other place in their circuits: and those things, which by reason of the difficulty of the articles, cannot be determined by those justiciaries, shall be referred to our justiciaries of the bench.

"XXIV. Assizes of *darreine presentment* to churches shall be always taken before the justiciaries of the bench.

"XXV. A free-man|| shall not be amerced for a small fault, but according to the manner of the fault, and for a great crime, in proportion to the heinousness of it, saving to him his *contenement*\*\*\*, and after the same manner a merchant, saving to him his merchandize.

"XXVI. And a villan of any other than our own, shall be amerced after the same manner, saving to him his wainage††, if he falls under our mercy; and none of the aforesaid amerancements shall be assessed, but by the oath of honest and lawful men of the neighbourhood of the county.

"XXVII. Earls and barons shall not be amerced but by their peers††, and according to the quality of the offence.

"XXVIII. No ecclesiastical person shall be amerced in proportion to his benefice, but according to his lay-tenement and the greatness of his offence.

"XXIX. Neither a town, nor any person, shall be distrained to make bridges over rivers, unless that anciently and of right they are bound to do it.

"XXX. No river for the future shall be embanked, but what was embanked in time of king Henry our grandfather.

"XXXI. No sheriff, constable§§, coroner, or other our bailiffs shall hold pleas of the crown.

"XXXII. All counties, hundreds, wapentakes, and tythings, shall stand at the old farm, without any increase, except in our demesne lands.

"XXXIII. If any one that holds of us a lay-fee, dies, and the sheriff or our bailiff show our letters patent, of summons concerning the debt due to us from the deceased, it shall be lawful for the sheriff, or our bailiff, to attach and register the chattels of the deceased found upon his lay-fee, to the value of the debt, by the view of lawful men, so as nothing be removed until our whole debt be paid; and the rest shall be left to the executors to fulfil the will of the deceased: and if there be

\* To require that the possessor of an estate be turned out. Tindal. A writ of *novel disseisin* lies where a tenant for ever, or for life, is put out and disseized of his land, tenement, or other immoveable or incorporeal right, that he may recover such right. Jacob.

† Death of the ancestor, a process carried on by the son or descendant of a person murdered. Tindal. A writ of *mort d'ancestor* is brought against any one, says Sir Edward Coke, being a stranger, who seizes upon lands, rents or tenements, upon the death of another man's near relations, or were in possession of those lands, &c.

‡ A writ of *darreine presentment* lies where a man and his ancestors have presented to a church, and, after it was become void, a stranger presents thereto, whereby the person having right is disturbed. Coke.

§ In all appearance, since the Conquest, the kings had abolished, or very much altered, this way of trying causes, that they might have the decision of matters in their own power.

|| By freemen here, and in most places, must be understood freeholders, i. e. those that held their lands of the king, or some other lord by a certain relief.

\*\* *Contenementum* is to be understood of the means of a man's No. XVI.

nothing due from him to us, all the chattels shall remain to the deceased, saving to his wife and children their reasonable shares.

"XXXIV. If any freeman dies intestate, his chattels shall be distributed by the hands of his nearest relations and friends, by view of the church, saving to every one his debts, which the deceased owed.

"XXXV. No constable or bailiff of ours shall take corn or other chattels of any man, who is not of the town where the castle is, unless he presently gives him money for it, or hath respite or payment from the seller: but if he be of the same town, he shall pay him within forty days.

"XXXVI. No constable shall distress any knight to give money for castle-guard, if he himself shall do it in his own person, or by another able man, in case he shall be hindered by any reasonable cause.

"XXXVII. And if we shall lead him, or if we shall send him into the army, he shall be free from castle-guard, for the time he shall be in the army, by our command, for the fee, for which he did service in the army.

"XXXVIII. No sheriff or bailiff of ours, or any other, shall take horses or carts of any one for carriage, without paying according to the rate anciently appointed: that is to say, for a cart and two horses, ten-pence a day; and for a cart with three horses, fourteen-pence a day.

"XXXIX. No demesne cart of any ecclesiastical person, or knight, or any lady, shall be taken by our officers: neither shall we, or our officers, or others, take any man's timber for our castles, or other uses, unless by the consent of the owner of the timber.

"XL. We will retain the land of those that are convicted of felony, but one year and a day, and then they shall be delivered to the lord of the fee.

"XLI. All wares, for the time to come, shall be demolished in the rivers of Thames and Medway, and throughout all England, except upon the sea-coast.

"XLII. The writ, which is called *præcipe*|||, for the future, shall not be granted to any one of any tenement, whereby a free-man may lose his cause.

"XLIII. There shall be one measure of wine, and one of ale, through our whole realm, and one measure of corn; that is to say, the London quarter; and one breadth of dyed cloth and russets, and habergeons\*\*\*; that is to say, two ells within the list: and the weights shall be as the measures.

"XLIV. From henceforward, nothing shall be given or taken for a writ of inquisition, from him that desires an inquisition of life or limbs; but shall be granted *gratis*, and not denied.

"XLV. If any one holds of us by fee-farm, or socage, or burgage, and holds lands of another by military service, we will not have the wardship of their heir or land, which belongs to another man's fee, by reason of what he holds of us by fee-farm, socage, or burgage: nor will we have the wardship of the fee-farm, socage, or burgage, unless the fee-farm is bound to perform military service.

"XLVI. We will not have the wardship of an heir, nor of any land, what he holds of another by military service, by reason of any petit-serjeanty he holds of us, as by the service of giving us daggers, arrows, or the like.

"XLVII. No bailiff, for the future, shall put any man to

livelihood, as the arms of a soldier, the plough and carts of a husbandman, &c.

†† That is, his carts and implements of husbandry.

‡‡ In England there are two orders or degrees of subjects, peers of the realm, and commoners. The nobles have for their peers all the peers of the realm; and the commoners are all reckoned peers of one another.

§§ Here taken for constable of a castle. They were men in ancient times of account and authority; and for pleas of the crown, &c. had the like authority, within their precincts, as the sheriff had within his bailiwick, before this act; and they commonly sealed with their portraiture on horseback. Regularly every castle contains a manor, so that every constable of a castle is constable of a manor.

||| The writ called *præcipe quod reddat*, from the first words in it, has several uses. It signifies in general, an order from the king, or some court of justice, to put in possession one that complains of having been unjustly ousted. Apparently several abuses had crept in upon this article.

\*\*\* A sort of coarse cloth.



enter into his service, the confiscated estates of the rebellious barons, for so he styled them. He gave these messengers likewise authority to make grants beforehand of the lands of the English lords, and to pass the deeds in form. By the same methods William the Conqueror had formerly raised a numerous army, which

his law\*, nor to an oath, upon his single accusation, without credible witnesses produced to prove it.

"XLVIII. No freeman shall be taken, imprisoned, or disseised of his freehold or liberties, or free-customs, or outlawed, or banished, or any way destroyed; nor will we pass upon him, or commit him to prison, unless by the legal judgement of his peers, or by the law of the land †.

"XLIX. We will sell to no man, we will deny no man, nor defer right nor justice.

"L. All merchants, unless they be publicly prohibited, shall have safe and secure conduct to go out of, and to come into England ‡; and to stay there, and to pass as well by land as by water, to buy and sell by the ancient and allowed customs, without any evil tolls, except in time of war, or when they shall be of any nation in war with us.

"LI. And if there shall be found any such in our land in the beginning of a war, they shall be attached, without damage to their bodies or goods, until it may be known unto us, or our chief justiciary, how our merchants be treated in the nation at war with us; and if ours be safe there, they shall be safe in our land.

"LII. It shall be lawful for the time to come, for any one to go out of our kingdom, and return safely and securely by land or by water, saving his allegiance to us; unless in time of war by some short space for the common benefit of the kingdom, except prisoners and out-laws, (according to the law of the land,) and people in war with us, and merchants who shall be in such condition as is above-mentioned.

"LIII. If any man holds of any escheat, as of the honour of Wallingford, Boulogne, Lancaster, Nottingham, or of other escheats which are in our hands, and are baronies, and dies, his heir shall not give any other relief, or perform any other service to us, than he would to the baron, if the barony were in possession of the baron; we will hold it after the same manner the baron held it; nor will we, by reason of such barony or escheat, have any escheat or wardship of any of our men, unless he that held the barony or escheat, held of us in chief elsewhere.

"LIV. Those men who dwell without the forest, from henceforth shall not come before our justiciaries of the forest upon summons, but such as are impleaded, or are pledges for any that were attached for something concerning the forest.

"LV. All woods that were taken into the forest by king Richard our brother, shall forthwith be laid out again, unless they were our demesne woods.

"LVI. No freeman, for the future, shall give or sell any more of his land, but so that out of the residue, the service due to the lord of the fee may be sufficiently performed.

"LVII. All patrons of abbeyes, who have charters of the kings of England of the advowson, or have it by any ancient tenure or possession, may have the custody of them when void, as they ought to have, and as was declared before.

"LVIII. No man shall be taken or imprisoned upon the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other man than her husband.

"LIX. No county-court, for the future, shall be holden, but from month to month; and where there used to be a greater interval, let it be so continued.

"LX. Neither any sheriff, nor his bailiff, shall keep his turn in the hundred oftener than twice in a year, and only in the accustomed place; that is, once after Easter, and once after Michaelmas; and the view of frank-pledge shall be held after Michaelmas, without occasion §, and so that every one shall have his liberties, which he had, and was wont to have, in the time of king Henry our grandfather, or such as he obtained afterwards.

\* To make his law, is as much as to say, to take his oath, &c.

† That is, says Dr. Brady, by legal process, &c.

‡ By some ancient laws of England, foreign merchants were forbid coming into the kingdom, except in fair-time, and then were not to stay above forty days. Coke, p. 57.

§ *Sine occasione*, i. e. without oppression. Dr. Brady.

|| *Occasione*, causes to oppress any man. Dr. Brady.

¶ The reasons of these two articles were, because by holding their lands of the church, the service due from the fees, which were intended for the defence of the realm were unduly withdrawn, and because the chief lords lost these escheats, wardships, reliefs, and the like. Abundance of ways were used to evade the force of this law. But an effectual stop was put to them at last by the statute of mortmain, &c. Edw. I. Final.

†† The original of this Charter is not now in being, nor is any

rendered him master of England. They that had engaged themselves in the service of that prince were victorious, and had acquired large estates in the kingdom the consideration whereof induced many to try the same way, in hopes John would procure them the same advantages. Whilst his agents were levying troops, John

"LXI. But the view of frank-pledge shall be so made, that our peace may be kept, and that the tything be full, as it was wont to be.

"LXII. And the sheriffs shall not seek occasions ¶, but shall be content with what the sheriff was wont to have for making his view in the time of king Henry our grandfather.

"LXIII. For the time to come, it shall not be lawful for any man to give his land to a religious house, so as to take it again, and hold it of that house.

"LXIV. Nor shall it be lawful for any religious house to receive lands, so as to grant it to him again of whom they received it, to hold of him. If any man for the future shall give his land to a religious house, and be convicted thereof his gift shall be void, and the land shall be forfeit to the lord of the fee\*\*.

"LXV. Scutage for the future, shall not be taken as it was used to be taken in the time of king Henry our grandfather; and that the sheriff shall oppress no man, but be content with what he was wont to have.

"LXVI. All the aforesaid customs and liberties, which we have granted to be holden in our realm, as much as belongs to us, towards all our men of our kingdom we will observe; and all men of this our kingdom, as well clerks as laics shall observe the same, as much as belongs to them towards their men.

"LXVII. Saving to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, templars, hospitallers, earls, barons knights, and all others, as well ecclesiastics as seculars, the liberties and free customs which they had before: these being witnesses, &c.

*The CHARTER †† of FORESTS ††, granted by King JOHN to his subjects.*

"JOHN, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. know ye, that for the honour of God, and the health of our soul, and the souls of our ancestors and successors, and for the exaltation of Holy-Church, and for the reformation of our kingdom, we have, of our free and good will, given and granted for us and our heirs, these liberties hereafter specified, to be had and observed in our kingdom of England for ever.

"I. *Imprimis*, All the forests made by our grandfather king Henry shall be viewed by honest and lawful men; and if he turned any other than his own proper woods into forests, to the damage of him whose wood it was, it shall forthwith be laid out again and disforested. And if he turned his own woods into forest, they shall remain so, saving the common of pasture to such as were formerly wont to have it.

"II. [The LIVth and LVth chapters of the GREAT CHARTER put into one chapter.]

"III. The archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, knights, and free tenants, who have woods in any forests, shall have their woods as they had them at the time of the first coronation of our grandfather king Henry, so as they shall be discharged for ever of all purprestures §§, wastes, and assarts ¶¶, made in those woods, after that time, to the beginning of the second year of our coronation; and those who for the time to come shall make waste, purpresture, or assart, in those woods without our licence shall answer for them\*\*\*.

"IV. Our inspectors or viewers shall go through the forests to make a view, as it was wont to be at the time of the first coronation of our said grandfather king Henry, and not otherwise.

"V. The inquisition, or view for lawing †† of dogs which are kept within the forest, for the future, shall be when the view is made, that is, every three years, and then shall be done by the view and testimony of lawful men, and not otherwise; and he whose dog at such time shall be found unlawd

copy of it to be found older than the first year of Henry III.

¶¶ The forests belonged originally to the crown, and the king had granted several parts and parcels to private men, who had grubbed them up and made them arable or pasture. But yet all that was thus grubbed was still called forest. These forests belonging to the king as his own demesne, or as the sovereign lord, were a continual source of vexatious suits, as well against those which held them of the king, as against the neighbouring freemen, under pretence of the rights of the crown. Rapin.

§§ Encroachments upon the king's lands.

||| Grubbing up wood, and making it arable, without licence.

\*\*\* Every article of this charter is a clear evidence, how much the subject was oppressed under pretence of preserving the royal forests.

†† Cutting off their claws, &c.



was endeavouring to secure the court of Rome. He sent the pope a letter, informing him of the constraint put upon him, though, as he assured him, he had protested that being a vassal of the holy see, he could do nothing without his consent. Together with this letter he sent a copy of the charters they made him sign, and desired the pope to observe, that all the articles contained therein were so many incroachments upon the regal power, and consequently upon the sovereign lord; and for this reason he entreated him to absolve him from his oath, that he might, with a safe conscience, use his endeavours to free himself from so heavy a yoke. After he had taken these measures, with all possible secrecy, he pitched upon the Isle of Wight for his residence. In this retirement he kept himself concealed some time, holding no communication with any but fishermen and sailors, nor using any diversions but walking on the sea-shore with some of his domestics. As soon as it was known that the king was retired to the Isle of Wight, the people were, in vain, inquisitive about the cause of his retreat. Some joked and said, he was become a fisherman, or merchant; others, that he designed to turn pirate. He took no notice of these scoffs, but waited patiently during three months for the return of his agents, and the arrival of the foreign troops, which he was put in hopes of. It was not the interest of the court of Rome to do otherwise than support John; and therefore Innocent was highly offended with the barons for having dared, without consulting him, to cause their

king to sign charters of that nature, and to put a constraint upon a prince who had taken upon him the cross, and was under the church's protection. In his rage he swore, by St. Peter, that cost him what it would, he would never suffer their rashness to go unpunished. At the same time he sent a letter, enjoining them to renounce what they had extorted from their sovereign, unless they had a mind to draw down on their heads the indignation of the holy see. The barons, however, paid more regard to their privileges, than to the injunctions of the pope; and, therefore, without any dread of his thunderings, they seized upon Rochester, which cardinal Langton put into their hands. They found there a prodigious quantity of provisions, which the king had laid up against he should have occasion for them. This was apparently the reason of their taking that place.

Soon after the pope annulled the two charters, and absolved the king from his oath, and John's affairs began to wear a new face, by the advice, he received, that his agents had enlisted great numbers of adventurers in his service. Hereupon John quitted the Isle of Wight, and went to receive them at Dover. In a short time he had the satisfaction to see vast numbers arrive from Brabant, Flanders, Normandy, Poitou, and Gascoigne, all soldiers of fortune, that had nothing to lose, and were ready to venture their lives to gain an estate. Their number was so considerable, says Rapin, that one can scarce give credit to the historians who mention it. But by an unexpected accident one of the leaders, Hugh

shall be punished three shillings; and for the future, no one shall be taken for lawing, and such lawing shall be according to the common assize, namely, the three claws of the dog's fore-foot shall be cut off, or the ball of the foot taken out. And from henceforward, dogs shall not be lawed unless in such places where they were wont to be lawed in the time of king Henry our grandfather.

"VI. No forester or bedel\*, for the future, shall make any ale-shots, or collect sheafs of corn, or oats, or other grain, or lambs, or pigs, nor shall make any gathering whatsoever, but by the view and oath of twelve inspectors; and when they make their view, so many foresters shall be appointed to keep the forests, as they shall reasonably think sufficient.

"VII. No swainmote, for the time to come, shall be holden in our kingdom oftener than thrice a year; that is to say, in the beginning of fifteen days before Michaelmas, when the agisters come to agist the demesne woods, and about the feast of St. Martin, when our agisters are to receive their pannage†; and in those two swainmotes, the foresters, verderers, and agisters shall meet, and no other by compulsion or distress; and the third swainmote shall be holden in the beginning of the fifteen days before the feast of St. John Baptist, concerning the fawning of our does; and at this swainmote shall meet the foresters and verderers, and no others shall be compelled to be there.

"VIII. And furthermore, every forty days throughout the year, the verderers and foresters shall meet to view the attachments of the forest, as well of vert‡, as venison, by presentment of the foresters themselves; and they who committed the offences, shall be forced to appear before them: but the aforesaid swainmotes shall be holden but in such counties as they were wont to be holden.

"IX. Every freeman shall agist § his wood in the forest at his pleasure, and shall receive his pannage.

"X. We grant also, that every freeman may drive his hogs through our demesne woods, freely and without impediment, and may agist them in his own woods, or elsewhere as he will; and if the hogs of any freeman shall remain one night in our forests, he shall not be troubled, so as to lose any thing for it.

"XI. No man, for the time to come, shall lose life or limb for taking our venison; but if any one be seized and convicted of taking venison, he shall be grievously fined, if he hath wherewithal to pay; and if he hath not, he shall lie in our prison a year and a day. And if after that time he can find sureties, he shall be released; if not, he shall abjure our realm of England.

"XII. It shall be lawful for every archbishop, bishop, earl, or baron, coming to us by our command, and passing through

our forest, to take one or two deer by view of the forester, if present, if not, he shall cause a horn to be sounded, lest he should seem to steal them. Also in their return, it shall be lawful for them to do the same thing.

"XIII. Every freeman, for the future, may erect a mill in his own wood, or upon his own land, which he hath in the forest; or make a warren, or pond, a marl-pit, or ditch, or turn it into arable, without the covert in the arable land, so as it be not to the detriment of his neighbour.

"XIV. Every freeman may have in his woods the ayries of hawks, of spar-hawks, falcons, eagles and herons; and they shall have likewise the honey which shall be found in their woods.

"XV. No forester for the future, who is not a forester in fee, paying us rent for his office, shall take *cheminage* ||; that is to say, for every cart, two pence for half a year, and for the other half year two-pence; and for a horse that carries burthens, for half a year a halfpenny, and then only of those, who come as buyers, out of their bailiwick, to buy underwood, timber, bark, or charcoal, to carry it to sell in other places, where they will: and for the time to come, there shall be no *cheminage* taken for any other cart, or carriage-horse, unless in those places where anciently it was wont, and ought to be taken: but they who carry wood, bark, or coal upon their backs to sell, although they get their livelihood by it, shall for the future pay no *cheminage*: but for passage through the woods of other men, no *cheminage* shall be given to our foresters, but only in our own woods.

"XVI. All persons outlawed for offences committed in our forests from the time of king Henry our grandfather, until our first coronation, may reverse their outlawries without impediment, but shall find pledges, that for the future they will not forfeit to us\*\* in our forest.

"XVII. No castellan, or other person, shall hold pleas of the forest, whether concerning vert or venison: but every forester in fee shall attach pleas of the forest ††, as well concerning vert as venison, and shall present the pleas or offences to the verderers of the several counties; and when they shall be inrolled and sealed under the seals of the verderers, they shall be presented to the chief forester, when he shall come into those parts, to hold pleas of the forest, and shall be determined before him.

"XVIII. And all the customs and liberties aforesaid, which we have granted to be holden in our kingdom, as much as belongs to us towards our vassals, all of our kingdom, as well laics as clerks, shall observe as much as belongs to them towards their vassals.

|| Money for passing through the forest.

\*\* That is, commit no offence. Dr. Brady.

†† May seize the body or goods of the offenders to make them appear.

\* Bailiff of the forest.

† Money for the feeding of hogs with mast in the king's forests.

‡ That is, the offences that have been committed in cutting wood, or killing deer.

§ That is, take in his neighbour's cattle to feed.



de Boves, who was coming with no less than, as it is said, forty thousand men, perished in the sea with all his troops. Nevertheless, how great soever this loss might be, there were troops enough still left to enable him to trample upon the barons, who little expected such a turn of affairs. His first undertaking was the siege of Rochester, which after a long resistance, surrendered, notwithstanding the endeavours of the barons to succour it. He was so exasperated, that he would have hanged up the whole garrison, if his generals had not represented to him, that he would expose his own troops to the same cruel usage\*. After the taking of Rochester, he divided his army into two bodies. He gave the command of one to the earl of Salisbury, to ravage the southern counties, whilst with the other he marched into the northern parts, to make them feel the effects of his vengeance. The barons not being able to appear in the field against these foreign armies, shut themselves up in the city of London; during which time their lands and houses were mercilessly ravaged and plundered by the king's party.

The pope, whilst these things were doing, thundered out an excommunication against the barons, and ordered Pandulph, and the bishop of Rochester, to enjoin cardinal Langton, in his name, to publish the bull. The archbishop, pretending that the pope had been imposed upon, refused to comply, till he himself had informed his holiness of all particulars relative to the affair. The true reason was, because he could not, in justice, proceed against those whom he himself had excited to take up arms. Upon his refusal, the two commissioners published the sentence of excommunication themselves, and suspended the archbishop, pursuant to the orders they had received from the pope. The barons not valuing the sentence, on pretence that they were not particularly named in the bull, continued their endeavours to defend themselves against the king. Innocent sent for the cardinal archbishop to Rome, where his holiness would fain have deposed him; but relenting at the intreaties of the other cardinals, was contented with confirming his suspension. Some time after, he took another opportunity to mortify him, by making void the election of Simon his brother, who had been chosen archbishop of York, and putting Walter de Gray in his room. But, however, it was not till he had exacted from the latter, for his pall, the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling†, for the occasions of the holy see. In short, after several mortifications given him at Rome, Langton's suspension was taken off, upon condition, that he would not return to England till the troubles of that country were at an end.

Innocent was no sooner informed of the pretence made use of by the barons, for not submitting to the sentence of excommunication, than he published another bull, wherein he excommunicated them all by name. Their lands were put under an interdict, as well as the city of London, which had sided with them. The barons having expected this second bull, they resolved not to regard it, and to prevent its being published in London. The pope had now the mortification to see his authority trampled upon, without being able to help it, since the people were against him. Whilst the barons and citizens of London were thus vigorously resolved not to regard the pope, John continued ravaging the kingdom, and especially the lands of the confederate barons.

The confederate barons were, however, in a most miserable condition; for, instead of regaining their ancient privileges, they beheld their estates plundered and

given to foreigners, whilst the king was glutting himself with the pleasure of revenge. Their wretched state caused them to run the risk of their own and the kingdom's ruin, in order to be revenged on the king, though at the expence of the poor people. They sent word to the king of France, by Saher, earl of Winchester, and Robert Fitz-Walter, who carried letters sealed with the barons seal, that if he would send over prince Lewis his son, they would set the crown of England on his head, provided he brought forces enough with him to free them from the tyranny of king John. Philip wanted not much soliciting to accept of the offer the barons made him. He before had thoughts of conquering England, and if the loss of his fleet, much more than the threats of the pope, had made him desist from his enterprize, he had still a desire to bring it about, if a good opportunity should offer. And as this, which the rupture between John and the barons furnished him with, seemed a favourable one, immediately embraced it. He desired the barons to give twenty-five hostages for the performance of their word, which they readily consented to. Upon the arrival of the hostages at Paris, prince Lewis, who was then in Languedoc warring against the Albigenes, came to the king his father in order to prepare for this important expedition. He immediately sent over some troops to the barons‡, with assurances that he would soon follow in person, with a much greater number of forces, in order to carry on the war.

The pope being displeased with the warlike preparations of France, dispatched, in 1216, Gallo, as his legate, to endeavour to put a stop to them. The legate having an audience of the king, forbade him in the pope's name, to carry his arms into England, as being part of St. Peter's patrimony, and threatened all persons whatsoever with excommunication that should, directly or indirectly, give any assistance to the English barons. Philip, being concerned at these menaces, replied, that the claim to England, as the patrimony of St. Peter, was built upon a false foundation; that it was evident, king John had not the power to subject his kingdom, by a bare act of his own will, without the consent of the states; that an act of such a nature was beyond what any king could pretend to, and that the maxims which the pope had a mind to introduce, were too pernicious to all civil states to be received. Matthew Paris says, that all the great men of France unanimously declared, that they would maintain this point even to death, that no king, or prince, by his single authority, had power to give away, or make over his kingdom, and thereby enslave his nobility. These things were transacted at Lyons, about fifteen days after Easter. The pope's prohibition was not sufficient to put a stop to their proceedings, Lewis was quickly in readiness to sail for England with a fleet of seven hundred ships. In the interim, John retired to Winchester. Lewis landed his troops at Sandwich without molestation, whence he marched against Rochester, where he met with little resistance. He soon became master of that city, and drew after it the whole county of Kent, except Dover-Castle, where John had left a strong garrison under the command of Hubert de Burgh, a brave and faithful governor.

Gallo, the pope's legate, received orders to repair into England, and publish the bull of excommunication against the barons. At the same time, the abbot of St. Augustin's was commissioned to pronounce prince Lewis excommunicated upon his arrival in England. Lewis endeavoured to avert this blow, by representing to the

\* William de Albiney, whom the barons had sent for and made governor under the archbishop, William de Lancaster, William de Emesford, and some others, were sent close prisoners to Corfe-Castle. The ordinary soldiers, except the cross-bow men, were all hanged. M. Paris, An. 1215.

† Hence may be guessed, what vast sums of money the pope in those days extorted from the English, and what great riches the clergy possessed, when this archbishop was to pay the pope as much as would now be equal to fifty thousand pounds. He

is said to have been promoted to the see of York for not having known woman.

‡ Under the command of the Castellan of St. Omers, Hugh Chacun, Eustace de Neville, Giles de Melun, and others, who came up the Thames to London, on the 27th of February. Some of the English barons holding a tournament with these French noblemen, one of them mortally wounded Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex, to the great grief of his party. M. Paris.



abbot, in a letter, his right to the crown of England. His excommunication, however, did not prevent the prince from prosecuting his enterprize. After the conquest of Rochester, he marched to London, where the barons and citizens took the oath of allegiance to him, after he had solemnly sworn, that he would restore to them all their lost inheritances, and to the nation their ancient privileges. No historian mentions the coronation of Lewis; but it is certain that he acted as king, and managed every thing relating to the government, as if he had been lawfully invested with the royal authority. He summoned, on the 14th of June, the king of Scotland, and all the great men of England to do him homage, or forthwith to depart the nation. Upon this proclamation came in to him, William, earl Warren; William, earl of Arundel; William earl of Salisbury, the king's base brother; William Marshal the Younger, and many others. He made Simon Langton high chancellor, who being incensed against the pope, had persuaded the barons and citizens of London to despise the pope's censures, and, notwithstanding the interdict, to be present at divine service, which was celebrated as usual. Lewis easily consented to a circumstance so agreeable to his intentions. Having resolved upon this undertaking, he foresaw he should meet with obstacles from the pope, and therefore determined not to pay any regard to his censures. Lewis's friends daily increased in number, and he quickly became master of the southern counties. He then marched towards Norfolk and Suffolk, both which likewise submitted to him. He met with no resistance but from William de Colingham, who having got together a thousand archers, kept always close by the side of the prince's army, and never spared the French plundering parties. Shortly after, Lewis's party in the north took the city of York, and sent for him to come in those parts in order to finish the conquest of all the country beyond the Humber. Whilst he was making preparation for that expedition, he received a letter from the king his father, reproving him for having left behind him the castles of Dover and Windsor, which were of greater moment than the northern counties. He then marched back in order to lay siege to Dover, whilst the English barons, with their own troops, invested Windsor. At the same time, Alexander I. king of Scotland, pursuant to Lewis's summons, did him homage in person, for the lands he held of the crown of England: which done, Lewis and the English barons promised him, upon oath, that they would never make peace without his knowledge. This promise, however, was not well kept. A little after, John was deserted by the Flemish and Poitevin troops whom Lewis had enticed away from his service. Lewis sent ambassadors to Rome, who earnestly endeavoured to vindicate their master's claim to the crown of England. His right was founded upon his marriage with Blanch of Castile; and they pretended, that John having being lawfully deposed by the barons, the crown was devolved to Blanch his niece. As the large account which an historian has given of the conference the ambassadors had with Innocent, may be of service in clearing up this matter, it will not be amiss to relate some of the particulars. The pope objected to the ambassadors, that supposing John was lawfully deposed, his children ought not to be involved in the same misfortune. But granting that his children, young as they were, had been partakers of their father's crimes, Eleanor of Bretagne, Arthur's sister, who was at that time in confinement in Bristol Castle, and who was still alive, had the precedence of all others. In short, that the emperor Otho, son of Henry II's eldest daughter, ought manifestly to succeed before Blanch of Castile, who was born of the youngest. The ambassadors replied, that Eleanor's

father and Otho's mother being both dead, there was no room for representation; but the mother of Blanch being still living, her daughter might in reason and justice represent her. But, answered the pope, why should Blanch have the preference of the king of Castile, her brother, and of the queen of Leon, her eldest sister? This was a home question, says Rapin: but, as the business was not on this occasion, so much to give good reasons, as to alledge some one, whether good or bad, in order to afford a sort of satisfaction to the pope, the ambassadors were not at a loss for an answer. They affirmed, that when there were several heirs, and the next of kin did not appear and put in his claim, a more distant relation might take possession of the inheritance, saving to the other his right: that this was the foundation their master went upon; and therefore if afterwards a nearer than he should put in his claim to England, he should be always ready to give him reasonable satisfaction. Innocent seemed to rest satisfied with this reply which was made, not so much to prove the justice of Lewis's title, as to show a deference to the pope in debating the matter before him. But let the pope's decision be what it might, Lewis had previously resolved to go on with his pretended right, which was built much less upon equity than the force he had with him.

John, with a considerable body of troops left Winchester, and marched into Norfolk and Suffolk, where he committed great ravages. But upon intelligence that the barons had raised the siege of Windsor, with design to give him battle, he retired to Stamford, where he found an advantageous post, in which it would be difficult to attack him. John thought, that prolonging the war would be much better than hazarding a battle, which might prove fatal to his cause. Luckily for him, a very dangerous plot was discovered to the barons, which otherwise would have infallibly involved them in ruin. According to Knighton and Matth. Paris, one of Lewis's prime confidants, the viscount of Melun, was seized by a mortal distemper at London, which caused him to send for such of the barons as were posted there for the security of the city. When they were in his presence, he told them, that he could not forbear discovering a secret to them, which lay heavy upon his conscience, and which, if it was any longer concealed from the English, would infallibly hurry them to utter destruction. The secret was this; "that the prince had resolved to rid himself, either by banishment or otherwise, of all the barons that had taken up arms against king John, deeming them traitors to their king and country." He also told them, that this resolution was taken at a council of sixteen French lords, of whom he himself was one, and that the prince had sworn to perform it. He declared, upon the word of a dying man, what he had told them was true, and that they had the less reason to question it, as he was upon the point of going to render an account of his actions before God. The discovery of this diabolical scheme made many begin to repent of having called in the foreigners, and seriously to think of returning to the obedience of their sovereign. Accordingly, forty of the barons privately gave John assurances of their good intentions; but the rest would not venture to trust a prince whom they had so grievously offended, and with whose cruel and revengeful temper they were but too well acquainted. John, in the mean time, kept in perpetual motion, not knowing whom to trust, being suspicious of his own friends. He marched into Norfolk, where he pitched upon the little town of Lynn\*, as a place of security for his treasures, his crown, sceptre, and other things of value. Being pressed by the barons, and fearing that his treasures were not safe at Lynn, he resolved to remove them to a place in Lincoln, whither he in-

and presented the first mayor with his own sword, which is still carefully kept there.

\* This town had given him such proofs of affection and loyalty, that as a mark of his gratitude he granted it great privileges. Among other things, he made it a mayor-town, No. XVI.



tended to retire. He and his whole army narrowly escaped drowning in the large morafs \*, which parts the two counties of Lincoln and Norfolk. Before he was got quite over, the tide coming up the river Wellstream, which overflows the marsh land at high-water, put him in extreme danger: but if he escaped himself, he could not save his baggage, which was all swallowed up by the waters. He arrived that night at Swinhead Abbey, where he took up his lodging. His anguish of mind for his loss, which was irretrievable in the circumstances he was in, threw him into a violent fever, which was much heightened by his inconsiderately eating some peaches. On the morrow, not being able to ride on horseback, he was carried in a litter to Sleaford-Castle, whence the next day he was carried to Newark. Here, finding his illness encrease, he made his will, wherein he appointed Henry his eldest son, then but ten years of age, his heir. He wholly spent in the care of his soul, the remaining time of his sickness, which put an end to his days on the 28th of October, 1216, in the fifty-first year of his age, after an unhappy reign of seventeen years, seven months, and ten days. His body was carried to Worcester according to his own order, and buried with little funeral pomp in the cathedral, where his tomb, with his image upon it, is still to be seen, but without any inscription. According to some historians, he was poisoned by a monk of Swinhead Abbey.

The proceedings of king John was very unjust, especially with regard to Richard his brother; the death of prince Arthur his nephew, of which he never cleared himself thoroughly; the perpetual imprisonment of Eleanor of Bretagne his niece; his divorcing Avifa of Gloucester; his extreme indolence when Philip Augustus was taking from him his dominions in France; the meanness he showed in resigning his crown to the pope's legate; his breach of faith with his barons; and lastly, his bringing into the kingdom an army of foreign mercenaries, in order to be revenged of his subjects. The character of this prince may be summed up in a few words; he had scarcely any good quality; and his faults were many and great, as the reader may observe by an attentive perusal of the foregoing pages. Had he acted wisely, he would not have given his barons any cause for disgust after the signing of the charters at Runne-Mede. He also raised taxes without the consent of the states, which, we may observe, was no unusual thing ever since the reign of William the Conqueror. King John's fortune never agreed with his temper. He was a lover of ease and quiet, and his fate was to be perpetually in action. He was framed neither for prosperity nor adversity; the former made him too indolent, and the latter dejected him to a very great degree. So that a middle fortune would doubtless have been most suitable to his genius. To this prince was chiefly owing the regulating of the civil government of the city of London, and of most of the other cities of the kingdom, in the manner it is in at present. According to Camden and some others, John was the first that coined sterling money. The ceremonies observed at the installation of an earl, were instituted by him. He also established the laws of England in Ireland, and gave the cinque-ports the privileges they enjoy at this day.

King John had no issue by his two first wives. By Isabella of Angoulême, his third wife, he had two sons and three daughters. Henry succeeded him. Richard was earl of Cornwall, and afterwards chosen king of the Romans. Of his three daughters, Joanna was married to Alexander II. king of Scotland, Eleanor espoused first William Marshal, earl of Pembroke; and after his death, Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester. The

emperor Frederic II. married the third, whose name was Isabella.

King John founded the abbey of Bowley in New Forest, Hampshire; also an abbey of black monks in the city of Winchester. He founded likewise the monastery of Farringdon, and that of Hales Owen in Shropshire. He re-edified Godstow and Wroxel nunneries, and enlarged the chapel of Knaresborough. In this king's reign, St. Mary Overy's in Southwark was begun to be built. Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, founded a monastery at West Dereham in Norfolk, which, upon the dissolution in the time of Henry VIII. came to the family of the Derehams, who still hold it.

#### C H A P. IV.

##### HENRY III. SURNAMED OF WINCHESTER.

THIS prince ascended the throne of England on the 19th of October, 1216, and in the tenth year of his age. During this reign, which was of a great length, the reader may observe, first, the insatiable avarice of the court of Rome, and the tyranny the exercised over the nation. In the second place, the league entered into by the barons, to oppose the despotic and arbitrary power which was intended to be introduced into the kingdom. Thirdly, and lastly, the ill use the barons made of the authority, which they had usurped under that pretence, and the unfortunate success which rendered all their proceedings fruitless.

At the time of Henry's ascending the throne, the kingdom was greatly convulsed; but the wise and brave earl of Pembroke, who was capable of the greatest designs, determined to support the authority of the infant prince. Without being disheartened in this extremity, the earl undertook to raise the hopes of the honest and well-meaning English, and to drive the foreigners out of the kingdom. As soon as John was dead, the earl of Pembroke convened the lords who had adhered to that prince, and presenting young Henry to them, made a speech, which thus began: "Behold your king!" Then he represented to them, "That although the conduct of the late king had given the confederate barons a plausible pretence to complain, it was not reasonable to take the crown from a family which had worn it so long, much less to give it to a foreigner. That king John's faults being personal, it would be unjust to punish the prince his son for them, whose tender age secured him from all imputations on that account." He also told them, "That the remedy made use of by the confederate barons, was worse than the disease, since it tended to the reducing the kingdom under a shameful servitude. And therefore in the present posture of affairs, nothing was able to deliver them from the impending yoke, but their firm union under a prince who was, beyond all doubt, the lawful heir to the crown." The assembly were so pleased with his speech, that they cried with one voice, "We will have Henry for our king." A day was accordingly appointed for the coronation; and the ceremony was performed with little pomp, by the bishops of Winchester and Bath, with Gallo the legate, who espoused young Henry's interest to the utmost of his power. Before the crown was set on his head, the usual oath was administered to him; when the legate, who had ever his master's interest in view, caused the young prince to do homage to the holy see. These ceremonies being over, the assembly of the lords, who represented at that time the whole

\* The washes between a place called the Cross Keys in Norfolk, and Fordike in Holland, in Lincolnshire.

† The coronation was solemnized at Gloucester, on St. Simon and St. Jude's day, in the presence of Gallo, the pope's legate; Peter, bishop of Winchester; Jocelin, of Bath; Sil-

vester, of Worcester; Ranulph, earl of Chester; William Marshal, earl of Pembroke; William, earl of Ferrars; John Marshal, and Philip de Albiney, with the abbot and priors. The archbishop of Canterbury, says Walter of Coventry, was then at Rome, soliciting the taking off his suspension.





*Ben. and. d. l. 1811*

*W. P. A. 1811*

*Henry III. after the death of his father. King John presented to the Barons by the Earl of Pembroke?*

*1216. April 27. W. P. A. 1811*



nation, chose the earl of Pembroke\* guardian to the king, and protector of the realm, that is, regent of the kingdom. The regent thought he had reason to hope, that the making known how ready the new king was to grant a general pardon, would soon dissolve the confederacy: and therefore the earl of Pembroke sent letters to all the barons and corporations in the kingdom, acquainting them of Henry's accession to the crown, and promising great rewards to all that would return to their duty†. The resolution of a great number of confederate barons, being now taken, they began to think of making their peace with their lawful sovereign. The excommunication of prince Lewis, which was published afresh every Sunday, furnished them with a further motive to change, which carried no less force with it. The affairs of Lewis began to decline, at the time when they seemed to be in a most prosperous condition. The raising of the siege of Dover contributed likewise to their decay. Prince Lewis had frequently tried to bribe Hubert de Burgh, governor of that place; but he had always found in that brave man, a loyalty which was proof against all temptation. The death of king John happening during this siege, Lewis was in hopes the governor would become more tractable: and therefore ordered him to be summoned afresh to surrender; at the same time he represented to him, that since by John's death, he was released from his oath of allegiance, he might, with a safe conscience, swear fealty to a prince, whom his countrymen had owed for their sovereign, and who would take a pleasure in showing him marks of his esteem. Hubert answered, that the late king having left an heir, to whom his allegiance was due, he would maintain his cause to the last drop of his blood. Adding, he could never believe, that a shameful cowardice could be a means to gain the esteem of any brave prince. Lewis finding him still immovable, threatened to put his brother, who was in his power, to death. This threat made no impression on the governor, who continued to defend, with the same resolution, the important place committed to his trust. Lewis not being able to obtain possession of Dover, raised the siege, and invested the castle of Hereford, which made but a faint resistance. Lewis's conduct here highly displeased the English. With extreme regret the English lords now beheld their own estates of inheritance given to foreigners, without any regard to their complaints. Their discontents were still heightened by the indiscretion of some Frenchmen, who upbraided the English barons for traitors, and told them, they were not fit to be entrusted with the custody of castles. These expressions, added to the discovery made by the viscount of Melun‡, caused among the English, and especially among the nobility, an universal dissatisfaction, which Lewis did not yet perceive, but he soon felt the effects of it.

During these transactions the regent judged it necessary to send notice to the pope of the death of king John, and the coronation of his son; entreating him at

the same time, to take into his protection the young prince, who was on all sides surrounded with foreign and domestic enemies. The pope therefore, with a view to keep England firm to his interest, sent fresh powers to his legate to renew the excommunication of the prince of France and confederate barons. Lewis, to whom the legate communicated his new orders, solemnly protested against all that should be done to his prejudice. The legate, pursuant to the pope's orders, held a synod at Bristol, where he excommunicated Lewis again with all the customary formalities: and by this means, he furnished some of the barons with a pretence to dispense with doing the homage Lewis required.

On the approach of Christmas, the two parties agreed upon a truce during the holidays. Lewis made use of that opportunity to hold a general assembly at Oxford, whilst the regent held another at Cambridge. The king's party having proposed that the treaty should be prolonged, Lewis at first refused to agree to it. But the news which he received presently after, that the pope designed to confirm in a full consistory, the excommunication thundered out by his legate, caused him to consent, that it should be prolonged till a month after Easter, his design being to go to Paris, and consult the king his father§. This truce proved of great advantage to the king and the earl of Pembroke. The earl improved the advantage by reinforcing his army with new levies, and by gaining, by secret practices, several of the confederate barons; among whom was William Marshal, eldest son of the earl of Pembroke, who till then, had been one of the most zealous partisans of France. At the same time came over to the king, William Long-Sword, earl of Salisbury, with the earls of Arundel and Warren. The cinque-ports likewise declared for Henry, and in April, 1217, they fitted out a fleet to oppose Lewis's return. But though their fleet fought the French, and destroyed several of their ships, yet they could not hinder the prince's landing at Sandwich. This opposition so exasperated Lewis, that he reduced the town to ashes, as being one of the cinque-ports.

Upon the expiration of the truce, the regent sent the earl of Chester to besiege Mont-Sorel, a town in Leicestershire, where there was a French garrison; but Lewis sent the earl of Perche|| at the head of twenty thousand men, with orders to march directly towards the enemy. Upon the approach of this army, the earl of Chester, whose forces were not so numerous, raised the siege, and returned to the regent. But the French general, not being content with that advantage, formed the design of besieging Lincoln-Castle, which held out for the king, though the city had declared for the barons\*\*. In his march thither, the French troops committed such terrible ravages, that historians describe them as an army of devils rather than men. But this castle was of too great moment to be neglected, and the regent used his utmost endeavours to relieve it, whilst

\* Ever since the beginning of king John's reign, on whose head the earl had been very instrumental in setting the crown, by his diligence and address, he had all along remained attached to the service of that prince, without ever deserting him in his greatest distress. His approved loyalty having gained him the favour and confidence of his master, he had always a share in his most secret counsels. It was this also that partly qualified him better than any other, to be at the helm of affairs in so tempestuous a season. He was perfectly well acquainted with the source of the troubles, and the interests and intrigues of those that had caused them. He was not ignorant, that the greatest part of the barons were extremely dissatisfied with the prince they had called to their aid; and upon the knowledge of this it was that he chiefly built his hopes.

† There is a letter still extant to Hugh de Lacy, a baron of note, containing a safe conduct to come and treat with the king, with a promise of the restitution of his estate and privileges. The earl of Pembroke's name is affixed alone to the letter, which is dated Nov. 18, in the first year of this reign, and is as follows:

"The king to Hugh de Lacy, wisheth health. We require you, that you forthwith come in all safety to pay us ho-

mage and service; and we give you safe-conduct to come and commune with us, and to return in safety. And we will you to know, that if you do come to us, we will fully restore to you your rights and liberties, by the counsel of our well-beloved Ralph, earl of Chester; William, earl of Ferrars, and other our faithful counsellors. For, notwithstanding our father John, of happy memory, was in some respect wanting towards you; yet ought not we to be charged with his failures, neither ought they, in any respect, to be imputed to us."

‡ See p. 185.

§ Walter of Coventry says, the pope ordered his nuncio in France to hold a synod at Melun, and put the kingdom under an interdict, unless Philip recalled his son out of England. Upon which the king presently ordered him to come over, and he himself in person at the synod.

|| Marshal of France, a young man of great courage, whom he had just brought over with him. Saher, earl of Winton, was lord of this castle.

\*\* Gilbert de Gant had besieged it a long time in vain, and been vigorously repulsed in all his assaults. He was made earl of Lincoln by Lewis.



the French were battering the castle with all possible vigour, and the besieged making as brave a defence, he drew all his forces together, with a resolution to save that place. He therefore advanced as far as Newark, which is but twelve miles from Lincoln, where the besiegers were greatly surprized at the sudden approach of a powerful army. Hereupon the French general called a council of war, in order to consult on the means proper to be taken on this urgent occasion. The English army approached the city without any opposition, and the regent caused a body of chosen troops, commanded by Fulk de Brent, to enter the castle at a postern-gate which opened into the fields, and was left unguarded by the French. Fulk was no sooner in, but pursuant to the orders he had received from the regent, he sallied out upon the besiegers, whilst the king's army stormed one of the city gates.

The result of this engagement was, that the French army was defeated, and the earl of Perch was slain in the act of upbraiding the English who had espoused his master's cause, for having betrayed him by their counsels. After the death of their general, a dreadful slaughter was made of the French troops, who almost all perished on this occasion. The city of Lincoln, which had from the beginning of the dissention taken part with the barons, was delivered up to be plundered by the soldiers, who met with a prodigious store of rich booty, which made them give it the name of Lincoln Fair\*. In the mean time Lewis laid siege to Dover Castle, where he met with so stout a resistance, that he abandoned the enterprize, and retreated to London; where upon his arrival, he sent to the king his father for succours, but Philip, through the fear of incurring the pope's displeasure, pretended he did not care to assist his son; and therefore refused to send any forces, whereby Lewis's army might be strengthened. But with a view to set his affairs on a better footing, he ordered Blanch, his daughter-in-law, to raise a body of troops and ships in her own name, and to transport them to England. The commanders of the fleet of the cinque-ports, having received intelligence that the French troops were to embark at Calais, waited for them in their passage and gave them battle, wherein they took and destroyed the greatest part of the French fleet†. Lewis was greatly chagrined at these losses; and moreover, he was blocked up in London by the English. Hereupon he sued for peace; but he gave the regent to understand, that he would never consent to dishonourable terms, or such as would not secure those that had invited him into England, from being ever called in question concerning that circumstance. The regent, however, granted a peace, the terms of which were as follows:

"That all persons who had sided with Lewis, ever since the beginning of the war, should be restored to all the rights they enjoyed before the troubles.

"That the city of London should have her ancient privileges.

"That all the prisoners taken since the coming of Lewis into England should be set at liberty. But as to those that were taken on either side, before that time, commissioners should be appointed to enquire, whether those of his party had actually joined him, at the time of their being made prisoners.

"That the ransoms already paid should not be returned, and that such as were become due should be

punctually paid: but that nothing should be demanded of the prisoners, whose ransoms had not been agreed upon.

"That all the English, of what rank and condition soever, prisoners or others, who took up arms against king John, should swear allegiance to king Henry.

"That the hostages prince Lewis had taken for the payment of the ransoms which were become due, should be released immediately upon the payment of the money.

"That all the places, towns, and castles, in possession of Lewis, should be delivered up to the king.

"That the king of Scotland should be included in the treaty, upon his restoring all that he had taken during the war, and that the king of England should do the like with regard to him.

"The same thing was stipulated in behalf of the prince of Wales. That Lewis should cause all the islands to be given up that had been taken in his name.

"That he should renounce the homages he had received from the subjects of the king of England.

"That whatever was due to him, and of which the time of payment was expired, should be punctually paid him.

"That in the first article relating to those that had sided with Lewis, ecclesiastics were not included, but with respect to the lay-fees they held before the war."

After the signing of the above treaty, Lewis received absolution from the hands of the legate. Shortly after Lewis set sail for France, having previously borrowed five thousand marks of the city of London to pay his debts.

Henry, being now freed from his enemy, he made a public entry into London, where he was received with a great deal of pomp, and with every demonstration of an universal satisfaction. Here he took a solemn oath that he would maintain the nation in their privileges. The pope's legate then proceeded to excommunicate all the ecclesiastics who adhered to Lewis. Many were suspended, many were deprived of their benefices, and many were very heavily fined‡. And Alexander, king of Scotland, who had been excommunicated for doing homage to a foreign prince, embraced the offer of being included in the treaty. Accordingly he came to Northampton, where he was absolved by the legate, after which he did homage to Henry for the fees he held in England. And then he delivered up Carlisle, which he had taken during the late troubles.

In the beginning of the following year, 1218, several of the barons, being discontented at the regent's requiring them to restore the estates which king John had confiscated and given to them; the regent, therefore, in order to prevent disturbances for the future, forcibly compelled those who refused to comply. Robert Gaucy was the only one, however, that held out a siege of eight days, in the castle of Nottingham§, belonging to the bishop of Lincoln. But at length, he surrendered the castle to the bishop, upon condition he would pay him a hundred pounds sterling. The rest that were in the same case, disheartened by his example, made similar compositions. And to complete the establishment of the young king on the throne, he had still to satisfy the pope, who did not seem inclined to pardon the ecclesiastics, who had despised the pope's interdict. In consequence of which, at the instance of the legate, the regent published a proclamation, commanding all the

\* An idea of the immense riches of the cathedral, may be formed from the consideration, that Geoffrey de Draping, the precentor, complained that he had lost eleven thousand marks for his own share.

† As the English had but forty, and the French eighty large ships, the king's fleet durst not attack them in the front, but tacking about, and getting to the windward, they bore down upon them, and made great slaughter of them with their archers; but what contributed most to their victory, was their having great quantities of quick-lime in powder, the which being cast into the air, was blown by the wind into the Frenchmen's eyes and blinded them. The commanders of

the English fleet were Philip de Albiney, and John Marthal. The French admiral was one Eustace, who from a monk turned pirate, and at last was made admiral of the French fleet. M. Paris says, Richard, base son of king John, cut off his head. Tindal.

‡ Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, paid to the pope's use one thousand marks, and one hundred to the legate, whose examples being followed by many of the bishops, and other religious persons, vast sums of money were raised for the pope, who was always sure to gain, whoever lost. Tindal.

§ According to Mat. Paris, it was the castle of Newark that Robert Gaucy defended against the forces of the regent. excom-



excommunicated ecclesiastics that had not been absolved, to depart the kingdom on pain of imprisonment. These rigorous proceedings made them think of compounding matters with the legate, who demanded vast sums of money from them. The regent, after having satisfied the pope, sent express orders\* to all the sheriffs of the kingdom, that they should see the two charters of king John duly observed, and should punish, without mercy, all those who should presume to violate the same.

Llewellyn, prince of Wales, being in league with the French, took several places while they were in England, which it would have been a hard matter to dispossess him of, without drawing together the troops which had been disbanded. The regent not being willing to levy an army, granted the prince of Wales an honourable and advantageous peace, and procured him the legate's absolution, hoping by that means, to induce that turbulent prince to set down in quiet†. Soon after the conclusion of the peace. Gallo the legate set out for Rome, having been previously recalled, carrying with him twelve hundred marks. Pandulph, who had been frequently mentioned in king John's reign, was made legate in his room.

The regent finding his orders concerning the two charters were not duly executed, he sent itinerant justices into all the counties, in the beginning of 1219, to cause them to be strictly observed. He was fully persuaded, that he could not, without manifest injustice, and great injury to the honour and interests of the young king, dispense with putting in execution, what the prince and the king his father had sworn to perform. William le Marechal, earl of Pembroke, did not long survive this transaction, for he died‡ in May following, and was succeeded in his office of regent, by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and Hubert de Burgh, who had defended Dover, chief justiciary of England,

In May 1220§, cardinal Langton being returned from Rome into England, Henry was crowned again at Westminster. After this ceremony Henry, accompanied by the regent, made a progress into several counties, with a design to make an alteration among the governors of castles. He met with no opposition but from William, earl of Albemarle, governor of Rock-

ingham Castle, who having set himself up for a petty sovereign, took little or no notice of the orders sent from court. The garrison made some show of defending themselves, but when they saw the whole country in arms to assist the king, and cast off their yoke, they capitulated; and by that means preserved their privileges.

The earl of Albemarle was cited to appear before the parliament held at Westminster; but as he did not appear an army was sent against him, and upon his submission he was pardoned. This year also, Joanna, the king's sister, was married to Alexander I. king of Scotland, and that king's sister was married to Hubert de Burgh, with the consent of both kings.

The term of Pandulph's legateship being expired, he laid down his office, and was chosen bishop of Norwich.

In May 1222, a great wrestling-match being made between the Londoners and the country-men, abundance of people from Westminster went to the place appointed; but being desirous of disputing the prize, had the mortification to see their neighbours carry off the honour of the victory. The triumph, though in itself scarce worth minding, raised, however, the spleen of the citizens of Westminster, who lay open to the insulting raileries of the conquerors. The steward of the abbot of Westminster, vainly imagining that his master's and his own honour were concerned in the case, undertook to revenge the quarrel of his fellows-citizens, and to put them in a way to be even with their neighbours. To that end, he appointed another match at Westminster, to which the citizens of London flocked in great numbers: but as they went thither without arms, they were rudely set upon by the Westminster-men, who wounded several, and put the rest to flight. This piece of treachery caused a terrible commotion in London. The populace assembled, and resolved to be revenged for this outrage, the authority of the mayor not being able to curb their fury. One Constantine, a citizen of London, an incendiary, having put himself at the head of the rabble, told them, that it was in vain to expect justice from the magistrates, who were not concerned about the honour of the city, and that it was necessary to go immediately and chastise those who had

\* These letters or orders are not to be found in our histories, but remain upon record in the Tower on the clause-roll of this year. See Dr. Brady's Appendix, N. 144.

† He had the custody of the castles of Caermarthen, and Caerdigan, with their lands and appurtenances, delivered up to him during the king's minority, after which he was to restore them.

‡ He was buried in the church of the Knight's Templars, (now the Temple-Church) in London, where his effigy in a coat of mail is still to be seen in the middle of the round.

§ This year, the new building of the abbey-church of Westminster, then called St. Mary's chapel, was begun, the king himself laying the first stone. The abbey church of St. Peter, Westminster, is situated about two hundred yards from the Thames: it was fifty years in building. In 1274 it was greatly damaged by fire; but the kings Edward I. and Edward II. with the assistance of the abbots of Westminster, repaired the loss; toward which Simon Langham gave 6646*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* John Elney gave 3070*l.* and built the great west window; and Islip repaired the greatest part of the church, part of the monastery, and built the dean's house; renewing also the buttresses of the church, and erected therein the figures of such of our kings and queens who had been benefactors to it. This curious edifice is kept in repair by a duty of 2*d.* upon every chaldron of coals imported into the city of London.

We shall here give a general description of this celebrated abbey-church, to save writing it in detached notes in various parts of our History, it being more entertaining and instructive when placed in a connected point of view.

Henry VII. built the chapel which bears his name at the east end of it, in 1502; it cost 14,000*l.* Leland, on account of its admirable workmanship, calls it the Wonder of the World.

The church was under the government of abbots and monks, till the gift of Henry VIII. when, upon the dissolution of monasteries, the revenues, amounting to 847*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.* ob. *per annum*, were taken away; and it was placed under the government of a dean and prebendaries, Benson the last abbot

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being made the first dean. This government continued till 1541, when it was changed into an episcopal see, Thomas Thirlby being appointed bishop. It continued under his government till 1550, when he was translated to Norwich, and the government reverted to that of a dean and chapter. It continued in this manner only six years, when queen Mary restored the old government by an abbot and fourteen monks. In 1559, queen Elizabeth bestowed it on a dean and twelve prebendaries. She also constituted it a collegiate church, placing therein, a schoolmaster and usher, forty scholars, and twelve alms-men, besides receivers, stewards, registers, a library-keeper, and other officers. Thus it continued till the death of king Charles I. when under the usurpation, the revenues of this, as well as those of other deans and chapters, were seized and embezzled, till the restoration of king Charles II. to his country and dominions, A. D. 1660, when it reverted to its constitution settled by queen Elizabeth. This government has continued ever since.

The following chapels are contained in the abbey, viz. 1. St. Blaze; 2. St. Benedict; 3. St. Edmund; 4. St. Nicholas; 5. Edward the Confessor; 6. The Blessed Virgin, or Henry VII.'s chapel; 7. St. Paul; 8. St. Erasmus; 9. St. John Baptist; 10. St. John Evangelist; 11. St. Michael, and 12. St. Andrew.

	Feet.
The length of the cathedral, from the west end of the church, to the east end of St. Edward's chapel, is	354
The breadth of the west end	66
The breadth of the cross aisle from north to south	189
Height of the middle roof	92
Distance between the bases of the pillars	12½
Distance from the west end of the church, to that of the choir	162
From the west end of the church to the cross aisle	220
Distance from the east end of St. Edward's chapel, to the west end of Henry VII.'s chapel	36
Whole length within the walls	489
Breadth of the middle aisle	80



offended them. His speech meeting with applause, he exclaimed, *Mon joye St. Dennis*, which was the saying that the French soldiers made use of before a battle; then marching towards Westminster, he caused the steward's house to be pulled down, after which he returned in triumph to London. The tumult being appeased, Hubert, chief justiciary, went to the Tower, and ordered several of the citizens to appear before him. Constantine maintained, that "the citizens of London" had done nothing that was punishable by the law, and "that happen what would they were resolved to stand by what they had done." Hubert detained Constantine, but dismissed the others, leaving orders for Constantine to be hanged the next morning, though he offered fifteen thousand marks for his life. A few days after, the justiciary caused other of the ringleaders to be seized in their houses, some of whom had their hands, and some their noses and ears cut off, and then were sent back thus maimed into the city; which done, he changed all the magistrates of London, and obliged thirty of the most considerable citizens to be pledges for the good behaviour of the city, to which the corporation agreed by a charter, sealed with their common seal\*. This rigorous method of proceeding, was a direct violation of the forty-eighth section of Magna Charta.

In the year 1223, a parliament was held at London, on account of the proceedings of the justiciary; and the result of their meeting was, to petition the king to cause the charter of liberties to be strictly observed throughout the kingdom. Hereupon the king sent writs to all the sheriffs, commanding them to enquire upon the oath of twelve men, in a full county court, what where the customs and liberties of England in his father's time. In the mean time, the parliament satisfied with the king's proceeding, granted a subsidy† of three marks for every earl, one mark for every baron, a shilling for every knight, and for every house in the kingdom one penny.

This year died Philip Augustus king of France, and Lewis VIII. his son succeeded him. Henry's council now thought it a proper time to send ambassadors to the new king, to challenge the performance of his oath, with regard to the territories Philip had taken from king John. Lewis, however, told them, that he did not look upon himself as obliged to the performance of a treaty which the king of England had violated himself, in exacting large ransoms of the prisoners, and neglecting to re-establish the ancient laws, as had been agreed upon. That for his part, he held Normandy and the other provinces taken from the English by right of conquest, and as their sovereign lord; and if any one chose to dispute his title, he was willing to submit it to the judgement of the peers. Matthew Paris says, that he alledged also the death of Constantine, which he pretended, was done out of spite for his affection to France, as one of the reasons why he thought himself freed from all his engagements; after which, he dismissed the ambassadors without giving them any satisfactory answer.

Hubert de Burgh, the chief justiciary, having gained great credit, endeavoured to remove the bishop of Winchester from his post as regent. To this end he procured a bull from the pope, in which the king was declared of full age, and fit to govern. The barons were required to deliver up the king's castles of which they were governors, but they positively refused, and Hubert made use of the following artifice to obtain possession of them: he persuaded the king to demand of him the castles he had the custody of; to which he submitted on condition the rest of the barons should do the same. Accordingly he surrendered to the king, the Tower of London and castle of Dover, which were the two most

important places in the kingdom. Some of the barons followed his example, not imagining there was any fraud in the matter. But when once the king was in possession of their castles, he restored to Hubert all those he had voluntarily given up, thus openly making a jest of their credulity. This procedure made the barons highly offended with the king, but more especially with his favourite, whom they looked upon as the principal contriver of the plot.

Lewis VIII. was not contented with having refused to perform his oath, but confiscated, in 1224, all the territories which the English held in France, and marched directly into Saintonge, where he became master of several places; after which he laid siege to Rochelle, which he also obtained the possession of. A parliament was assembled at Northampton, to consult about the method of putting an end to so dangerous a war.— During these transactions, Fulk de Brent, having been fined an hundred pounds for some violences he had committed, seized one of the judges, and openly rebelled. He was reduced to obedience, his estates confiscated, and himself banished from the kingdom. To defray the expences of the expedition against Fulk, the parliament granted the king two shillings upon every hide of plough land.

Henry wanted a larger sum of money to enable him to carry on the war with France, and therefore, the beginning of 1225, he called another parliament, of whom he demanded a fifteenth upon moveables. The parliament acquainted him, they would grant him the subsidy he required, if the charters of king John, which had hitherto been neglected, were punctually observed for the future. This the king promised should be done, and with that view he sent into every county commissioners to see the charters put in execution: but the effect of these orders were of no long continuance. The king now raised an army, which he sent into Guienne, under the command of his brother Richard, earl of Cornwall. Richard, having the earl of Salisbury for his lieutenant, made some progress in Guienne, where he took St. Macaire. After which he besieged the castle of Rioul, a strong place, which, by the resistance it made, gave the earl of March, general of the French army, time to come to its relief; when Richard's forces not being powerful enough to engage the French army, he retired from the place, but did not quit Guienne till 1227.

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proposal with the most specious reasons he could devise, without promising, however, that the pope would take nothing for the favours he should grant for the time to come; but insinuating only, that he would use more moderation in that respect. It was no hard matter to see the pope's drift; and therefore the legate's eloquence was not able to prevail with the parliament. The legate made a journey into the northern counties, where, he oppressed the churches to such a degree, that the pope recalled him for fear of exasperating the English at so critical a juncture. The pope, however, did not despair of obtaining what he had demanded, and therefore, enjoined the archbishop of Canterbury to procure from the parliament, a positive answer to the proposal made by his legate. The king having advised with the bishops, sent his holiness word, that since this affair concerned not England alone, but all Christendom, he was ready to conform to the resolutions which should be taken in the matter in other Christian countries. The legate had previously made a similar proposal in France, but without success.

This year, Lewis VIII. king of France, headed the crusade against the Albigenses, soon after the pope's disappointment; but dying during that expedition, was succeeded by his son Lewis IX. and this year also, king Henry caused all the charters to be renewed, in order to raise money.

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prospect for the time to come. Though he had been declared of age the year before, he had kept the bishop of Winchester near his person, for the sake of his advice: but Hubert de Burgh would not suffer him to retain him any longer. He represented to him, that although he had been declared of full age, he would always be looked upon as under the guardianship of a regent, as long as that prelate was at court; and that it would be for his honour and interest to let his subjects see he was capable of holding the reins of government himself. This advice being readily embraced by the king, who dived not into the motives of it, the bishop of Winchester had orders to return to his diocese.

Hubert, having succeeded so far, advised the king to become absolute. Henry paid too much attention to the advice of his favourite, and began by oppressing his subjects, in extorting five thousand marks from the Londoners, under pretence of their having lent the like sum to prince Lewis, when he left England. The town of Northampton had been compelled to pay him twelve hundred pounds, on much the same frivolous pretence. The monasteries had been no better dealt by. Notwithstanding their appeal to the holy see, he had exacted from them large sums, whilst the affair was depending before the pope. Soon after he annulled the two charters of the king his father, though he had bound himself by oath inviolably to observe them, pretending he was not obliged to abide by a promise he had made during his minority. Hubert, without paying any regard to the murmurs of the people, by whom he was looked upon as the author of these pernicious counsels, caused himself to be created earl of Kent, as a reward for the great service he had done his master in freeing him from the yoke of these charters. Soon after this violation of his oath, Prince Richard arrived from Guienne and laid hold of this juncture, to brave the king his brother in a contest he had with him †. In order to satisfy prince Richard, who was the chief of the confederates, Hubert persuaded the king to settle upon him

\* William Longue Espée, or Longsword. This nobleman who was natural son of Henry II. by the fair Rosamond, as well on account of his quality as his merit, deserves to have the manner of his death noted here. Upon the recalling the English fleet from the late expedition in France, he had gone on board it; but was met by so rough a storm, that the ship was forced back to the isle of Rhé, near Rochelle. Savory de Mulcon, then in the service of France, was governor of this isle; and the earl, fearing to fall into his hands, applied for protection to an abbot; but finding himself very unsafe there, he was obliged again to go on board his shattered ship, which was in a miserable condition for sailing, and met with so many accidents, that, according to Matthew Paris, it was three months before he could reach to England. It is no wonder that, after so long an absence, he was imagined to have perished in the sea. As his supposed widow was possessed of one of the greatest fortunes in England, the all-ingrossing minister, Hubert de Burgh, procured the king's consent that she should be married, provided she was pleased with the match, to one Raymond, who was his nephew and apparent heir. Accordingly, the young gentleman began his courtship with great magnificence, and employed every means that could touch the ambition or the heart of the dame: but as the king's permission had not deprived her of her free will, she treated his addresses with vast disdain; she pretended, that she had some reasons to believe that her husband was still alive; but added, that supposing him dead, her quality, as the widow of so great a man, ought to put her above the insult of an address from so despicable a suitor. This answer so much discouraged the lover, that he discontinued his courtship. Soon after the earl, escaping from the dangers of the sea, appeared at court: he there demanded from the king, justice upon Hubert de Burgh, for the mean arts he had employed in his absence, against the honour of his bed; and declared, that if he was denied justice from the throne, he would take it by his own sword. The justiciary appeared full of confusion at this charge; he asked pardon for what he had passed, and made many rich presents to the earl to procure his forgiveness; nay, the earl, imposed upon by his seeming penitence, accepted of an invitation to an entertainment at Hubert's house. Here it is said by our historians, he was poisoned by that perfidious minister. In him the crown lost one of its strongest supports, and the

people one of their most faithful and best friends.

† The occasion of the disagreement was this: king John having given to one Waleran, a German, a certain manor belonging to the earldom of Cornwall, Richard, as soon as he was invested with that earldom, ordered Waleran to appear and produce his title, and in the mean time caused the manor to be seized. Whether Waleran had lost his charter, or whether he thought it not good, he refused to obey the summons. On the contrary, as if great injustice had been done him, he carried his complaints to the king, who, without examining the affair, sent orders to the prince's officers to restore the manor. They found means, however, to put it off till the return of their master. Upon his arrival, Richard represented to the king, that he had done Waleran no wrong in obliging him to show his title: that his intent was not to deprive him of his lands by force, but to have the matter decided by the laws, and to that end offered to refer it to the judgment of the peers of the realm. Henry, offended at this proposal, fell into a passion with his brother, and commanded him to give back the manor in dispute, by such a time, or else to depart the kingdom. Richard boldly replied, that he would do neither without the judgement of his peers, and immediately retired without staying for an answer. The chief justiciary, who never ceased inspiring the king with violent maxims, advised him to take the prince into custody. But whilst Henry was considering what to do, Richard withdrew from court, and hastened to the earl of Pembroke, in order to consult him in this affair. Pembroke approved of what the prince had done, and perceiving this to be a favourable opportunity to check the arbitrary power the king had a mind to usurp, believed he ought not to let it slip. And, therefore, he assured Richard, he was ready to stand by him with his life and estate, and that he did not question in the least, but that the greatest part of the barons would do the same. And, indeed, shortly after, by the diligence of the earl-marshal, the earls of Gloucester, Chester, Warren, Warwick, Ferrars, and Hereford, with a great number of other barons, entered into a confederacy with Richard, and took up arms to compel the king to restore the charters he had lately cancelled. Hubert was alarmed at this confederacy. As he foresaw it might be attended with fatal consequences, he thought it his best way to accommodate matters between the two brothers.

the



offended them. His speech meeting with applause, he exclaimed, *Mon joye St. Dennis*, which was the saying that the French soldiers made use of before a battle; then marching towards Westminster, he caused the steward's house to be pulled down, after which he returned in triumph to London. The tumult being appeased, Hubert, chief justiciary, went to the Tower, and ordered several of the citizens to appear before him. Constantine maintained, that "the citizens of London" had done nothing that was punishable by the law, and "that happen what would they were resolved to stand by what they had done." Hubert detained Constantine, but dismissed the others, leaving orders for Constantine to be hanged the next morning, though he offered fifteen thousand marks for his life. A few days after, the justiciary caused other of the ringleaders to be seized in their houses, some of whom had their hands, and some their noses and ears cut off, and then were sent back thus maimed into the city; which done, he changed all the magistrates of London, and obliged thirty of the most considerable citizens to be pledges for the good behaviour of the city, to which the corporation agreed by a charter, sealed with their common seal\*. This rigorous method of proceeding, was a direct violation of the forty-eighth section of Magna Charta.

In the year 1223, a parliament was held at London, on account of the proceedings of the justiciary; and the result of their meeting was, to petition the king to cause the charter of liberties to be strictly observed throughout the kingdom. Hereupon the king sent writs to all the sheriffs, commanding them to enquire upon the oath of twelve men, in a full county court, what where the customs and liberties of England in his father's time. In the mean time, the parliament satisfied with the king's proceeding, granted a subsidy† of three marks for every earl, one mark for every baron, a shilling for every knight, and for every house in the kingdom one penny.

This year died Philip Augustus king of France, and Lewis VIII. his son succeeded him. Henry's council now thought it a proper time to send ambassadors to the new king, to challenge the performance of his oath, with regard to the territories Philip had taken from king John. Lewis, however, told them, that he did not look upon himself as obliged to the performance of a treaty which the king of England had violated himself, in exacting large ransoms of the prisoners, and neglecting to re-establish the ancient laws, as had been agreed upon. That for his part, he held Normandy and the other provinces taken from the English by right of conquest, and as their sovereign lord; and if any one chose to dispute his title, he was willing to submit it to the judgement of the peers. Matthew Paris says, that he alledged also the death of Constantine, which he pretended, was done out of spite for his affection to France, as one of the reasons why he thought himself freed from all his engagements; after which, he dismissed the ambassadors without giving them any satisfactory answer.

Hubert de Burgh, the chief justiciary, having gained great credit, endeavoured to remove the bishop of Winchester from his post as regent. To this end he procured a bull from the pope, in which the king was declared of full age, and fit to govern. The barons were required to deliver up the king's castles of which they were governors, but they positively refused, and Hubert made use of the following artifice to obtain possession of them: he persuaded the king to demand of him the castles he had the custody of; to which he submitted on condition the rest of the barons should do the same. Accordingly he surrendered to the king, the Tower of London and castle of Dover, which were the two most

important places in the kingdom. Some of the barons followed his example, not imagining there was any fraud in the matter. But when once the king was in possession of their castles, he restored to Hubert all those he had voluntarily given up, thus openly making a jest of their credulity. This procedure made the barons highly offended with the king, but more especially with his favourite, whom they looked upon as the principal contriver of the plot.

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the queen their mother's dower, to which he pretended a right; and likewise to augment his appennage with the lands which the earl of Boulogne had held in England. Richard being satisfied with these grants, forgot the restoration of the charters, and the confederacy was dissolved.

In the year 1228 died Stephen Langton, cardinal and archbishop of Canterbury. The monks of St. Augustine, willing to secure the privilege of electing their archbishop, immediately chose Walter de Hemesham, one of their fellow monks. But as this election pleased neither the king nor the suffragan bishops of the see, they sent deputies to the pope, and the see of Canterbury remained vacant for some time. This year the Welsh having made an irruption into England, the king marched into their country to chastise them. But after he had harassed his troops to no manner of purpose, he concluded an inglorious peace with Llewellyn. This year also, Gregory IX. lately elected pope, thundered out a bull of excommunication against the emperor Frederic II. for having failed to carry his arms into the Holy Land, as he had solemnly vowed to do; and the monarch was forced to submit to the pope's authority, and perform his vow the year following. This year likewise was marked by the troubles of France and Henry's supineness. The Gascons took advantage of these disturbances, and invited Henry to enter that country with a view to expel the French out of Guienne\*.

The dispute about the election of the archbishop of Canterbury was carried on at Rome with great warmth, without the pope's being pleased to determine the matter. But the king's envoys having made the pope an offer of a tenth of all the moveables in England and Ireland, he began to see the affair in a different light than he had before, and therefore voided the election made by the monks. On pretence of cutting off all disputes that might arise from a new election, he conferred the archiepiscopal dignity on Richard le Grand, chancellor of the church of Lincoln. Soon after Geoffrey sent one of his chaplains into England to gather the promised tenths, which were to be expended in his wars against the emperor. The king assembled the parliament upon this occasion, and the chaplain laid before them the pope's letters, wherein he urged the performance of what he had been made to expect. It was supposed, that the king would disown the transaction of his envoys; but herein the people were disappointed. The parliament, however, were not disposed to grant the pope's request; and therefore unanimously resolved not to suffer their lay-tees to be thus liable to the exactions of the court of Rome. To satisfy the pope in some mea-

sure, they promised to give him a certain sum, without enquiring into the effects of each particular person: but notwithstanding their opposition, the pope gained his point†, and the tenths were exacted with rigour.

The king then formed the design of carrying war into France; but as transports were not ready to convey the troops, he was highly incensed against Hubert de Burgh, who had taken upon him to get all things in readiness; he even called his favourite an old traitor several times; and charged him with receiving a bribe from the court of France to put a stop to this design. The king in his rage drew his sword, with an intent to dispatch him; but the earl of Chester interposed, not so much to save the justiciary, as to prevent the king from imbruing his hands in the blood of one of his subjects. As it did not appear that Hubert had acted out of design or negligence, he found means to get into favour again, and to have the administration of affairs as before.

The same year the emperor Frederic carried his arms into Palestine, and compelled the sultan of Egypt to give him up Jerusalem‡.

In the spring of the following year, 1230, Henry, in order to defray the expences of the war, procured a considerable present from the clergy, and exacted a large sum from the city of London; and he compelled the Jews, who were then very numerous in the kingdom, to pay him a third part of their substance. After these unjust transactions, he embarked with his army at Portsmouth, and landed at St. Maloes, where he was received by the duke of Bretagne, who put into his hands all his strong towns and castles. The French, having had all the winter to prepare themselves, were posted near Angiers, with design to hinder his march into Poictou. Henry gave them time to fortify themselves in their post, whilst he continued at Nantz, expecting the remainder of his troops which were to have been sent from Ireland. Some discontents happening in the provinces obliged the French to leave their post, and retire to other parts of the kingdom. Henry then marched into Guienne, where he received the fealty of the Gascons; and from thence he returned into Bretagne, without making any head against the French. The queen-regent of France having now nothing to fear from the barons, ordered an army to march towards Bretagne, where Henry was lavishing away the remains of his money in feastings and diversions, as if his design in leaving England had been only to take a journey of pleasure. Upon the news of the enemies' approach, finding his treasure spent, and fearing he should draw upon him the whole power of France, he shamefully returned into England. It was not without great diffi-

\* Rapin gives the following account of these troubles: "Whilst these things were transacting, the regency of Blanch, mother of St. Lewis, occasioned in France disturbances which Henry might have turned to his advantage, had he known how to make the best of them. But this prince was not of a genius fit for great designs. If ever he formed any, it was always at an improper time, whilst he neglected to lay hold of the most favourable opportunities. A better had never offered than the present one, to recover the provinces which the English had lost in France, had it been well managed. The Normans having espoused the side of the barons in league against the queen regent of France, had sent Henry word, that if he would come over, he should be received with open arms, and put in possession of that rich province. On the other hand, the Poictevins importuned him to come and seize such of their towns as were in the hands of the French, and offered him their assistance. At the same time the Gascons sent the archbishop of Bourdeaux to inform him, that it was his own fault, if he laid not hold of the present juncture, to expel the French out of the places they were possessed of in Guienne. Instances so urgent, at such a seasonable time, should have induced Henry to make a vigorous push, for the recovery of what the king his father had lost by his carelessness. But, blinded by the advice of the chief justiciary, he returned in answer, that he would stay for a more convenient opportunity, as if he had been sure of one every day. We shall see hereafter, that he rashly embarked in this undertaking, at a time when there was not the least appearance of succeeding. It was thus that this prince blindly suffered himself to be guided by his ministers,

who abused his easiness and weakness to advance their own affairs, without any regard to the interests of their master." Vide book VIII.

† "In all appearance, says Rapin, this method would have succeeded, had not Stephen Segrave, one of the barons, voluntarily submitted to the pope's demands, and drawn in others by his example. The number of those that had suffered themselves to be gained, being increased by degrees, the greatest opposers found themselves constrained to yield, for fear of incurring the indignation of the king and pope. The clergy durst still less venture to stand out, lest they should be liable to the excommunication they were threatened with. The nuncio having thus attained his ends, produced a full power from his master to collect the tax, which was to be paid out of all moveables, of what kind soever. He executed his orders so rigorously, that he caused the tenths of all sorts of fruits, even of such as were yet growing, to be paid him in money. Neither was this all: that this tax might be levied with the more speed, he obliged the bishops to advance the money for the inferior clergy, leaving them a power to reimburse themselves in the manner they should think proper. The prelates and abbots therefore were under a necessity of finding ready money. But as several of them were not able to raise it soon enough, the nuncio had provided against this inconvenience, by bringing along with him certain Italian usurers, who lent them money at an extravagant interest."

‡ The emperor sent king Henry a large account of his proceedings in a letter under his own seal, the copy of which Matthew Paris has inserted in his history, under the year 1229.



culty that he could be persuaded, that part of his army should be left in Bretagne, under the command of the earls of Chester and Pembroke, for the defence of the duke whom he had unseasonably engaged in the war. These earls not only hindered the French from entering Bretagne, but made incursions into Anjou and Normandy, from whence they carried off great spoils.

During Henry's absence in Bretagne, the king of Connaught invaded the English territories in Ireland with a great army, or rather with an undisciplined multitude of people. But he found in Geoffrey de Maris, chief justiciary of Ireland, a more formidable enemy than he expected, who, having slain twenty thousand of the Irish, took their king prisoner. Although the king had laid out in needless expences, the sums granted him for his war with France, yet he made that expedition a pretence to demand a new subsidy. Hereupon the parliament met at Westminster, in January, 1231, and was with great difficulty brought to comply with his demands. Being prevailed upon at length, out of consideration of his great wants, they granted him three marks out of every knight's fee, which was held of the crown. About two months after, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, complained to the king, that after the death of the earl of Gloucester, Hubert de Burgh had seized the castle of Tunbridge, though it was a fief of the archbishopric. Henry told him, that the wardship of the young earl of Gloucester belonging to him, it was his prerogative to dispose of it to his justiciary, during the heir's minority; adding, he thought it very strange, that he should call his right in question. This answer not being satisfactory to the archbishop, he excommunicated, without distinction, all such as wrongfully detained the church's lands, and forthwith set out for Rome to prosecute his suit in that court\*. About the same time, prince Richard, the king's brother, married the countess-dowager of Gloucester, sister of the earl of Pembroke, who died soon after his sister's marriage. He left his estate by will, to Richard his brother, who was still in Bretagne, where he did the state signal services. A truce for three months, which was shortly after concluded, having afforded him leisure to return into England, he demanded his brother's inheritance, which the king had seized. Henry wanting an excuse to enjoy the profits, told him, "That he heard his brother's widow was with child, and therefore he could not dispose of the inheritance till she was delivered." But as he knew this was false, he sought a more plausible pretence, and charged Richard with having held criminal correspondence with the French whilst he was in Bretagne; and without suffering him to vindicate himself, ordered him to depart the kingdom within fifteen days. Richard indeed quitted England, but it was to pass over into Ireland, where he was put in possession of the castles and lands belonging to his family. He then levied some troops, and seized upon the king's demesnes, in order to pay himself for what was unjustly

detained from him in England. Hereupon Henry recalled him from banishment, put him in possession of his estate, and invested him with the dignity of earl marshal, which his brother had enjoyed. It was the temper of this prince to behave haughtily to such as he thought were not able to resist him, and to stoop on a sudden to those who opposed him.

Llewellyn, prince of Wales, having lately made some incursions into the borders of England, Henry let him go on for some time. But when he thought the Welsh prince no longer expected to be attacked, he resolved to go in person against him. Upon the first resistance he met with, his warlike heat abated, and he returned to his capital without effecting his purpose.

In the beginning of the year 1232, Henry summoned a parliament, which met at Westminster, of whom he demanded a subsidy, to enable him to pay the debts he had contracted by reason of his expedition against France. They, however, refused to assist him at this time. The clergy, who were no better inclined, demanded time to consider of the matter, and the parliament was prorogued till Easter.

Soon after, a confederacy against the Italian clergy, beneficed in England, was formed by the nobility, and the houses of those ecclesiastics were plundered. The nobility, to the number of about fourscore, chose one Twyngham for their leader, and forcibly entered the houses of several of these foreigners, and having carried off the valuables, distributed them among the poor. News of this transaction was soon carried to the pope, who wrote a very severe letter to the king, in which he commanded him, to punish on the spot the disturbers of the church's peace, upon pain of excommunication and interdict, if he deferred a moment the chastisement of the guilty. These threats having intimidated the king, he issued out orders to make strict enquiry after the authors of this violence, and found there were more persons concerned in it than he had imagined; he even found that the bishops themselves were either in the plot, or had countenanced it by their silence. However, for the pope's satisfaction, the chief leader of the confederates was apprehended, and sent to Rome, pursuant to his holiness's order. Some of the sheriffs and other officers were imprisoned for having neglected to suppress the riot. Thus ended this mighty affair, which so much roused the indignation of the pope.

The monks of St. Augustin's having elected another archbishop†, according to the orders they had received from the pope, and their choice not having pleased his holiness any more than the former, they were enjoined to proceed to a third election.

The enemies of Hubert de Burgh, ever since Henry had begun to entertain suspicions against him, never ceased, upon every occasion, to inspire the king with hatred to his favourite. Their schemes were so well laid, that they prevailed with his majesty to recall the bishop of Winchester‡ from exile, and to make him

prince of Wales having made, without any opposition, several inroads into England, the bishop of Winchester represented to the king, how great a reproach it was, that so despicable a people as the Welsh should thus plunder his subjects, without any one's endeavouring to prevent them. The king replied, that he was so far from having money to undertake a war, that his treasurers had given him to understand, his revenues would scarce suffice the necessary expences of his family. These words furnished the bishop with what he wanted, a pretence to blame the conduct of the prime-minister. He told the king, that the scarcity of money which he had complained of, proceeded from the ill-management of his treasury: that they, through whose hands the money passed, were not called to an account: that the wardship of minors were continually given away to private persons, without any benefit to his exchequer: that he received no profit from the revenues of the vacant benefices, or from the lands, which by death of confiscation fell to the crown. He added, that by these means the kings his predecessors were wont to fill their coffers, and, consequently, stood not so much in need of parliamentary aids, but lived in a greater independence." Vide Rapin, book viii.

\* The archbishop had so effectually pleaded his cause at Rome, that he had obtained an order from his holiness the pope to take possession of the castle of Tunbridge, during the minority of the earl of Gloucester. But death having surprized him, on his return to England, he could not reap the benefit of this favour. As soon as the monks of St. Augustin heard the news of the death of their archbishop, they instantly elected Hugh Nevil, bishop of Chichester and chancellor of the kingdom. The king having confirmed their choice, invested the prelate with the temporalities of the archbishopric. But the archbishop elect could never obtain the pope's confirmation, to whom it was represented by Stephen Langton, that he was too much a courtier. This single reason was enough to induce the pope to set aside the election, and send orders to the monks to chuse one more devoted to the holy sect.

† John, their sub-prior.

‡ Peter des Roches. See before, p. 298. "This prelate, says Rapin, had no sooner the king's ear, but he laboured incessantly at the ruin of the favourite, being sensible that his own safety depended on the downfall of his rival. As he earnestly sought all opportunities to compass his ends, there was one that soon offered, which he failed not to lay hold of. The



one of his counsellors. Henry, paying great attention to the advice of his new counsellor, called all his sheriffs, and those who had the management of the treasury, to a very strict account, and made Peter de Rivaulx\*, the bishop of Winchester's nephew, treasurer of his chamber. These alterations were followed by the disgrace of Hubert† the chief justiciary, and his creatures.

Segrave, the principal confidant of the bishop of Winchester, was promoted to the office of chief justiciary in the room of Hubert, notwithstanding the patent which had been granted him by the king, to hold that dignity during life. A few days after the expulsion of Hubert the king sent for him, and requested him to give an account of all the money that had passed through his hands; which, being a difficult matter, Hubert endeavoured to dissuade the king from his purpose. He produced king John's charter, wherein that prince declared he was so well satisfied of his faithfulness, that he discharged him from all accounts. The bishop of Winchester told him, that the discharge given by the late king could not exempt him from giving an account of his administration during the present reign. He also charged him with various other crimes, so that Hubert, whether conscious of his guilt, or whether he despaired of being able to vindicate his innocence before judges, several whereof were his professed enemies, instead of appearing to answer to the accusations, he took sanctuary in the priory of Merton, whence he hoped they would not dare to force him. The same year the parliament met at Lambeth, when a subsidy of the fortieth part of the moveable of the whole nation was granted to the king. The lords then requested, that Hubert de Burgh's trial might go on, and he was accordingly summoned to appear; but he positively refused! Hereupon the king, who was, says Rapin, of a violent temper, commanded the mayor of London to go and force him from his sanctuary, and bring him either dead or alive. The citizens of London very joyfully embraced this opportunity of being revenged of Hubert, against whom they had entertained a mortal hatred, ever since his severe proceedings against them in the affair of Constantine. They immediately flocked together to the number of twenty thousand, with a resolution to execute the king's orders without mercy. In the mean time, some of the chief citizens dreading the consequences of so rash an order, went and advised with the bishop of Winchester, who told them, that whatever might be the consequence, the king must be obeyed. But the remonstrances the earl of Chester made to the king himself, had

a better effect. He represented to him, that such tumultuous proceedings might be very dangerous, and raise in the city a sedition which would not be easily appeased. Moreover, he made him sensible, that so violent an action would be blamed by all the world, and especially by foreigners, who not being prejudiced like the English against the party accused, must needs think it very strange, that he should treat him in this manner, since other means were not wanting to punish him if he was guilty. Lastly, he put him in mind of the pope's resentment, who would never suffer the sacredness of the sanctuary to be violated with impunity. Henry, being prevailed upon by these reasons, sent a countermand to the mayor of London, who had enough to do to disperse the mob.

Of all the friends Hubert had in his prosperity, there was but one left that durst open his mouth in his behalf. This was the archbishop of Dublin, who, by his solicitations, obtained of the king, that he would grant Hubert some further time to prepare his answer. In the interim, Hubert coming out of his sanctuary, in order to visit his wife at St. Edmund's-Bury, the king, who had notice of it, caused him to be pursued by some soldiers, who found him in a small chapel at Brentwood in Essex, whither he had fled for refuge, with the cross in one hand, and the host in the other: both which being violently wrung from him, they chained his feet under his horse's belly, and in that ignominious manner conducted him to the Tower of London. All churches, as well as all that belonged to them, being in those days, so many sanctuaries, which could not be violated without punishment, the king's attempts alarmed the whole body of the clergy. The bishop of London was no sooner informed of the matter, but he went to the king, and declared he would excommunicate all those that directly or indirectly had any hand in the breach of the church's privileges. The king being terrified at these threats, ordered Hubert to be sent back again to the chapel from whence he had been taken: but at the same time he commanded the sheriffs of Herefordshire and Essex, upon pain of being hanged, to guard the church so strictly, that the prisoner might neither make his escape, nor receive victuals from any person. The archbishop of Dublin plainly perceiving that his friend could not long remain in this condition, interceded for him once more, and intreated the king, with tears in his eyes, to let him know what he designed to do with the prisoner. Henry replied, he intended to have him condemned for a traitor, unless he would own himself guilty, and abjure

\* This person, we are acquainted by Rapin, book VIII. was not the nephew, but the son of the bishop of Winchester.

† Whatever may have been the failings of Hubert, when exalted to the high office of chief justiciary, the justice and impartiality which ought to guide the pen of every historian, oblige us to acknowledge, that, while he remained in a private station, he acquitted himself with the greatest fidelity and honour. The same justice and candour forbid us to withhold from the reader the character of this great man, as given by various historians; but at the same time, we cannot but observe, that almost all ages have afforded melancholy proofs, that a man, who, in private life, may have deserved the love and esteem of his fellow subjects, when raised to the summit of power, has been so inebriated with authority, as to act in a manner the reverse to his natural sentiments, either from that weakness inherent to human nature, or from the desire of flattering the mistaken opinion of the master to whom he owed his exaltation, and from whom alone he could hope for a continuation of favour.

Hubert de Burgh was son to a brother of William Fitz Aldelme, who was steward of the household, and governor of Ireland, under Henry II. and from whom the great families of the Burghs, earl of Ulster and Clanricarde, are descended. He was early distinguished by his parts and judgement; being employed by king Richard, and sent by John on an embassy to treat of a marriage for him, with a daughter of the king of Portugal. In the third year of the latter's reign, being chamberlain of the household, he was constituted warden of the Marches of Wales; and, besides other profits, was made governor of Dover Castle. Normandy being soon after invaded by Philip Augustus, Hubert was made governor of Falaise,

the most important place in the lower parts of that country: it was in this command, that he gave one of the noblest proofs that could be given of a man's integrity, in refusing to execute John's orders for the murder of his nephew Arthur, then a prisoner in the castle. Being afterwards appointed governor of Chinon, in Touraine, he maintained that fortress for a year, after all the rest of the province had tamely submitted to Philip: nor was it taken by storm at last, till he had been dangerously wounded in the assault. When Lewis, the son of that victorious monarch, invaded England with a French army, supported by most of the nobility of this realm, and every thing fell before him, almost without opposition, it was Hubert, who by his gallant defence of Dover Castle, first put a stop to the progress of his arms; and saved the realm from being overrun by foreigners. It was by his influence in the cinque-ports that the English squadron was manned, that it destroyed Eustace the monk's fleet, coming with fresh succours to the assistance of Lewis; who, seeing all his hopes blasted by that disaster, was forced to depart the kingdom. There were services of the highest importance to his country; yet he did not acquire more glory by the bravery and capacity he shewed in his military commands, than he deserved the esteem of the world, by his justice and integrity in the civil posts which he filled, of chief justiciary, from about two years before the death of John; and of guardian of the realm from the decease of William, earl Marshal! asserting on all occasions, the rights of the crown, as well against the encroachments of the court of Rome, as against the usurpations of the most potent of the English nobility, who had seized on its castles and demesnes. See Matt. Paris. Dugdale's Baronage. Carte's Hist. of Eng. &c.



the kingdom for ever. This condition having appeared too hard for Hubert, he voluntarily yielded himself to the sheriffs, who carried him to the Tower fettered and chained, amidst the shouts of the people, who took a pleasure in insulting over his disgrace. But whilst he was anxiously expecting the rigorous sentence he was threatened with, his affairs began to have a new face by the fickle temper of the king, who could not for any time continue in the same mind. Two things contributed to this change: first, the death of the earl of Chester\*, professed enemy of Hubert, though he had disliked the illegal ways the king would have taken to destroy him. Secondly, a large sum of money which the prisoner had lodged in the hands of the knights templars, and which he readily delivered up to the king upon demanding it. Thus Hubert saw the king's anger cool by degrees, at the very time that he expected to feel the most terrible effects of his wrath. This sudden change alarmed the bishop of Winchester, who dreading the revival of the king's affection for his old minister, made a fresh attempt to complete the destruction of this formidable rival. He took occasion from the money, lodged with the templars, to accuse him of fraud and rapine; alledging, it was impossible for him to heap up such immense riches by lawful means. This charge was backed by all Hubert's adversaries, who, finding the king began to relent, came in a body and urged that he might be put to death. But the king resolutely made answer, that he would never consent to the death of a person, from whom he himself and the king his father had received such signal services. He dropped, therefore, his prosecution, and leaving him in possession of his estate of inheritance, and of such lands as he had purchased with his own money, was contented with depriving him of the rest. As soon as it was known how the king stood affected, some of the lords†, who till then had not dared to speak for Hubert, solicited the king in his behalf, and so far prevailed upon him, that he was sent to the castle of the Devizes, till it should please the king to dispose of him otherwise. Thus ended this affair, which had made so much noise, to the great sorrow of the bishop of Winchester, who had been in hopes that Hubert would not have been able to come off without the loss of his head.

John Bland, professor of divinity at Oxford, being elected archbishop of Canterbury, forthwith set out for Rome with the king's license, in order to obtain the pope's confirmation. This was the fourth time of electing an archbishop.

The bishop of Winchester, in 1233, imagining that he should carry every thing according to his inclination, formed the project of governing the kingdom with an absolute sway. In order the more readily to accomplish his design, he invited upwards of two thousand Gascon and Poitevin knights to England. These people, on their arrival, were promoted to advantageous posts; and the king committed the guardianship of the young nobility to them. By this means, these foreigners procured for one another, such matches as greatly enhanced their own fortunes, while they impoverished the noble families of this country. The introduction of these foreigners into the kingdom, highly exasperated the barons, who dreading the consequences made heavy complaints; but to little purpose. Shortly after, Richard earl of Pembroke, openly complained of these proceedings. He represented to the king, that by placing his whole confidence in strangers, he alienated the affections of his subjects, and that it was not possible but their discontents would be attended with fatal consequences. He told him, that if he continued to give the preference to foreigners before the English, the barons would be forced to find means to rid the kingdom of these blood-suckers. The prime minister, who was present,

without giving the king time to reply, told the earl, that his insolence deserved correction, in thus pretending to abridge the king of the liberty of employing whom he thought most proper for the defence of his crown; adding, that if the foreigners, which were already in the kingdom, were not sufficient to reduce his rebellious subjects to due obedience, a greater number should be called in. This haughty answer, caused a general discontent among the barons, and they began to withdraw from court. They soon after formed a confederacy, in order to put a stop to the despotic power the king was assuming, by the violent counsels of his minister the bishop.

Some time after, the king summoned the barons to come to a parliament at Oxford, pursuant to a resolution they had taken among themselves, but they refused to meet. They were summoned also to meet in parliament at Westminster. At length, having been informed that a fresh troop of foreigners were landed in England, in order to strengthen the court-party, they met together in a body, to consult on the best mode to secure their safety, against the intrigues of the minister. The result of their consultation was to send deputies to the king, to acquaint him, that if he did not remove from his person and councils, the bishop of Winchester and the Poitevins, they were resolved to place on the throne, a prince who should better observe the laws of the realm. This formal declaration, furnished the prime minister with a plausible pretence to exasperate the king against the barons; he omitted nothing that might inspire him with a resolution to put the measures in practice, in order to reduce them to obedience. Henry, giving himself up to the guidance of the bishop, began, by his advice, with compelling some of the lords to deliver to him their children as pledges of their allegiance: he then prepared to prosecute by arms, those who refused to submit. When he thought himself in a condition to make himself dreaded he summoned a parliament to meet at London, with design to procure the condemnation of the most stubborn. The barons, indeed obeyed the summons, but came so well attended, that they had nothing to fear. The earl of Pembroke was on the road, in order to be present with the rest, being persuaded that it was not in the king's power to get any thing passed to his prejudice: but upon notice that the court designed to go a speedier and surer way to work with him, he turned back and retired into Wales. The precautions the barons had taken having broken the king's measures, he prorogued the parliament, through fear that the mischief he had projected might fall on his own head. He now resolved to act with open force; and to that end, he summoned all the vassals of the crown to meet him with their troops at Gloucester; but the earl of Pembroke, and some others, did not think fit to appear. Their refusal furnished him with a plausible reason to attack them; he ordered their estates to be plundered, their parks to be destroyed, their houses to be pillaged, and their spoils to be distributed among the Poitevins. Dissentions arising among the barons, caused some of them to break the confederacy, and the rest were left exposed to the king's resentment. The earl of Pembroke perceiving he was too weak to make head, after being thus deserted by the greatest part of his associates, applied to Llewellyn prince of Wales, who granted him protection and assistance.

Henry having received a fresh recruit of Poitevin troops, marched as far as Hereford, with a design to seize the castles belonging to the earl of Pembroke in that county; but the resistance he met with from the first castle he besieged, convinced him that he was spending his time in vain before the castle. He, however, obtained possession of the strong hold by stratagem and

\* He died at Wallingford Castle without issue, and was succeeded in the earldom of Chester by his nephew John, son to earl David, brother of the king of Scotland.

† Richard earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, William earl of Warren, Richard earl Marshal, and William earl of Ferrars, became sureties for his good behaviour.

treachery.



treachery. He seemed desirous to refer the decision of his quarrel with the barons, to the parliament, which was to meet in October; and engaged his royal word, that he would consider of their complaints. As his past conduct had rendered his word doubtful, some of the bishops had become sureties for the performance of his promise. He required that the castle he was besieging should be put into his hands, promising to surrender it again to the earl of Pembroke, within fifteen days. These conditions being approved of, the castle was delivered up to the king: but when the fifteen days were expired, he laughed at the earl's easiness, and refused to stand to his engagement. The parliament met accordingly on the 9th of October, when the king was earnestly intreated by all the lords, to replace his confidence in his own native subjects. They told him, that the administration of the public affairs, belonged more naturally to the peers of the realm than to foreigners; and that he could not prefer strangers without doing manifest injustice to his barons. They also besought him not to introduce the pernicious custom of treating as rebels and traitors, whose who were not legally condemned. The bishop of Winchester replied in a manner, which plainly showed what diabolical maxims he had instilled into the mind of the young king. He told them, that the peers of England were on a different footing with those of France; and that it was a notorious incroachment upon the royal prerogative, to pretend to deprive the king of the right of making use of what judges he pleased, to punish such persons as should presume to disobey his orders. Hereupon, the bishops stood up and threatened the prelate with excommunication: but he despised their menaces, affirming, he was not subject to their jurisdiction, as having been consecrated by the pope: but lest this reason should not be thought weighty enough, he appealed before-hand to his holiness, against whatever the bishops should do\*. In the interim, the earl of Pembroke finding that all his instances for the restitution of the castle were to no purpose, laid siege to it, and became master of it in a few days. The king being made acquainted with the earl's having obtained possession of his castle, fell into a violent rage against the earl, and commanded the bishops to pronounce him excommunicated: but he had the mortification to be denied. Hereupon, the king resolved to take arms again, in order to revenge the affront he had just received. With this view he summoned all the lords to meet him at Gloucester with their troops, immediately after All-Saints day. As soon as his army was ready, he marched into Wales; but he soon found himself in extreme want of provisions and forage, the earl of Pembroke having laid waste all the places through which the royal army was to pass. This disappointment obliged him to alter his course: he entered Monmouthshire, where he staid some time to give orders about the subsistence of his army. In the interim, the earl of Pembroke, understanding that the king and most of the general officers were lodged in the castle of Grolimont, whilst the army was quartered without tents, attacked the camp by night, and put the whole army to the rout†. The king was so confounded by this accident, that, although his army was superior to the earl's, he retired to Gloucester. The earl of Pembroke, upon the king's retreat, resolved to besiege the castle of Monmouth‡. The governor of that castle did not doubt but the earl would approach the castle with a small number of soldiers to take a view of it,

\* Here we may observe, that appeals to the court of Rome were so sacred at that time, that the bishops did not dare to excommunicate the bishop of Winchester by name, and therefore they were contented to dart their thunders in general, against all those who alienated the king's affections from his natural subjects.

† The earl of Pembroke took almost all the king's baggage, but would not suffer any of his soldiers to be taken or hurt, by which means, only two, and they by their own fault, fell by the sword. M. Paris.

and therefore laid an ambush for him, and, having surrounded him suddenly, took him prisoner. Whilst they were conducting him to the castle, Baldwin was desperately wounded by an arrow. The wound was so bad, that his people were obliged to halt in order to assist him; and the earl's army had not only time to rescue their general, but likewise to destroy or take prisoners all that came out of the town.

During these transactions, Hubert de Burgh received information that his life was in danger; therefore, to prevent the ruin which seemed to sit brooding over his head, he made his escape from the castle of the Devizes, and took refuge in a neighbouring church. The governor ordered him to be pursued by some of the garrison, who having found him before the altar, dragged him thence with great violence, and brought him back to the castle. As this was a breach of the privilege of sanctuary, it appeared to the clergy of so dangerous a consequence, that the bishop of Salisbury made it his own cause, because the violation had been committed in a church within his diocese. He instantly repaired to the Devizes, and endeavoured to persuade the governor to send back the prisoner to the place from whence he had been taken. As his solicitations were ineffectual, he excommunicated the whole garrison, and immediately carried his complaints to the king. He was backed by the bishop of London, and some other prelates, so that the king ordered the prisoner to be sent back to his sanctuary; but the king, in order to be revenged, commanded the sheriff of the county to prevent any one from carrying him victuals. He was, however, rescued the day after, by a troop of armed men, who afforded him means to make his escape into Wales, where he joined the earl of Pembroke.

The election of John Bland to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, not meeting with approbation at Rome, the pope declared it void. This was the fourth time that the pope had chosen to annul the election of archbishop: but lest the monks should mistake him once more, he gave them leave to chuse Edmund, canon of Salisbury. Thus by degrees the popes became masters of the elections of the archbishops of Canterbury, by annulling them, till such time as one to their mind should be chosen.

In the beginning of the year 1234, the earl of Pembroke defeated a small army commanded by John de Monmouth, and ravaged the lands of the king's counsellors lying on the borders of Wales; he also burnt the town of Shrewsbury. The king, who was still at Gloucester, during these transactions, thought his forces not sufficiently powerful to take the field. He was so far from opposing the earl's progress, that he even thought himself unsafe at Gloucester, and for that reason shut himself up in Winchester, leaving the counties about the Severn to the mercy of the enemy. Several bishops and others, advised him to make peace with the earl: but Henry still directed and advised by the bishop of Winchester, refused to hearken to any terms of accommodation, unless the earl of Pembroke would throw himself at his feet, with an halter about his neck, say Matthew Paris, and acknowledge himself a traitor. It may easily be imagined, that the prosperous earl would not submit to these harsh and degrading terms. However, the earl soon after went into Ireland, where the king's party were ravaging his estates, in order to secure them. Here he was treacherously murdered by a contrivance of the bishop of Winchester§.

† The castle of Monmouth was under the government of Baldwin de Guines, a Flemish officer of great reputation and merit.

§ Rapin speaking of the submission which Henry required the earl of Pembroke to make, tells us, that "the bishop of Winchester had an after-game to play, which he did not think fit to acquaint the king with. As the council consisted of none but his creatures, it was no hard matter for him to engage them to join in the means he made use of, to bring about his designs. He caused to be directed to the king's officers in Ireland,



Soon after the diabolical scheme was put in practice, which caused the earl of Pembroke's death, the archbishop of Canterbury represented to the king, that unless he would immediately remove the bishop of Winchester and the foreigners, who had become so odious in the eyes of all his subjects, from his court and councils, he would find, that these pretended friends, would one day prove the cause of his ruin. The king listened with great attention to the pressing exhortations of the archbishop; and believing the arguments made use of by that prelate to be founded in truth, he ordered the bishop of Winchester to return to his diocese. After which Peter de Rivaulx, high treasurer; Segrave, chief justiciary; Robert de Passalew, and the rest of the favourite strangers, whom the bishop of Winchester had promoted to the principal posts in the state, were ejected, and ordered to prepare to give an account of their management, and of all the money that had passed through their hands. The court being thus settled, the king sent the archbishop of Canterbury, together with the bishops of Chester and Rochester, into Wales, to treat with Llewellyn about a peace, which they happily concluded. Soon after the conclusion of peace, the king was informed of the bishop of Winchester's treachery to the late earl of Pembroke; and declaring he knew nothing of the charter which that prelate sent into Ireland, he grieved for the death of the earl of Pembroke, and became greatly incensed against his old ministers.

The old ministers being now cited to give in their answers to the charges brought against them, chose rather to take sanctuary in churches, under pretence they had

reason to be apprehensive of some violence from their enemies. The aim of the new ministers being to convince the king of the unfaithfulness of the old ones, they removed the pretence they made use of not to appear, by granting them a safe-conduct.

On the expiration of the truce between Bretagne and France, the king of France invaded Bretagne, and king Henry neglecting to send the necessary succours, the earl, Peter Mauclerc, *i. e.* Bad Scholar\*, was under the necessity of surrendering his dominions to Lewis, after which he turned pirate.

In the beginning of the next year, 1235, Segrave and Passalew, the king's old ministers, found means to make their peace by a present of a thousand marks each, for which they were discharged from further prosecution. Shortly after was solemnized the marriage of Isabella, the king's sister, with the emperor Frederic II. Though it was not customary to grant the king a subsidy for the marriage of a younger sister, the parliament was so well satisfied with what he had lately done, that they granted him two marks on every plough-land. This year the pope sent for the bishop of Winchester to Rome, in order to screen him from the king's prosecutions.

On the 10th of January, 1236, king Henry married Eleanor, second daughter to Raymond, earl of Provence. The nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence and rejoicings. The solemnity of the wedding and coronation † of the new queen being over, the king called a parliament at Merton, where divers statutes were enacted, which remained a long time in force, but are now, for the most part, repealed ‡.

In

Ireland, an order signed by twelve privy-counsellors, to plunder the estates of the earl of Pembroke, and to take him dead or alive if he should come into that country. To this order was subjoined a promise in the king's name, of giving them the confiscated lands the earl held in Ireland, if they would faithfully execute what was enjoined them. The governors of Ireland, allured by so fine a bait, promised to use their utmost endeavours, to content the king. But they wished to have beforehand, a charter in form, that they might be secured of what had been promised them. The bishop having gone too far to draw back, caused a charter to be drawn up, and found means to get it signed by the king among other papers of very little moment. Which done, he had the seal affixed to it by the chancellor, who, in all appearance, was in the plot. [*M. Paris says, they stole the seal from Ralph, bishop of Chichester, the chancellor.*] As soon as the Irish governors had received this charter, they set about executing the order. To that purpose they levied an army on some pretence, and entering the lands of the earl of Pembroke, committed great outrages, in order to draw him into Ireland. This artifice had all the success the bishop of Winchester had promised himself. Pembroke, exasperated at the injuries done him in Ireland, immediately repaired thither, with design to take vengeance of those who attacked him thus of their own accord. But instead of being revenged, he was basely betrayed by those who pretended to be his friends; they engaged him in a battle, wherein he lost his life by a stab in the back with a dagger." Vide Rapin, book VIII.

\* It is thus he is styled by the historians of Bretagne: for though he had studied at the university of Paris, yet it seems he had made no progress in the study of politics.

† Matthew Paris has given us a very particular description of the coronation, and what each person performed in their respective functions, among which is this remarkable passage, that the earl of Chester, (as lord high constable) carried the sword of St. Edward, called *coronator*, before the king, in token that he is earl of the palace, and hath by right a power of restraining the king if he should act amiss. M. Paris under the year 1235.

‡ M. Paris says, the same day after the coronation, the king went from London to Merton, a monastery in Surrey, where he met his great men, and enacted the provisions of Merton, which are the most ancient body of laws after *Magna Charta*, and divided into eleven articles or chapters. As these statutes are not in the possession of all our readers, we shall here present an analysis of them:

#### Analysis of the STATUTES of MERTON.

THE introduction, or title, of these statutes, and their contents, are as follow: "It is provided in the court of our sovereign lord the king, holden at Merton, on Wednesday, the No. XVII.

morrow after the feast of St. Vincent, in the twentieth year of the reign of king Henry, the son of king John, before William, archbishop of Canterbury, and others his bishops and suffragans, and before the greater part of the earls and barons of England there; being assembled for the coronation of the said king, Eleanor the queen, about which they were all called; where it was treated for the commonwealth of the realm, upon the articles underwritten, *viz.* thus it was provided and granted, as well of the aforesaid archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons, as of the king himself and others."

The 1st of which ordains, what damages widows shall recover, after the death of their husbands, from such as have deforced them of their dowers, that is to say, the value of the whole dower to them belonging, from the time of the death of their husbands, to the day of the judgement obtained in the king's court for the same; and the deforcers withal to be amerced for the same, at the king's pleasure.

The 2d grants widows a power to bequeath the crop on the ground, as well of their dowers, as of their other lands and tenements.

The 3d appoints how to proceed in disseisins that have redisseised those who have recovered seisin or possession from them by assize of *novel disseisin*, to wit; that the persons thereof convicted, shall be forthwith taken and kept in the king's prison, and not be discharged, but by fine or some other means. And the plaintiff shall farther have the king's writ directed to the sheriff, containing the plaint of disseisin done upon disseisin; upon receipt of which, he shall take with him the keepers of the pleas of the crown, and other lawful knights, and in his proper person shall go unto the said land, &c. and if, by the inquisition of the jurors, and other neighbours, they find him again disseised, the sheriff shall then deliver him the seisin or possession; and if it be found otherwise, the plaintiff shall be amerced, and the other go quiet. And in the same manner shall be done to them that have recovered their seisin by assize of *mort d'ancestor*, and so it shall be of all lands and tenements recovered in the king's court by inquests, if they be afterwards disseised by the first deforcers, against whom they have before recovered by inquest.

The 4th ordains, that the lords of manors may make profit of the residue of the manors, as of their wastes, woods, and pastures, provided their scottees and free tenants have sufficient pasture, with free egress and regress from their land unto the pasture, so much as belongeth to their tenements; and if they alledge they have not sufficient pasture, according to their holdings, then the truth is to be enquired into by an assize, &c.

The 5th provides, that from henceforth usury shall not turn against any one under age, from the time of the death of his ancestor, (whose heir he is) until his lawful age.—This law is either obsolete or repealed.

The 6th appoints the penalties for ravishment of a ward from



In the spring of this year a parliament was held at London, where the discontents of the nobility upon the promotion of a new favourite, were made known to the king. The new favourite was William of Provence, bishop of Valence; he was the queen's uncle, but in order to satisfy the barons, the king removed several sheriffs who had abused their authority, and substituted others in their places. The prince his brother, having complained of one Richard Sward for having shown him some disrespect, obtained that Sward should be banished the realm for his insolence. The king having a desire to remove the bishop of Chichester from the chancellorship, in which office he had behaved unblameably, took this opportunity to desire him to resign that dignity, but had the mortification to be refused. The chancellor, to justify his refusal, affirmed, "That he had been entrusted with that office by the parliament, and therefore could not quit it but by the same authority."

This year the emperor demanded the empress's portion, which had not yet been paid. Such was the fickleness of the king's temper, that suddenly, when there seemed to be least reason to expect any such thing, he recalled to court Stephen Segrave and Peter de Rivaulx, whom a little before he had prosecuted for their misdemeanors. These pernicious ministers were hardly restored to their posts, but the ill effects of their counsels on the mind of the king were visible to all. In a parliament held in June at Winchester, Henry, by virtue of a bull from Rome, would have annulled all the grants he had made during his minority, because they wanted the pope's confirmation. But the parliament refused to consent to the revoking of the grants, chiefly on account of the bull, which the king built his design upon.

This year the king made a dishonourable peace with the king of Scotland, who demanded the county of Northumberland with such haughtiness, that any other

prince would have repulsed him with scorn. But how unjust soever his pretensions seemed to be, Henry purchased peace with the yearly pension of eighty marks, which he settled on the king of Scotland\*.

In the year 1237, Henry summoned a parliament at London, and pretended to condemn his past conduct, in order to obtain a subsidy; but not being able to succeed by this means, he promised to cause the two charters to be observed, and even ordered the execration denounced formerly by cardinal Langton against such as should break them, to be published in all the churches. He then chose the earl of Warren, William Ferrars, and John Geoffrey, who were much regarded by the nobility and commonalty, for his privy counsellors and advisers. These swore, they would never be corrupted by gifts to deviate from truth, but would always give the king good and wholesome advice. On these accounts the parliament granted him the subsidy required; but the conditions on which they granted the subsidy were not very pleasing to him. First, they ordered, that for the time to come, he should reject the counsels of foreigners, and adhere to the advice of his subjects; and secondly, that four knights should be chosen in every county, to collect and secure the money in some monastery, that it might be restored to every one again, in case the king should not be as good as his word. Notwithstanding this precaution, the subsidy was no sooner raised, but the king seized it and squandered it away in useless expences, even in presents to his favourite foreigners, who continued in his council as before. Hereupon Richard the king's brother expostulated with him; but his remonstrances were to no purpose, Henry still retaining a greater relish for the counsels of foreigners, than for the advice of Englishmen. Among those that had the greatest ascendancy over the king, history particularly mentions Simon de Montfort†.

This year Llewellyn, prince of Wales, grown old and infirm,

from his lord's custody, and for the disappointment of the lord by his ward's marrying himself without his consent also.

The 7th provides, that the ward shall pay, at his full age, to his lord, the value of his marriage, in case he refuse the party whom his lord requires him to marry.

The 8th contains several limitations of prescription, relating to the dates of divers writs, now obsolete.

The 9th declares, that he is a bastard who is born before the marriage of his parents. But to the king's writ of bastardy, whether one born before matrimony may inherit in like manner, as he that is born after matrimony; all the bishops answered, "That they would not, neither could, answer to it, because it was directly against the common order of the church." And all the bishops were urgent with the lords, that they would consent, that all such as were born before matrimony, might claim as to the succession of inheritance, for so much as the church accepteth such for legitimate. But all the earls and barons, with one voice, answered, "That they would not consent, that the laws of the realm should be changed (*nolumus leges Anglæ mutari*) which hitherto had been used and approved of."

The 10th provides and grants, that every freeman, who oweth suit to the county, tything, hundred, and wapentake, or to the court of his lord, may freely make his attorney to do those suits for him.

\* It is reported, that he took a journey to York on purpose to negotiate this dishonourable treaty, pretending that he was apprehensive the Scots would enter into a league with the Welsh. He pretended likewise that Gilbert Marshal, earl of Pembroke, who had succeeded his brother Richard, and married the king of Scotland's sister, would embrace this opportunity to raise commotions in the kingdom, and disturb the public peace.

† "As soon as they were met, says Rapin, a certain priest, famed for eloquence, told the lords, he was commanded to lay before them the occasion of their being assembled. After a short pause, he added, that the king having seriously reflected on the abuses which had crept into the government, was extremely concerned at his having contributed towards them by his carelessness and ill-conduct: that he acknowledged, with grief, that he had made use of such imprudent and selfish ministers, who never having had in view the good of the kingdom, to which they were strangers, had drawn him in by their pernicious counsels, to do things contrary to the laws and customs of the realm: that to make amends, as far as was possible, for

the evils which his own indiscretion, and the unfaithfulness of his ministers had occasioned, he was determined to be guided no longer by the advice of foreigners, but to put the administration of the public affairs into the hands of his native subjects: that he was persuaded, they would labour to the utmost of their power to prevent the oppression of the people, to cause justice and the laws to flourish, and to restore the crown to its former lustre. After having laid these foundations, the orator continued, that the king desired his parliament to consider, that the mismanagements of his treasury, and the debts he had contracted, were not the least of the misdemeanors his ministry might be charged with: that he hoped they would begin with applying a remedy to this, upon his assuring them, he would consent to any expedients they should propose to redress the other abuses: that therefore he required of them an aid proportioned to his present occasions; and that they might see he was in earnest, he consented beforehand, that they should appoint commissioners to take care that the subsidy they should grant him, be disposed of for the necessary uses of the kingdom. If Henry had not been so well known, this harangue might have had a sudden effect on the parliament. But as they were but too sensible to what a height he could carry his dissimulation, all these submissive expressions were not able to move them. They replied, that they had often granted subsidies to the king, without having ever received any reciprocal mark of his affection; that since his accession to the crown, his dominions were considerably lessened, though he had frequently exacted from his subjects very large sums, which had been employed only in enriching foreigners. To this vigorous reply, the king made answer, that his own and his sister's marriage had entirely exhausted his treasure; but if they would grant him a thirtieth (a thirtieth, according to Mat. Paris) part of their moveables, he promised them upon his honour, he would never injure or oppress any baron of the realm. The lords were not prevailed upon by this promise, which seemed to them of little moment, since they could not rely upon the king's word. And therefore they replied, that they had already granted the king a subsidy for the marriage of the empress, but that he had diverted it to other uses; and that since he had married without asking their advice, he might defray the expences of his wedding in the way he thought best."

† This Simon de Montfort was son to the famous earl of Montfort, general of the Crusade against the Albigenses. For some disgust he quitted the court of France in order to make his fortune in England, and so conformed himself to the king's humour,



infirm, and finding himself persecuted by Griffin his son, put himself under the protection of the king of England, and did homage to Henry for his dominions. This proceeding was so much the more extraordinary as he himself, as well as his ancestors, had constantly exerted their utmost endeavours to prevent the acknowledging the sovereignty of the English. If force of arms had at any time compelled them to it, they had always been ready to disown their submission, whenever a favourable opportunity offered. This year also, Otho, legate from the pope arrived in England. His aim, in conjunction with the king, was to drain the churches of their valuables. But this was not all; he designed to visit Scotland; and at an interview \* of the kings of England and Scotland at York, the legate found occasion to be there. He told the king of Scotland, that he designed to enter his country, with a view to regulate the affairs of the church. Alexander replied, that he had never heard of any legate sent into Scotland; that there was still less occasion for one in his reign; and that, in a word, he would not allow such an innovation as long as he sat on the throne. He also added, that if notwithstanding this declaration, he should persist in his design, he gave him warning beforehand, that he was not absolute master of his own subjects, and that perhaps it would not be in his power to protect him, if the people, fierce and ungovernable, should fail in their respect due to the legate of the pope. On account of this last particular perhaps the legate altered his mind, and staid with the king of England, whom he found much more tractable and easy to be overcome.

John le Scot, earl of Chester, dying this year † without issue, the king annexed that earldom to the crown. This earldom enjoyed very great privileges, and paid in money to the earl's sisters what they were to receive from thence, or allowed it out of other lands.

Simon de Montfort being greatly in favour at court, ventured to cast his eyes amourosly on the countess dowager of Pembroke, sister to the king, and they were privately married in the king's chapel, in the beginning of 1238. Prince Richard was extremely incensed at this marriage. He complained to the king, and boldly remonstrated with him on the impropriety of giving his sister to a younger brother, of inferior rank, and whose fortune was no way adequate to the dignity of a royal family. The king excused himself in the best manner he could, and Montfort, perceiving that prince Richard was highly exasperated against him, and fearing he would endeavour to get his marriage annulled, took a journey to Rome, where he found means to procure the pope's confirmation.

The barons, besides their discontent on account of the credit which the foreigners still held in the court of Henry, were displeased at the marriage just mentioned; and therefore they unanimously complained, that the

king had violated his promises, and that all the money which he had exacted from his people on divers pretences, was employed only in enriching the queen's relations. As the barons believed that prince Richard had the interest of the public at heart, they thought that, under such a leader, it would not be impossible to obtain of the king the satisfaction they required, especially with regard to the foreigners. In this belief they entered into a confederacy, and having the prince at their head, sent the king word, that they desired him to call to mind what he had promised them. This confederacy, says Rapin, the consequences whereof Henry dreaded, caused him to put on a seeming moderation, as he usually did when he found himself hard pressed. Far from showing any resentment, as they expected, he appointed a day to give them a favourable answer. But as they had been deceived more than once, they were resolved not to be imposed upon by this outward mildness. Persuaded as they were, that the king sought only to amuse them, they came to London on the day appointed, attended with great numbers of armed men, resolutely bent upon any attempt. Whereupon the king was forced to comply; and commissioners were chosen both on the side of the king and on that of the barons, who drew up certain articles, to which the king was to conform himself for the future, in the government of the kingdom. These regulations were signed by the king and the barons, and confirmed by Otho the pope's legate ‡, who in all public affairs always endeavoured to interpose his master's authority.

The death of the bishop of Winchester, which happened during these transactions, gave the king an opportunity of recommending the bishop of Valence his brother-in-law, to the monks, who were the electors. But this recommendation proved in vain, as they made choice of the bishop of Chichester, high chancellor of England. Hereupon Henry was displeased, and sent ambassadors to the pope, who, after making some submission in their master's name, caused his holiness to annul the election of the bishop of Chichester.

This year also a plan was laid to destroy the king's life. A villain pretending to be mad, got into his chamber by night, with design to dispatch him; but being disappointed by the king's passing that night in the queen's apartment, he was taken and punished according to his desert. Before he died, he declared that William de Maris was the author of the conspiracy, in which several others were engaged. However, either out of carelessness, or some other reason, no inquiry was made into the matter.

The year 1239 began with the disgrace of Gilbert, earl of Pembroke§, which happened thus: Gilbert, who imagined he was in the king's good graces, was very much surprized, when one day as he came to wait upon him, he was, contrary to custom, denied entrance.

humour, that few were in greater favour. He will be often mentioned in the sequel of this reign, under the title of earl of Leicester.

\* During this interview, the king of Scotland, according to the record, (Rot. Pat. at H. III. M. 8.) appears to have augmented the stipend allowed by Henry to 200*l.* per annum, out of Cumberland and Northumberland.

† About the same time Henry received a letter from the emperor Frederic, informing him of the birth of a son by Isabella his wife, to whom he had given the name of Henry; in which he informed the king, that he designed the kingdom of Sicily for the new-born prince.

‡ This legate went to Oxford about some ecclesiastical affairs, but met not with the same respect he was treated with at court. Though the university in a body had received him with the deference due to his character, the insolence of some of his domestics was the occasion, that some of the scholars lost the respect which they owed him. Some young students went to his lodgings, and were repulsed by the porter in so rude a manner, that they were very much out of humour. Whilst they were in the house, some of them going into the kitchen, found a poor Irish scholar begging for some relief of the cook, who, instead of an alms, threw a ladle-full of boiling water in his face. This barbarous action provoked a Welsh student,

who was witness to it, to such a degree, that having a bow in his hand, he shot the cook dead on the spot with an arrow. The legate hearing of the tumult, retired in a fright into the tower of the church, where he kept himself shut up till night, dreading that the insolence of the scholars might reach his person. As soon as he thought he might go off with safety, he hastened to the king, and complained of this outrage, laying it to the charge of the whole university, which he had already put under an interdict. The king appeared extremely enraged at the insult done the legate and to give him satisfaction, forthwith sent the earl of Warren to Oxford, with orders to seize the most guilty. This business, which at first made a great noise, was at length hushed by the mediation of the bishops, who prevailed with the university to make all the submissions he required. The legate obliged all the scholars to meet at St. Paul's church, (above a mile from his lodgings) and go on foot to the bishop of Carlisle's house, and there putting off their caps, gowns, and shoes, to go to the legate's house, and humbly crave pardon and absolution.

§ We should here take notice, that Henry, after having persecuted the earl of Pembroke, restored Gilbert his brother to the office of grand marshal, together with his brother's inheritance by the intercession of the archbishop, as appears from the king's letter to Llewellyn still extant.



He complained of it to the king himself, by one of his friends, who besought him to let him know the reason, why such an affront was offered to a lord of such distinction as the earl of Pembroke. Henry replied, it was because Richard, brother to the earl, had been a traitor, and had continued in his treason till the time of his death; and therefore he repented of having invested him with the office of marshal, the which however he could deprive him of whenever he pleased. This answer obliged the earl to withdraw from court, and retire into the north of England, to secure himself from the plots of his enemies, who had stirred up the king to take counsel against him. Such was the fickleness of Henry. Another instance of this prince's fickleness is this: so far was he from having repented the affront Simon de Montfort had done the royal family, that he had continued him in favour as before, and at last made him earl of Leicester. And yet a few days after, having given him this fresh mark of his esteem, he publicly charged him with debauching his sister, and bribing the pope to confirm his marriage. This accusation, says Rapin, could never be more out of season, since the time to inquire into this matter was elapsed: and besides, he had caused the wedding to be celebrated in his presence, and in his own chapel. The earl, dreading the effects of his resentment, departed that very day with his lady for France, where he remained till the king's displeasure had subsided.

This same year prince Edward was born, who in process of time succeeded his father, and proved one of the most illustrious monarchs that ever swayed the English sceptre, as the transactions of his reign will sufficiently evince; to which we refer the reader.

Otho, the pope's legate, having committed so many exactions, entirely exhausted the patience of the bishops. He demanded a fresh subsidy of them, but had the mortification to be denied; they told him, that they were determined to endure his oppressions no longer; and to prevent any further solicitations, they broke up immediately. This peremptory denial had no other effect on the legate, but to cause him to turn to the religious houses, who were not unwilling to furnish what the bishops had refused. The legate then made a fresh attempt upon Scotland; but was denied entrance by the king of that country. This opposition, which however he had reason to expect, so highly offended him, that in his passion he threatened Alexander, who answered him in a louder tone, and let him see that he did not value his threats. They would have come to a quarrel, if the English lords had not interposed to make up the difference. They prevailed at length with the king of Scotland, though not without great difficulty, to give the legate leave for once to enter into his kingdom. But Alexander would not agree to it, unless the legate would acknowledge under his hand and seal, that it was merely out of condescension for his person, and that this should not be drawn into a precedent. All obstacles being removed, the legate went to Edinburgh, where he exacted some money from the Scotch clergy, which was the sole end of his journey.

Henry having occasion of more money, thought it necessary to exact a little from somebody: and therefore he prosecuted Hubert de Burgh afresh for the same crimes he had been charged with before, and which were thought to be entirely forgotten. This cause was solemnly tried before an assembly of the barons, where it is said, he vindicated his innocence by incontestable proofs. He had reason, however, to dread a sentence which the king was soliciting against him, and therefore

he thought it would be a wiser way to compound matters with him, and not to wait for the decision of the judges. Accordingly, he resigned into the hands of the king four of his best estates\*, in consideration of which, Henry was mean enough to drop the prosecution.

In the year 1240, the king and the pope sought fresh measures to oppress the people by exactions. These extortions were carried to that height, that one cannot help being surprized, that the English should bear them with patience, especially under a king so weak as Henry and destitute of all assistance, except from the court of Rome. The bishops loudly complained, that the king kept for his own use all the vacant benefices; and that he obstructed all elections, till such were chosen as he had a mind should be so; they even proceeded to excommunicate the authors of these pernicious counsels. Henry paid no attention to their complaints, being sure of the pope's protection. When the emperor sent ambassadors to complain of his having caused the sentence of excommunication to be published against him, he most shamefully answered, that being vassal to the pope, he could not dispense with obeying him. In the mean time the legate continued his exactions. The pope next demanded a fifth part of all the goods and chattels of the English clergy; but finding the bishops had no inclination to pay the pope's exorbitant exaction, the legate was content with the fifth part of their rents only. The archbishop of Canterbury was so displeased at this exaction, that he retired to the monastery of Pontignac, where he died. He was canonized by the council of Lyons some years after his death. Soon after the archbishop's decease the pope sent his nuncio into England, in order to prefer three hundred Italians to all the vacant benefices. The nuncio's orders were also to exact money from the monasteries and abbeys.

To bring about his designs, the nuncio went to all the religious houses, and tried, by promises and threats, to engage each abbot in particular to assist the pope in his pressing necessities; he told them, that various abbots had promised large sums, and that it would be of ill consequence, not to follow so good an example. After he had persuaded some to give notes for the payment of certain sums, he made use of their notes to induce the rest to the same compliance, enjoining secrecy to them all, on pain of excommunication. But the abbots of St. Edmundsbury and Battle thought these proceedings so strange and arbitrary, that they complained of them to the king even before the legate's face. Henry, far from giving ear to these just complaints, received them with frowns, and even offered the legate one of his castles to imprison them. The legate not succeeding, he demanded a fresh subsidy, which the clergy also denied.

Whilst the clergy were thus exposed to the avarice of the court of Rome, the king sent itinerant justices into all the counties, under pretence of redressing grievances, and easing the people; but they were not long before they perceived, that this was only a pretence contrived to oppress several private persons, by fines and confiscations, which brought in considerable sums to Henry's treasury. This oppression caused loud murmurs amongst the English, who found themselves exposed at the same time to the tyranny of the ecclesiastical and civil power. This year also, through the unaccountable fickleness of his temper, the king recalled the earls of Leicester and Pembroke, and received them into favour again. Towards the latter end of the same year, the earl of Flanders came to London, and did homage to the king for a pension of five hundred marks, which was annually paid him†.

\* These were, according to Mat. Paris, four of his strongest castles, viz. Blanch-Castle, Grosmond in Wales, Serene-frith, and Hatfield.

† There are some who question, whether it was customary in those days to grant pensions in fee, on condition of some military service, and of homage. But this evidently appears, from several agreements made between the kings of England and divers foreign princes, the tenor of which is to be seen in

the collection of Public Acts. See Act. Pub. T. I. p. 1, 4, 22, 27, 168, &c. The first volume begins with an agreement, dated 17. 1101. between Henry I. and Robert, earl of Flanders, whereby the king binds himself to pay the earl four hundred marks per ann. in fee, on condition of his sending the king five hundred horse, when he should want them. Rymer observes, that this act is a more ancient proof than any the French can produce, that the earls of Flanders were vassals to their kings.



In the beginning of the year 1241, Otho the legate was recalled by an express order\*. The death of Gregory IX. † caused a schism which lasted till the next year; during which time Rossi and Pupine, whom the legate had left behind in England, in quality of nuncios, continued their merciless extortions. Pupine being gone to Ireland, with the king's permission, exacted from the clergy there fifteen hundred marks, which at that time was a very large sum for a country where money was extremely scarce. The Jews in particular were every where maltreated; for out of their pockets the king usually raised the money to defray his extraordinary expenses. Thomas, earl of Savoy, uncle to the queen, being come this year into England, the king received him with such magnificence, that not knowing how to provide money for his charge, he compelled the Jews to present him with twenty thousand marks, on pain of being banished from the kingdom.

The archbishop of Canterbury dying the last year, Henry used every means in his power to procure the election of Boniface, the queen's brother, to the archiepiscopal see ‡. This happened in April.

Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, was this year killed by a fall from his horse, and Walter, his brother, demanded of the king to be invested in the office of grand marshal, which was hereditary in their family. Henry at first denied him, but by the intercession of the queen he obtained what he demanded.

This year David and Griffin, sons of Llewellyn, prince of Wales, were left joint executors of their father's will, and were to share his inheritance between them; but David had seized the whole, and detained his brother in prison. The wife of Griffin applied to Henry for protection, promising him, in her husband's name, a present of six hundred marks, and an annual tribute of three hundred, if he would free the prince out prison, and put him in possession of his right. Henry accepted of this offer, and sent to David an order to release the prisoner, and satisfy him as to his claims, threatening him, in case of refusal, with a fierce war, till he should obey. David not being in a condition to resist the king of England, took a course, which to him seemed more likely to succeed, than that of arms. He out-bid his sister-in-law, and made more advantageous proposals, which were accepted; and from Griffin's protector, Henry became his enemy; and lest that prince should make his escape, Henry undertook to confine him safely in the Tower of London. The same year the empress Isabella, sister to the king, died in childbed. Her death was quickly followed by that of Eleanor of Bretagne, who had been prisoner forty years in Bristol Castle.

Soon after the death of Eleanor, Henry became involved in a war with France, concerning the earldom of Poictou. Before prince Richard set out for the Holy Land, he had invested Henry with the earldom of Poictou, though France was in possession of great part of it, ever since the conquests of Philip Augustus. This

province being thus parted between the two crowns, Lewis thought likewise that he had a right to invest with it Alphonso his brother. Henry was highly incensed at this proceeding of Lewis, and resolved to be revenged, and the more so, because the queen his mother was concerned in the case. This princess, who, since the death of king John, had espoused the earl of March her first lover, had kept up all that haughtiness, which she had assumed whilst she wore the crown of England. As the territories of the earl her spouse were in that part of Poictou which was possessed by France, he had all along done homage to Lewis; but when Alphonso was become earl of Poictou, her pride would not suffer her to see her husband kneel to a brother of the king of France. She solicited her husband so earnestly, that she prevailed with him to refuse to do homage to prince Alphonso, though he had before promised to do it. This refusal was accompanied with some offensive language, which irritated the king of France, so that he resolved to chastise the earl's insolence. The earl, willing to stand by what he had done, implored the protection of the king of England. He gave him to understand, that it would be a very easy matter to drive the French out of all Poictou: and that in case he would defray the expense of the war, that province would furnish him with troops sufficient for a great army. Henry, prevailed upon by these hopes, summoned a parliament, in January, 1242, of whom he demanded an aid in proportion to the designed expedition; but his parliament denied him any assistance, and sharply upbraided him for squandering away his settled revenues, and the sums he daily exacted from his subjects by unlawful means. Not being able to prevail with the parliament, he procured money from private persons, by way of gift or loan, and then summoned all those who owed military service to the crown, to meet him at Portsmouth on a day appointed. But instead of leading troops thither, he ordered them to bring each a certain sum of money, depending upon the earl of March's word, who had told him, that he should have soldiers enough in Poictou. As soon as the season permitted, he embarked at Portsmouth, attended by the queen his mother, and prince Richard his brother, lately arrived from the Holy Land. Upon his departure, he committed the regency of the kingdom to the archbishop of York. He landed in Saintogne, where some Poictevin noblemen came and joined him. The earl of March met him also, but so thinly attended, that it was very visible he was in no condition to make good what he had promised. When they attempted to raise an army in those parts, the officers and soldiers enlisted so slowly under the English banners, that it was easy to foresee the enterprize would not have a happy issue. The king of France, in the mean time, who was advancing with a numerous army, laid siege to Fontenay, one of the strongest places in Poictou. During this siege, Henry sent ambassadors to him to demand all that Philip Augustus had taken from the English, and that Lewis VIII. had promised to re-

\* Hitherto this legate had found means to have his commission continued through the intercession of Henry: but now the case was altered, and Otho wished to be at Rome. He had received information, that the pope was seized by a distemper, of which, in all appearance, he would never recover; and therefore he was desirous of leaving England, before the news of his decease should come. He had too much reason to fear, that during the vacancy of the Holy see, the money might be stopped which he had scraped together. It is affirmed by Mat. Paris, that he carried away with him, more than he left to the churches and monasteries. Gregory IX. died soon after, as the legate had foreseen, and the emperor gave the king notice of it immediately, that he might seize the money which had been levied on the kingdom, for the use of the pope; but the legate was gone off with it: he had the misfortune, however, in his return to Italy, to fall into the hands of the emperor's people, who robbed him of all his riches; and thus the money which had been exacted on pretence of employing it against the emperor, turned to that monarch's own benefit.

† As a proof of the simoniacal disposition of the pope, the following authentic anecdote is laid before our readers: some time before the death of Gregory, he had caused to be proposed to the abbot of Peterborough, that if he would give him, under a borrowed name, one of the monastery's livings of two hundred marks a year, he would rent it out to him again at an hundred, and by that means they should share the benefice between them. But the abbot was too honest to agree to such a proposal. He acquainted the king with the circumstance, who being made sensible of the ill consequences of it, hindered, by his authority, the abbot from being constrained to comply. Had the pope succeeded in his project, all the benefices in England would, without doubt, have been in the hands of the pope, bishops, and abbots.

‡ Thus says Rapin, was seen at the head of the church of England a young man and a foreigner, ignorant of the laws, customs, and language of the kingdom, and consequently incapable of discharging the functions of that dignity as he ought.



store; and in case of refusal, to declare war against him. Lewis, being of a tender conscience, could hardly get over his scruples, on account of the oath the king his father had taken to restore these provinces. In this temper, he gave the English ambassadors an honourable reception, and answered them with a great deal of moderation, that he much wondered the king their master thought of breaking a truce, which he had confirmed by a solemn oath. Adding, that to let him see it was his sincere desire to keep up a good understanding between them, he offered to renew the truce for three years longer. In short, he consented to deliver up part of Poictou and Normandy, provided he would withdraw his protection from his rebellious vassals, who, for no manner of reason, refused to pay him the obedience due to him. Henry suffering himself to be carried away by the violent counsels of the queen his mother, and the earl of March, he openly rejected these advantageous offers. Some days after, he rashly sent two knights hospitallers to defy Lewis, though he was but ill able to support his haughtiness. Notwithstanding this bravado, Lewis sought to make peace; but at length, means were found to remove his uneasiness of mind, by representing to him, that the oath the king his father had taken, was no farther binding, than as the king of England should perform, on his part, what he had promised: that the said king had obliged himself by oath, not to exact any ransom from the prisoners, nor to treat ill such of the English as had adhered to France; that he had violated both these articles, and that this breach of the treaty of London had rendered void the engagements of the other party. Lewis continued the siege which he had begun, and took the city by storm. A natural son of the earl of March being made prisoner with four hundred knights, some advised that prince to put them all to death: but he replied, that "the son could not help obeying his father, and the rest their sovereign; and therefore it was not reasonable, that the innocent should be punished for the guilty." The first success was followed by several others, which gained Lewis the possession of divers places in that part of Poictou belonging to the English, without Henry's being able to stop his progress. As Henry endeavoured only to avoid fighting, and encamped near Tailleburg, on the bank of the Charente, with the river between him and the enemy. As soon as Lewis received intelligence of it, he posted himself on the other side of the same river, and by means of his engines and cross-bow men, compelled the English to remove two thousand paces further off. Their retreat gave him an opportunity of becoming master of Tailleburg-Bridge, which was the only pass to the English. Lewis resolved to attack the English at the dawn of the next day, but Henry, who was not strong enough to hazard a battle, took the advantage of the darkness of the night to retire, whilst prince Richard his brother endeavoured to amuse the French by proposals of a truce, which he could not however obtain, but for the rest of that night. As soon as it was expired, Lewis pursued the English, and overtaking their rear, made them suffer great loss. The French historians, who give a particular account of this battle, say, that both the kings were present, that Lewis was in great danger, and that four thousand English were taken prisoners. The king of England fled as far as Xaintes, whither Lewis followed him, and the earl of March having made a fall, was the occasion of the two king's coming to a second battle, which was no less fatal to the English than the former. After this, Henry perceiving he was like to be blocked up in Xaintes, fled to Blaye,

where not thinking himself secure, he shut himself up in Bourdeaux. Soon after this the earl of March made his peace with Lewis. A plague which broke out in Lewis's army, and a distemper with which himself was seized, prevented him from carrying his arms as far as Bourdeaux. These reasons, and perhaps some remains of his old scruples, caused him to consent to a truce for five years, after having sufficiently chastised his enemy by the entire conquest of Poictou.

Henry had an inclination to pass the winter at Bourdeaux, where he squandered his money away in feasting and diversions as if he had gained the victory over Lewis. In the mean while Henry's troops were in want of necessaries; so that the king was obliged to send for cloaths and provisions for the soldiers to the archbishop of York, whom he had left regent in England. At the same time, he ordered him to confiscate the estates of some English barons, who had withdrawn themselves without leave. The first of the orders was executed. But the regent prudently declined the latter, for fear of raising disturbances in the kingdom during the king's absence. The provisions and cloaths were hardly received before the king sent fresh orders to the regent, to demand of the Cistercians one year's profit of their wool. But the abbots excused themselves in such a manner, as plainly made appear, that they would not be compelled to it without downright force, which the archbishop did not care to use. In short, the archbishop, continually pressed to send money to Bourdeaux, obtained of the parliament early in 1243, a subsidy of twenty shillings upon every knight's fee, which would have been sufficient to extricate the king out of the straits he was in, had it been well managed.

This year the regent borrowed in the name of the king large sums of money, from such private persons as were reputed to be in affluent circumstances. This unusual proceeding caused great murmurings among the people. The regent, however, was willing to expose himself to those complaints, believing it would be a means to get the king from Bourdeaux. He, however, sent the king word, that there was no possibility of raising any more money, and that it was time to think of returning home. This declaration put the king in good earnest upon preparing for his departure. As soon as he was resolved, he sent orders to all the barons then in England, to be ready at Portsmouth to receive him at his landing. They obeyed; but he made them wait so long, that they were extremely disgusted, by reason of the expence they were at during their stay. Before he left Bourdeaux, Henry ratified the five years truce he had concluded with France; that dishonourable truce, whereby, besides the places which Lewis had conquered, Henry bound himself to pay him annually five thousand pounds sterling. This was the issue of his ill-concerted, and still worse managed expedition\*. All the money which had been sent him being expended, he was no sooner in London, but he quarrelled with the Jews, who, to appease him, were constrained to give him sixty thousand marks†. Henry was not long in England, before he expended the money he had exacted from the Jews. The arrival of the countess of Provence his mother-in-law, who came to celebrate the nuptial of her daughter Cincia with prince Richard, furnished him with an opportunity to consume a greater sum than he was master of‡.

In the beginning of the year 1244, Henry summoned a parliament, which met at Westminster, of whom he demanded an aid, but was refused, notwithstanding his promise to cause the charters to be observed. He

\* Whilst the king was engaged in this war, his queen was delivered at Bourdeaux of a daughter, called Beatrix. The chief noblemen that attended the king in this expedition, were Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester; the earl of Salisbury, Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk; John de Burgh, with divers others, who signalized themselves in the battle above-mentioned. Most of them left the king at Bourdeaux; for which he ordered their estates to be confiscated as before-mentioned.

† Matthew Paris informs us, that one Aaron, a Jew of York, assured him, that the king had extorted from him alone, four thousand marks of gold, and forty thousand of silver. But it is to be presumed that this was done at several times.

‡ The charge he was at on account of this marriage may be estimated by the wedding-dinner only, which consisted, according to some historians, of thirty thousand dishes.



found the nobility and clergy so firmly united, that he lost all hopes of succeeding; he even perceived it was dangerous to suffer them to be assembled too long, knowing they were concerting measures to deprive him of the administration of affairs, which they designed to commit to four of their body, who were to transact every thing in his name. A project of this nature could not but alarm; and therefore having promised in general, to reform what was amiss, and tried in vain to cause a dissention among them, he prorogued the parliament\*.

The pope now sent into England one Martin as his nuncio, with a view to exact money from the clergy. To him his holiness gave full power, to punish those who would not readily comply with his exorbitant demands. The nuncio executed his orders so rigorously, that for the least trifle he suspended priests, abbots, and even bishops: by which means he became odious both to the clergy and laity. In support of his exactions, the nuncio produced the pope's letter, demanding of the clergy an extraordinary subsidy, to discharge the debts which Gregory IX. had contracted in his wars with the emperor. He alledged, that these wars were undertaken in defence of the catholic faith, and St. Peter's patrimony; and therefore all ecclesiastics, particularly the English, were bound to contribute towards the expence. Before the clergy had taken any resolution in this matter, the king convened the parliament, and renewed his demands of an aid. But being sensible he should obtain nothing unless the barons were satisfied with regard to their grievances, he promised, with an oath, to see the two charters punctually observed; and consented that the bishops should excommunicate him, if he violated his oath. Upon these assurances, the parliament granted him twenty shillings for every knight's fee. But as no pressing necessity could be alledged for granting him this extraordinary subsidy, it was said, that the money should be expended in the marriage of his eldest daughter, though it was designed for other purposes. The nuncio finding the parliament had granted the king a subsidy, he became the more sollicitous for the demands of his master; but the clergy were deaf to his solicitations, and the nuncio was at length compelled to desist. Hereupon, by virtue of the power he had received from the pope, he filled the benefices as they became void†.

On the first of March, Griffin, the Welsh prince, who had been confined in the Tower, endeavouring to make his escape from the prison window, fell into the ditch and broke his neck. Hereupon David his brother entered the borders of England, and made war upon Henry. About the same time, Alexander II. king of Scotland, who had lately married a French lady‡, sent Henry word, that he did not intend to do him homage any longer for the lands he held of the crown of England. Henry now exerted himself, to compel the Scots to obedience. He summoned therefore all the vassals of the crown to meet him at Newcastle, which place he appointed for the rendezvous of the army designed against Scotland. But Alexander perceiving the English army was ready to enter his territories, abated of his haughtiness, and sent ambassadors to Newcastle to sue for peace. Henry received the proposal with joy; and notwithstanding he seemed to

have taken the resolution to push on the war with vigour, he readily consented to a treaty, which afforded him an excuse to lay down his arms. Alexander submitted to the same homage that he himself and his ancestors had paid, and amity between the two kings was perfectly restored. Before they parted; a marriage was agreed upon between Alexander's eldest son of the same name with himself, and Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter. Henry not having had occasion to act against the king of Scotland, with his army, he was advised to make use of it to reduce the prince of Wales to obedience. But as he had no inclination for war, he dismissed the troops, and called a parliament in order to demand an aid of money, which he could not obtain. The prince of Wales applied to the pope for protection, and acquainted him, that he had been compelled to declare himself vassal to the king of England, and to pay him tribute: for which reason, he had besought his holiness to annul the treaty, offered to become vassal to the holy see, and to pay him the same yearly tribute which he paid the king of England. Innocent IV. being no less avaricious than his predecessors, thought the proposal no way disagreeable. But to make an appearance of justice, he empowered two Welsh abbots to take informations concerning the pretended constraint alledged by their prince. At the same time, he commissioned them to make void the treaty, and to absolve the prince of Wales from his oath, in case it appeared that any compulsion had been used. The two abbots, proud of the power they were entrusted with, summoned the king of England to appear before them. This proceeding enraged the king and his council as well as the whole nation. Then were they sorry that the army had been disbanded: but it was resolved that another should be instantly raised, in order to chastise the prince of Wales; as soon as the season would permit; for it was then in the midst of winter. At the same time, the great men conferred together, how to find means to stop the proceedings of the court of Rome. During these transactions, Lewis ordered all those who had estates in France to appear before him; and having declared to them, that he thought it not possible faithfully to serve two masters at the same time, he gave them their choice, whether they would stay in France or return to England. Those who declared for England, were ordered to depart from France within a limited time, with assurance that their lands should be always reserved for them. On the news of this being brought to the English court, Henry acted in a very arbitrary and unbecoming manner; he seized all the lands which the French held in England, without any regard to the remonstrances of the king of France. However, Lewis did not think fit to break the truce for the sake of espousing the cause of a few private persons§.

In the beginning of the year 1245, the queen was delivered of another son, who was christened Edmund. We shall have frequent occasion to speak of this prince before the end of the reign.

The war with the Welsh, which had been put off till spring, was accordingly begun at that time. But the English proceeded with so little vigour, that far from attacking their enemies, they were hard pressed to defend themselves.

The barons now resolved to free themselves and the

the consent of these four the great council was not to meet. M. Paris. 1244.

† Amongst the rest, he gave one of the richest prebendaries of Salisbury to a little boy who was the pope's nephew, against the will of the bishop and the whole chapter.

‡ She was daughter to Engelram de Cuscey, a powerful nobleman of France, and great enemy to Henry.

§ M. Paris seems to say, that the French king gave the English in his dominions, the liberty of relinquishing either their estates in France, or those in England. And that they were forced to do one or other. Whereas Henry left the French in his kingdom, no choice, but seized their lands to his own use. M. Paris. Ann. 1244.

kingdom

\* Matthew Paris says, this great council or parliament had contrived a new method of government, and intended that four of the most potent and discreet men of the kingdom should be chosen by common consent, who were to transact all affairs relating to the king and kingdom, and to do justice to all without respect of persons. They were to follow the king, and two of them at least were to be always present with him, that they might hear and relieve the complaints of persons oppressed. The king's treasury was to be managed by them, and all aids were to be expended as they thought most for the benefit of the nation. In a word, they were to be the conservators of the public liberties, and as chosen by common consent, they were not to be removed but by the same authority; when one died, another was to be chosen by the three survivors. And without



kingdom from the tyranny of the court of Rome; and therefore sent orders to the wardens of the ports to secure all persons bringing in any bulls or mandates from the pope. Pursuant to these orders, which were every where strictly obeyed, without regarding whether they were approved by the king, a messenger from Rome was seized with several bulls about him, empowering the nuncio to exact money from the clergy on divers pretences. The nuncio complained to the king, who commanded every thing to be restored which had been taken from him. But the barons presented strong remonstrances to the king upon this occasion, and represented the great prejudice he did his subjects, by countenancing the rapines of the court of Rome. For his conviction, they laid before him the true value of the income which the Italian ecclesiastics enjoyed in England, the which amounted yearly to above sixty thousand marks, a sum exceeding at that time, the whole revenue of the crown. Henry, who had never examined these matters so particularly could not help showing his surprize. But as he durst not venture of himself to redress their grievance, for fear of being exposed to the pope's resentment, he was content with giving the barons leave to write to the general council, which was then assembled at Lyons, to set before them the intolerable oppressions which England suffered from the court of Rome. Accordingly the barons wrote a letter to the council in the name of the whole kingdom, wherein were inserted all the grievances the English complained of\*. But as they were sensible that on such occasions the court of Rome never failed to make use of delays and shifts, they resolved among themselves to take a more speedy and effectual course. To that purpose, they agreed to meet under pretence of a tournament, that they might concert necessary measures for the executing their design. The king dreading the consequences of their assembling, forbade them to be present at this tournament; but notwithstanding the king's command, they met at the place appointed, and after some conferences, they dispatched Fulk Fitzwarin, a knight, to the nuncio, who commanded him in their name, to depart the kingdom. The knight discharged his commission somewhat roughly; and upon the nuncio's demanding, who had given him this authority? He made answer, The whole nation, and that in case he staid three days in England, he would infallibly be cut in pieces. Martin failed not to carry his complaints to the king; but Henry told him he was not able to protect him, and therefore the nuncio demanded a passport, and went off immediately, to the great satisfaction of the English. The pope, who had never met with such a check in England, was so enraged at it, that he was heard to say: "I see plainly I must make peace with the emperor, that I may humble these petty princes: for the great dragon being once appeased, I shall, with the more ease, be able to crush the smaller serpents." In the mean while, the English ambassadors† arrived at Lyons, and presented their letter to the council, in which the pope presided in person. The letter was publicly read and Innocent was so surprized at its contents, that he

\* This bold and elegant epistle was sent by earl Roger Bigod, John Fitz-Geoffrey, William de Cantelupe, Philip Basset, Ralph Fitz-Nicholas, and Mr. William Poweric, their secretary. See M. Paris under the year 1245.

† The names of these ambassadors were Laurence de St. Martin, on behalf of the king; and earl Roger Bigod, John Fitz-Geoffrey, Walter de Cantelupe, Philip Basset, Ralph Fitz-Nicholas, and William Poweric, a clergyman, who also acted as secretary to the embassy, deputed by the nobility.

‡ This clause, though copied from the court of Rome, in a few years crept into the king's charters, as will be seen hereafter.

§ The vast estate in England, Ireland, and Wales, belonging to this family, fell among five sisters, who were married to divers great noblemen of England. The family failed in the third generation from Richard Strongbow the first earl of Striguil.

¶ The grievances complained of were these:

"I. That the pope, not content with the annual payment of Peter-pence, exacted from the clergy great contributions,

said not a word in his own vindication. After the ambassadors had waited some time for his answer, one of them assumed the discourse, and gave a particular narrative of the grievances of their nation. He dwelt chiefly on two articles; the first whereof related to the tribute of the thousand marks, which king John had obliged himself to pay every year to the holy see. He maintained, that king John had not the power to render his kingdom tributary, and that his engagement having never been confirmed by the barons, was to be deemed null and void. The other article was concerning the clause *non-obstante*, which the pope had for some time inserted in all his bulls, a clause which was entirely destructive of the rights of bishops, abbots, monasteries, and patrons of benefices. For instance, when the pope had a mind to dispose of a living, he inserted this clause in his bull, *non-obstante*, (i. e.) notwithstanding the right of patronage, or other privilege to the contrary†. To these two grievances the ambassador added many more concerning the perpetual extortions of the nuncio's and legates, and in general all the oppressions which the English nation had long groaned under. The ambassadors finding that the pope only meant to amuse them, protested against the tribute, and retired. The pope then pretended to give the English satisfaction, concerning the benefices; but the tribute he was still determined to exact; and therefore he compelled the bishops to sign the charter by which king John became tributary to the holy see, under pain of excommunication.

This year the king put himself at the head of an army, and marched against the Welsh, who had some time infested the borders of England with impunity. The Welsh retired to their mountains, and Henry growing weary of the war, built the castle of Ganoc, on an advantageous situation, and returned to London.

Walter, earl of Pembroke, dying this year without male-issue, Anselm his brother, then dean of Salisbury, was his heir, and succeeded him in his office of marshal of England. But he kept it not long, death having deprived him of it a few months after. Thus failed the noble family of the earl of Pembroke and Striguil, whereof the five last earls, who were brothers, had been invested with the dignity of earl-marshal, which was hereditary in their family§.

David, prince of Wales, died in the beginning of the year 1246. As he had left no children, the lords of that country chose for his successor Llewellyn his nephew, son of the unfortunate Griffin, who was killed in endeavouring to make his escape out of the Tower of London.

The pope, having no inclination to drop the quarrel with the English, renewed his impositions upon the ecclesiastics. These exactions were more insupportable than all the former ones. The clergy were so much under the pope's correction, that they durst not take the least step towards freeing themselves from his yoke. But the lay-barons began to consult together, and take measures how to oppose these oppressions. In a parliament assembled during Lent, it was resolved that the nation's grievances|| should be committed to writing, and that satisfaction should be demanded of the pope in a letter.

without the king's consent, against the customs, liberties, and rights of the church and realm of England.

"II. That the patrons of churches had not the liberty to present fit persons to the vacant livings, the pope conferring them generally on Italians, who understood not the English language, and who carried out of the kingdom the money which accrued from the income of their benefices.

"III. That the pope oppressed the churches by exacting pensions from them.

"IV. That when an Italian ecclesiastic died, his benefice was immediately bestowed on one of the same nation, as if the Italians had a right to possess such a number of benefices in the kingdom. That whereas the Italians were invested without trouble or charge, the English were forced to go and prosecute their right at Rome, contrary to the indulgences granted to England by former popes.

"V. That, in churches filled by the Italians there were neither alms, nor hospitality; neither was there any preaching, and the care of souls was entirely neglected.



letter\*, signed by the king, bishops, and temporal lords.

The letter from the king and barons had a contrary effect to what was expected. The pope accused the clergy of having extorted it by their importunities; and took occasion from thence to load them with new and oppressive taxes. He not only compelled the bishops to sign the emperor's excommunication †, but moreover commanded them to find him a certain number of men well horsed and armed, to serve against that prince, pretending that all churches were equally concerned in the war. After this, instead of redressing their old grievances, he introduced a new one, by claiming the administration of the goods of those ecclesiastics who might die intestate. The king seemed at first inclined to oppose the execution of all these articles; but fearing an interdict and excommunication, with which the pope threatened him, Henry was obliged, as usual, to submit to his holiness's pleasure. This compliance made the pope so imperious, that, adding a fresh oppression to all the former ones, he imposed a tax on such clergymen as resided on their livings, of one third, and on such as resided not, of one half of their moveables. This being the case, it is no wonder, if the popes were so unwilling to make peace with the emperor, since the war furnished them with a handle to levy such frequent taxes upon the clergy. The bishop of London was commissioned to execute this new order, with power to excommunicate and suspend those that refused to obey. But whilst this prelate and some others were met upon this occasion, the king sent them word not to consent to this imposition, which served them for a pretence to break up their meeting. If Henry had withstood with the same vigour all the other attempts of the court of Rome, he would have had the same success, since the pope thought not fit to push this matter any further, when he found they were resolved to oppose him ‡.

This year died Isabella, countess of March, and queen dowager of England, mother to the king, having lived in no great reputation, according to some historians.

In the beginning of the year 1247, the bishops and abbots were compelled to make a present of a thousand marks to a new legate whom the pope had sent into England, with a view to exact money from the clergy. At the same time, and for the same reason, there was a nuncio in Ireland, who obtained a present of five hundred marks. The king, as the reader may observe by perusing the foregoing pages, was ever ready to countenance the exactions of the pope; and his holiness was willing, in his turn, to show the monarch some marks of his gratitude. He therefore sent a bull to England, whereby he ordained, that, for the future, no Italian, not even the nephew of a cardinal, nor of the pope himself, should be admitted to any benefice in England without the king's consent: ample recompence, says Rapin, for the vast sums the pope squeezed every year out of the kingdom! A privilege besides, which signified nothing, seeing the pope was very sure of obtaining the king's consent, whenever he should be pleased to stoop so low as to ask it.

The king's three brothers by the mother's side, namely, Guy de Lusignan, William de Valence, and Athelmar, sons of the earl of March, came into England. As they were sent to the king by the earl their father, to get rid of the charge of keeping them, Henry was forced

not only to maintain them, but likewise to satisfy their avarice and ambition, with presents, places, and benefices, to the great and manifest detriment of the English.

Notwithstanding the fair promises which the king had made to the parliament, upon their granting him the last subsidy, he had done nothing towards the performance of his word. And when he would have demanded a fresh subsidy of the parliament assembled in the beginning of the year 1248, he met with such a repulse, that he was greatly chagrined. He was asked, how he could, with any propriety, renew his demands after having so often broke his word. He was upbraided for his excessive liberalities to foreigners; for his contempt of his native subjects, his negligence in encouraging trade, and protecting merchants, of whom he even exacted vast sums which were not due. The parliament also complained of his keeping in his own hands the vacant benefices, and of his conferring the prime offices of the state, such as those of chancellor, treasurer, justiciary, on persons not qualified to hold them, and without ever vouchsafing to consult his parliament. Henry, perceived by the boldness with which he was reproached, that it would be a very hard matter to bring the barons to consent, and therefore, without hesitation, prorogued the parliament, in order to gain time to consider what was to be done. During the prorogation, the pernicious advice of his ministers set him more and more against his subjects, and induced him to be entirely governed by foreigners. When the parliament met again in June, he upbraided the barons, for endeavouring to impose upon him laws, to which they themselves would think it hard to be liable: that every one of them was master in his own family; that he made use of what counsellors he pleased; that he put in and turned out his domestics without controul; but that he alone was treated like a slave by his own subjects §. In short, he declared, that he was so far from changing his ministry at their pleasure, that he meant to be master in his own kingdom, and that it was their duty to obey. He then told them, that he expected from them a speedy aid of money to enable him to recover the French provinces. This unreasonable resoluteness served only to exasperate the barons, instead of bringing them to a compliance. They boldly replied, that since he designed not to reform what was amiss, they were determined not to continue to impoverish themselves for the sake of foreigners, under pretence of an imaginary war. Upon this answer, the king dissolved the parliament, for fear they should proceed to more vigorous resolutions. In the mean time, as his treasury was quite exhausted, he was reduced to a necessity of selling his plate and jewels, which were quickly bought up by the citizens of London. He was extremely incensed to see that the burghers so readily found means to purchase his jewels, and yet continually pleaded poverty, when the question was to grant him an aid. This consideration put him so out of humour, that he established a new fair at Westminster, during which all trading was prohibited in London ||. So far was he from hearkening to the complaints made by the merchants on this occasion, that he gave them fresh marks of his displeasure, by keeping his Christmas in the city, and compelling them to present him with large new-year's gifts. Shortly after, he demanded also a supply of money, and, in spite of their endeavours to the contrary, they were constrained to give him two thousand pounds sterling. But this sum was not sufficient to satisfy the king's wants,

\* VI. That the clause *non obstante*, which was generally inserted in all bulls, absolutely destroyed all laws, customs, statutes, and privileges of the church and kingdom."

• Matthew Paris says, the king wrote by himself, the bishops by themselves, and so likewise the abbots and barons by themselves, of all which letters there are copies extant in M. Paris, under the year 1246.

† In the council of Lyons the emperor Frederic was again excommunicated and deposed, which deposition the pope made the English bishops sign. M. Paris.

‡ So likewise in the case of administering to the clergy that died intestate, upon the king's prohibition and the mediation of

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the cardinals, the pope revoked this order. M. Paris.

§ This reasoning is very fallacious, though it has all along been used by those, who do not consider, that a person's mismanagement of his own private affairs affected none but himself; whereas the mal-administration of a public minister is detrimental to the whole kingdom, and consequently it highly concerns a nation, that the great offices of the state be filled with good and able men.

|| This fair, says Matt. Paris, was to last fifteen days; and all fairs that used to be kept at that time were prohibited all over England.



therefore he endeavoured, in 1249, to borrow money of his great men, bishops, abbots, merchants, and the richer sort of citizens in the kingdom. To these he applied in so submissive and abject a manner, that one would have thought he had been begging an alms; but as they had no inclination to grant his request, the greater part of them, by excuses and denials on account of their poverty, put him off from time to time, so that he obtained very little.

Soon after the bishopric of Durham became vacant, by the resignation of Nicholas its bishop, and Henry earnestly recommended Athelmar, the youngest of his brothers, though he was far from being of a sufficient age and capacity to govern so large a diocese. Accordingly the monks of Durham made that objection to him; and represented to the king, that he had often promised to leave to the churches the freedom of elections, and therefore intreated him to let them enjoy the fruits of his promises. Henry, offended at these remonstrances, returned in answer, that "since they thought his brother too young, he would keep the bishopric in his own hands till he should be of a fit age for it." About this time, the king having been informed, that some Gascon lords were revolted, sent Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, into Guienne, who reduced the rebels to obedience, and gained great reputation.

Alexander II. king of Scotland, died this year, leaving Alexander III. his son, who was but eight years of age, to succeed him.

In the beginning of the next year, 1250, prince Richard, brother to the king, set out with a magnificent retinue in order to have an interview with the pope at Lyons. This journey, and the extraordinary honours paid him by the pope, afforded matters for divers speculations, which exercised the wits of the politicians. But the real motive of it was not known till some years after.

Notwithstanding Henry's pressing necessities, he took the cross from the hands of the legate, and made a vow to go to Palestine, and war against the Saracens. His example was followed by above five hundred knights, and an incredible number of esquires, and people of an inferior condition. His design, however, was only to obtain an aid suitable to an undertaking of this nature, imagining that they must not deny him. At least, he was persuaded, that the methods he should take to exact money from his subjects, would be authorized by so plausible a reason. Be this as it will, those that had undertaken the Crusade with the king, made themselves ready with all expedition; and perceiving he had made no preparations, they offered to set out without him. Their haste was very displeasing to him, as it too plainly discovered his backwardness in a cause, wherein all the world strive to show marks of their zeal. To remedy this inconvenience, he desired the pope to hinder his subjects from going, before he should be ready to put himself at their head. His holiness granted this favour without any difficulty, and the interests of the king of France, who might have taken the advantage of this reinforcement, were sacrificed to the pope's desire of contenting the king of England. Innocent forbade the English, under pain of excommunication, to set out before the king; so that all the charges they had been at for their voyage became of no effect.

Henry's schemes to raise money fell to the ground; but still money must be had, and he commissioned Geoffrey de Langley, a judge, entirely devoted to his service, to make inquisition in all the counties, concerning trespasses committed in the royal forests. This commission was in itself odious, since it included all the cases excepted in king John's charter; but the manner in which the inquisitor executed it rendered it still more intolerable. He punished the least fault by excessive

finer, or confiscation of estate; so that he soon got together prodigious sums, which served to fill the king's coffers; but at the same time they drew on the king the hatred and curses of his subjects.

During these transactions, Henry was not unmindful of his relations. The bishopric of Winchester being vacant, the king recommended Athelmar his brother, whom the chapter of Durham had refused to elect the last year. He was not satisfied with sending commendatory letters, but went in person to Winchester, to back his interest by his presence. On the day of election he came into the Chapter-House, and made a short discourse upon this text, "Righteousness and peace have kissed each other," which he applied to the business in hand. At first he met with great opposition, yet by his promises and threats he obtained his request; and the pope ever ready to please the king, failed not to confirm the election.

This year the king of France was taken prisoner by the Saracens, which the pope is blamed for; and on account of his uneasy situation at Lyons, he asked leave of Henry to reside at Bourdeaux. Henry was willing enough to gratify his desire, but was prevented by the remonstrances of the clergy and barons: and on account of these remonstrances the king delayed sending an answer, which the pope interpreted as a civil denial.

In the beginning of the year 1251, the king first made use of the clause *non obstante* in his orders, which is the first instance of the kind; and this was done in imitation of the pope, who made use of it in his bulls. The bishop of Carlisle having a law-suit with a baron of his diocese, and being obliged to go to France, obtained an order from the king, that the suit should be stopped till his return. But during his absence, his adversary obtained a second order in which this clause was inserted, *non obstante*, or, "Notwithstanding the former order, the baron's cause should not be delayed."

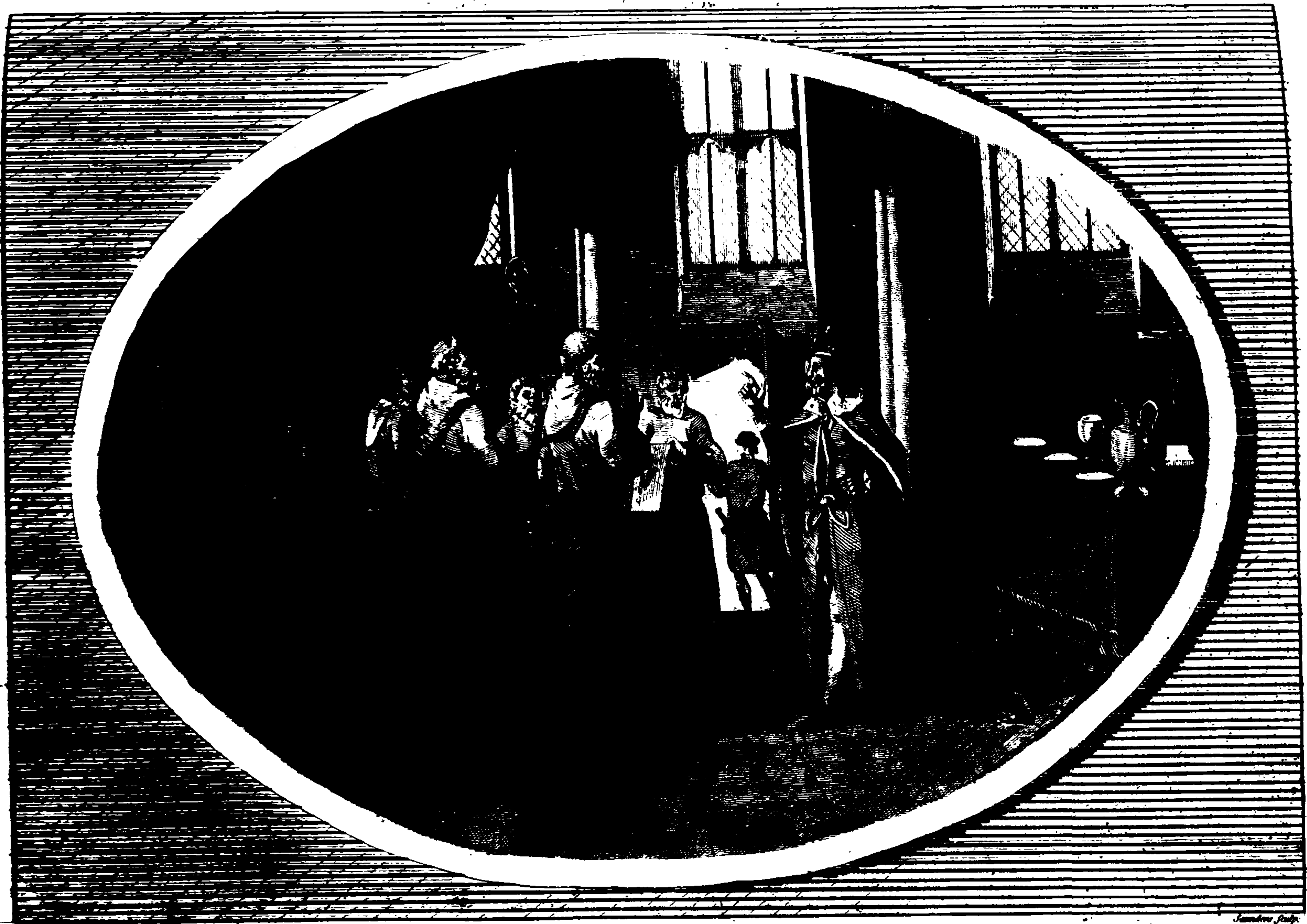
The earl of Leicester having gained some advantage over the rebels of Guienne, Henry vainly imagined, that the example of the Gascons would be a curb to the English; and therefore he fancied that, for the time to come, he need not keep any measures with them. Accordingly, without regarding the continual murmurs of the barons, on account of the preference the foreigners met with at court, he affected to receive, with great honours, Guy de Lusignan his half-brother, whom the earl of Leicester brought with him, when he came to acquaint the king with his transactions in Guienne. He made him such presents, that they would have appeared extravagant, if he had abounded in riches. Hereupon the barons redoubled their complaints.

This year the pope sent a letter to Henry, acquainting him, that it was high time he thought of performing the vow he had made to go to the Holy Land. But Henry was at this time at York, celebrating the nuptials of the princess Margaret his daughter, with Alexander III. the young king of Scotland. Henry now thought to take advantage of the young prince's joy, and to persuade him to do homage for the whole kingdom of Scotland. He was very urgent with him; but Alexander excused himself, telling him, that he was come to York in order to be married, and not to debate an affair of that nature, which was liable to many difficulties, and on which he could not determine, without consulting the states of his kingdom. He, however, did the customary homage for the lands which he held of the crown of England. We cannot pretend to declare, whether Henry thought his pretensions were not well-grounded, or whether he was unwilling to disturb the mirth of the nuptial feast, by insisting on his demand. Be this as it will, the affair was dropped for the present; but in the next reign, the same pretensions were made the foundation of a bloody war between England and Scotland.

\* After this those writs or orders, with that detestable addition of *non obstante* became very frequent, which being observed by Roger de Thurkeby, one of the king's justices, he said, with a deep sigh, "Alas! what times are we fallen into!"

"behold, the civil court is corrupted in imitation of the ecclesiastical, and the river is poisoned from that fountain." This is the original and rise of *non obstante* in the king's writs and charters.





Henry III in the Chapter House at Winchester preaching to the Monks to enforce the election of his brother to that Bishopric.



Both kings being satisfied with their interview, Henry seemed willing to prepare for his expedition to the Holy Land. But as money was the main thing that was wanting, he extorted vast sums from the Jews in 1252; which done, his Christian subjects shared the same fate. What he could raise by these means was not sufficient to enable him to make an expedition to the East, in a manner becoming a successor of Richard, whose memory was still fresh among the Saracens, and the whole world. Soon after these extortions, deputies were sent from the Gascons, who complained of having been unjustly oppressed by the earl of Leicester. Hereupon the earl went to the king, and denied all that was laid to his charge; adding, he could not but wonder, that the king should give ear to the frivolous complaints of the rebellious Gascons, against one that had served him so faithfully, and had spent all his estate in a post wherein others, instead of seeking the good of their sovereign, sought only to enrich themselves. Henry, to make the earl easy on this account, told him, that he gave no credit to these accusations; and to make his innocence the more conspicuous, he sent commissioners into Guienne, to take informations concerning the behaviour of the Gascons; and ordered the earl to return to his post. Before the earl departed, the Gascons received information that the king intended to send him again into their country, and deputed the archbishop of Bourdeaux to renew their complaints. During the archbishop's stay at London, the commissioners, which had been dispatched to Guienne, returned. They reported, that the earl of Leicester had treated a little severely some lords of that country; but that in so doing, he had only punished them according to their deserts. Though Leicester was fully cleared by these reports, yet the archbishop told the king, that if the earl returned to Guienne, nay, if he was not punished, that the province would be lost to the crown of England for ever. This notion was so deeply imprinted in the king's mind, that to secure the allegiance of the Gascons, he resolved to sacrifice their governor to their resentment. He therefore commanded that their accusation should be brought before the peers; in the mean time Leicester, though surprized at the king's sudden change, was no way idle. He gained over to his side prince Richard, the earl of Gloucester, and several other powerful lords, who promised to stand by him. Assured of success, he appeared in court, and defended himself with such strength of reason, that the archbishop of Bourdeaux was drove to great straits to maintain his accusation; and, whenever he attempted to make good what he had advanced, the principal lords went ready to put the best construction on the reasons of their friend. The king, perceiving that the earl would not be condemned as he expected, he dropped some expressions which were injurious to the party accused. The earl of Leicester, not content with justifying his actions, boasted of his services, and called upon the king to give him the rewards he had often promised him; Henry replied, "That he did not think himself obliged to keep his word with a traitor." The earl now exasperated, told the king "He lied: and were he not a king, he would make him deny what he had said." And after some insolent expressions, he added, "That it was hard to believe such a prince was a Christian, or had ever been at confession." "Yes," answered the king, "I am a Christian, and have often been at confession." "What signifies confession," replied the earl, "without repentance?" "I never repented any thing so much," said the king, "as the having been so liberal of my favours to one that has so little gratitude, and so much brutishness." Upon this the king wished to apprehend him; but as the earl's friends were ready to

oppose it, he became fearful, and durst not execute his design. He even suffered them to speak in the earl's behalf, and without being revenged for the affront he had received, he was contented with a slight satisfaction, and was, in outward appearance, reconciled to him. The king soon after sent the earl back to Guienne, and according to Matthew Paris, the king told him upon going off, "That if he was such a lover of war, he might there find employment enough, and also a reward answerable to his merits, as his father had done before him." To which the earl boldly replied, "That he would go over and never return, till he had entirely subdued the enemies, and reduced the rebellious subjects of an ungrateful prince\*." Immediately after the departure of the earl, Henry conferred the government of Guienne on prince Edward his eldest son, which change greatly pleased the Gascons. As they had no longer the same reason to stand in fear of Leicester, who was quickly to be recalled, they laid so many snares for him, that his life was in danger; and the earl to be revenged, made them often feel the effects of his resentment before he left the province.

The king had often demanded subsidies, and as often been refused; so that he was convinced, a bare demand would be to no purpose, and therefore he took care to have it backed by an express order from the court of Rome. Innocent alledged for a pretence, that the king could not do without an extraordinary aid to defray the expences of his voyage to the Holy Land; and commanded all ecclesiastics to pay him the tenths of their revenues for three years. The clergy were assembled upon this occasion, and the bishops of London, Chichester, Worcester, and Winchester, the king's half-brother, voted for the king. But the bishop of Lincoln strenuously opposed it, and the majority agreed to petition the king, and intreat him, for his soul's health, to desist from his demand. This petition exasperated the king, and he sent word, that they should take care what they did, since they not only opposed their temporal sovereign, but likewise their spiritual, the universal church, and Jesus Christ himself. Without being concerned at these menaces, the clergy returned him an offensive answer, by which it appeared, that they desired no longer to keep any measures with him. They upbraided him for his extortions, tyranny, breach of promises and oaths, and immediately adjourned, without waiting for the king's reply, pretending that as the archbishops were both absent, they could not proceed without their primates†. The king, finding he was not able to succeed by making a demand, sought privately to gain the affections and support of the clergy.

The king, by his various exactions, had so alienated the affections of his subjects, that it was expected a war would suddenly break out between the king and his barons. The Londoners seemed to have the greatest reason to be incensed, on account of the frequent exactions they had been liable to; but they had quickly a fresh subject of complaint, on account of a tax of twenty marks of gold‡ which the king imposed on the city. The whole kingdom murmured at this proceeding, because they dreaded the consequences of similar impositions. Notwithstanding this, a few days after, the king commanded the Londoners to shut up their shops, during the fair at Westminster, which lasted fifteen days. This innovation caused loud murmurs and complaints among the citizens, and a resentment, the effects whereof became visible upon the first opportunity. Shortly after these affairs, the king, though he was acquainted that the nobles had entered into an engagement to support and protect the earl of Leicester, resolved to have him once more tried by the peers, whom he had convened upon that account. Accordingly this affair ended greatly

\* See M. Paris. Ann. 1252.

† The archbishop of Canterbury was beyond sea, and the archbishop of York was absent, for a reason then unknown. Matthew Paris has given the bishop's representation of the

grievances committed by the king, at length, which the curious reader may see under the year 1252.

‡ Equal to two hundred marks of silver, a pretty large sum in those days.



to his dissatisfaction. The barons, far from condemning the earl, said openly, that the king had done him very great injustice in giving Guienne to prince Edward before the term of his government was expired, and without making him any amends. This declaration, which in all likelihood would soon be followed by some resolve offensive to the king, made him dissolve an assembly which seemed so little inclinable to favour his design. Thus this weak prince, by an unsteady and fickle conduct, increased the hatred of his barons, and drew upon him the contempt of his subjects.

In the beginning of the following year, 1253, the bishop of Lincoln, willing to open his eyes, caused an exact account to be taken of the annual income which foreigners enjoyed in England: by which it appeared, that they enjoyed upwards of seventy thousand \* marks, when the revenue of the crown at the same time hardly exceeded a third part of that sum. To this we may add another particular, to shew the easiness of this prince, and greediness of his ministers. Mansel, one of his favourites, a clergyman, enjoyed no less than seven hundred ecclesiastical preferments at once, which brought him in yearly four thousand marks †.

Henry imagined he had taken away all occasion of revolt from the Gascons, by removing the earl of Leicester from the government of Guienne; but he soon perceived that the vigilance of the earl, which they looked upon as an obstacle to their pernicious designs, was the real motive of their complaints. Leicester had no sooner resigned his patent, than a plot was discovered to deliver Guienne to the king of Castile. Though that prince had not made known his pretensions to Guienne, before this affair, yet as soon as his party was grown strong by the going off of the earl of Leicester, he openly declared his mind, and affirmed he had charters signed by Henry II. Richard, and John, who had made him a grant of that dukedom. These charters, however, were not produced, but he persuaded some discontented lords that he had them in his hands. Notwithstanding the weakness of his claim, he raised commotions in Guienne, which made Henry repent of having recalled the earl of Leicester. The male-content, aided by the king of Castile, proceeded so far, that Henry was eager to go thither in person, in order to save the country from being lost. In order to drive out the Castilians, and chastise the Gascons, Henry demanded an aid to go to the Holy Land. The parliament, which had been called upon that account, being met, the king demanded a large subsidy which might enable him to accomplish his vow. He represented, that having been hitherto unavoidably prevented from undertaking the voyage, the Christians of Palestine must needs have

been great sufferers by these delays. Although the barons were fully convinced that the king had no inclination to go to the Holy Land, they resolved to grant a subsidy, and accordingly sent deputies to him with their answer, the substance of which was, that in case he would leave to the churches the freedom of elections, and cause the charters of the king his father to be observed, they would exert their utmost to content him. Henry told the deputies, he could not deny, but on certain occasions he had carried the prerogative royal a little too far: but that he was firmly resolved never to violate the charters again. He further added, they might be assured that the charters of king John should be punctually kept. Then addressing himself to such of the deputies as were of the clergy, he desired them to consider, that among the prelates which then governed the church of England, there were but few that had not been promoted to the dignities they enjoyed, by the means of that prerogative royal they complained of. He asked them whether they themselves, at the time of their being elected, would have wished that there had been that freedom in elections, which they now demanded with so much earnestness. He also told them, that since they desired him to correct what was amiss in the government, they themselves ought to set him a good example: that they had only to resign their bishoprics and abbies which had been acquired by unjust ways. The prelates were confounded at this home-discourse, and could make no reply, but "that the business at present was not to undo what was past, but to prevent the like evils for the future." As the king's sole aim was to get money of the parliament, he did not push matters any farther. Content with having mortified the clergy, he said to the deputies, that he was ready to join with the parliament in all necessary measures for reforming grievances. Upon these assurances, the clergy granted him the tenths of their revenue for three years, and the barons, three marks of every knight's fee held immediately of the crown. The solemn engagement the king had entered into on account of the charters, was too express for him to recede from it; and therefore, without being solicited to it, he convened, in Westminster Hall, an assembly, at which were present all the lords spiritual and temporal. The archbishop of Canterbury stood up, and denounced a terrible curse against all those that should oppose directly or indirectly, the observance of the two charters; then against those that should violate, diminish or alter, in any manner whatsoever, the laws and constitutions of the kingdom. After denouncing of the anathema, the two charters were read aloud, and confirmed by the king, who kept his hand all the while upon his breast ‡.

Notwith-

\* Hume says sixty thousand.

† See Rapin, book VIII.

‡ As Matthew Paris, who was present in Westminster Hall during these transactions, has recorded them with great faithfulness, we shall lay a translation of that part of his history before our readers: "In the great hall at Westminster, in presence, and with consent of our illustrious lord Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, and the following noble lords, Richard, earl of Cornwall, his brother; the earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, marshal of England; the earl of Hereford, the earl of Oxford, the earl of Warwick, and other peers of the realm; and of us, by the divine blessing of God, Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England; the bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, Worcester, Norwich, Hereford, Salisbury, Durham, Oxford, Carlisle, Bath, Rochester, and St. David's; all clothed in our pontificals, with lighted torches in our hand, have pronounced, in a solemn manner, the following sentence of excommunication against all transgressors of our liberties, both ecclesiastical and civil, of the free customs of the kingdom of England, and especially those contained in the great Charter of Forests." [Here John's charter is inserted.] "We, by authority of Almighty God, and of the Sun, and Holy Ghost, and of the glorious mother of God the Virgin Mary; and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of all the apostles; and of St. Thomas, archbishop and martyr, and of all the martyrs, of St. Edward king of England, of all the confessors and virgins; and of the saints of God, do excommunicate, anathematize, and from entrance of holy mat-

ter forbid, all those who, in any wise, shall deprive or rob the churches of their right; also all those who, by any art or device, shall rashly violate ecclesiastical liberties, or the ancient and established customs of the realm, and especially those contained in the Charters of all the Liberties of England, and in the Charter of Forests, granted by our sovereign lord the king of England, to the archbishops, bishops, and prelates of England, the earls, barons, knights and free tenants; or shall change the same, any part of them, in any manner or way privately or publicly, either by deed, word or design. Also against those who shall either publish or introduce other customs, contrary to the said liberties, or the statutes of the same; or shall observe such customs introduced: as also against the writers of such statutes, counsellors, and executors, or whoever shall presume to judge according to them. All and singular persons above-mentioned shall, in fact, incur this present sentence, who shall knowingly contravene the same; if, within fifteen days after the term of warning, they do not conform themselves, and give full satisfaction for their misdemeanors, according to the just judgement of the ordinaries, then they shall be deemed included in the sentence. And within the same we also involve all those, who shall presume to disturb the peace of the king and kingdom; in perpetual remembrance of which, we have caused our seals to be appended to the same." [Thus far the record; what follows are the words of M. Paris.] "The charter, therefore, of his father king John was publicly produced, in which king John granted, and willingly confirmed, the aforesaid liberties, which he then ordered to be recited.



Notwithstanding these solemn oaths, and denunciations against those who should violate them, Henry, as soon as the parliament was dissolved, sought every means to break through his engagement, and resolved to apply to the pope for a dispensation from his oath; which his favourites and advisers told him, he might obtain for the trifling sum of two or three hundred marks.

Henry set out for Guienne on the 6th of August, taking with him the subsidy which had been granted for carrying on the war in the Holy Land, and arrived at Bourdeaux on the 15th of the same month; when he headed his troops, and soon became master of all the places which had been taken by Alphonso's party. To prevent the king of Castile's further ambitious project, Henry dispatched an ambassador to Spain, with orders to propose a marriage between Edward his eldest son, and Eleanor, the sister of Alphonso. This proposal meeting with Alphonso's approbation, he agreed, without much solicitation, and resigned to prince Edward all his pretensions to Guienne\*. This affair was transacted with great secrecy, as Henry designed to apply for a fresh subsidy from the parliament, under colour of the war. The earl of Leicester, who had retired into France, finding Henry engaged in a war with the Gascons, levied some troops at his own charge, and made an offer of his service. Upon his arrival, and the report of a private treaty between Alphonso and the king, the Gascons were struck with terror, and returned to their allegiance.

In 1254, Henry pretended to be apprehensive of an attack on account of the Castilians, and sent orders to the queen to summon a parliament and demand an aid. But this attempt did not answer his expectation: for, the parliament, having had intimation of the treaty, which was negotiating in Spain, replied, that all the barons would be in a readiness to serve the king with their lives and fortunes, on the first news of his being invaded by the Castilians. This answer not satisfying Henry, who imagined that the parliament had no knowledge of the treaty of Burgos, he wrote to the queen and prince Richard, telling them, that he was in great perplexity, having received certain advice of the king of Castile's preparations to invade Guienne with a numerous army of Moors; and on this account, he commanded them to press the parliament to grant an aid answerable to his necessities. But as Henry was not able to carry his point, he sent orders to the prince his brother to extort money from the Jews at any rate. Richard discharged his commission with such rigour, that by his oppressions he reduced the miserable wretches to desire leave to depart the kingdom: but it being refused them, they were constrained to pay the king a greater sum than ever they had paid before.

The queen, having received notice that her son's marriage was concluded, set sail for Bourdeaux, with

recited. Now, when Henry heard the aforesaid sentence, he held his hand upon his breast, with a placid, willing, and cheerful countenance. At last all of them threw out of their hands the extinguishing smoking candles, and each present said, "So let them be extinguished and sink in hell, who shall incur this sentence." The bells were then rung, and the king himself said, "So may God help me, as I shall faithfully observe all those articles, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a crowned anointed king." We are farther to remark, that when sentence was first begun to be pronounced, the king, among the others, had a lighted candle put into his hands, but he refused to hold it, and gave it to one of the prelates, saying, "It becomes not me to hold such a candle, for I am not a priest; but my heart beareth a stronger testimony." He then put his hand upon his breast during the whole time the sentence was pronouncing; but Robert bishop of Lincoln, foreboding in his own heart, and fearing that the king should start from his promise, ordered the sentence of excommunication to be solemnly pronounced against all, especially priests, who should infringe the aforesaid charters, throughout all the churches of his diocese. A sentence so dreadful in its manner of promulgation, as to make the ears of all who heard it to tingle." *Mat. Paris, fol. 867, 868.*

No. XVIII.

Edward and Edmund her sons, and the archbishop of Canterbury. Immediately after her arrival, prince Edward was sent in great state to Burgos, where he married the Infanta Eleanor, and in a few days set out again with his bride for Bourdeaux, where the king and queen waited for them. During their stay in that city, the king confirmed by a new patent, the grant of Guienne to the prince his son, to which was added Ireland, and the sovereignty of Wales†. Henry having settled his affairs, prepared for his departure. But in order to avoid the fatigue of a sea voyage, he obtained leave of the king of France‡ to pass through his dominions, in order to embark at Boulogne. Lewis not only granted his request, but received him at Chartres§, from whence he conducted him to Paris, where he entertained him eight days.

Henry, upon his arrival, made his entry into London with great pomp, and received from the city a present of a hundred pounds sterling, which the Londoners gave on similar occasions: but as he did not seem satisfied, they gave him also, a large piece of plate, with which he was content. A few days after he laid hold of an opportunity which offered, to extort from the city a more considerable sum. A priest, accused of murder, made his escape out of Newgate, where the bishop had confined him, whereupon the city was sentenced to pay the king three thousand marks, as a punishment for its neglect.

This year the pope was the cause of embarking Henry in a project for the conquest of Naples, or Sicily, on this side the Faro di Messina; an enterprize which threw much dishonour on the king, and involved him, during some years, in trouble and expence. The Romish church, taking advantage of some favourite incidents, as was her usual practice, had reduced the kingdom of Sicily to the same state of feudal vassalage, which she pretended to exercise over England; and which, by reason of the distance, as well as high spirit of this latter kingdom, she was not able to maintain. The pope, pretending to dispose of the crown, both as superior lord, and as vicar of Christ, to whom, in his own blind and enthusiastic estimation, all the kingdoms of the earth were subject, made an offer of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to Henry, who refused his holiness's tender. On Henry's refusal, the pope made the same offer to Richard, earl of Cornwall, whose prudence prompted him to refuse it. Hereupon Innocent made an offer of the crown to Edmund, Henry's second son, which bait was eagerly caught by the avaricious Henry, and without considering the consequences, or how he was to obtain money to defray the necessary expences of placing his son on the throne, he desired the pope to take such measures as were requisite, and assured him that he would pay the expences of the war||.

Immense sums were drained from England, under pretence

\* The, bishop of Bath, and John Mansel, his special chaplains, were the agents in this affair, and brought back a charter sealed with a golden seal. This charter is still in being.

† And likewise the city and towns of Bristol, Stamford, and Grantham. *M. Paris.* Before the king's return, upon stating his accounts, it appeared, that the expences of his expeditions amounted to 20,700*l.* besides lands, wardships, &c. given to foreigners, and 30,000 marks spent upon his Poictevin brothers. Being told, says Matthew Paris, of this great expence by one about him, he replied, "Oh, for the head of God, say no more of it, lest the very relation make men stand amazed."

‡ The king of France had lately been released from the Saracens for four hundred thousand livres.

§ Henry was attended by a thousand brave horse with noble riders, and there were with him his own queen and his sister, the countess of Cornwall, who were met by the queen of France, and her sister the countess of Anjou. Thither came also the old countess of Provence, mother to all these ladies. *M. Paris.*

|| The affairs of Sicily being now become a matter of serious enquiry, we shall lay an abstract account of them before our readers, as it will explain the nature of the war in that country, as it will shew the motives which actuated the pope to offer



pretence of carrying this project into execution, for the pope took that upon himself; but the money was still found insufficient: the conquest of Sicily was as remote as ever. Henry, therefore, sensible at length of the cheat, was obliged to resign into the pope's hands, that crown which he had more than purchased, but which it

offer the crown of that kingdom to Henry, to Richard, and afterwards to Edmund, and as it will shew the enormous debt which Henry drew upon himself by his rash acceptance of the pope's pretended favours:

"Manfred, natural brother to the late king of Sicily, whom he had secretly poisoned, was left guardian to young prince Conradin his son, a child of eleven years of age. He, with the most profound dissimulation, espoused the interest of the pope, who, at the head of an army had taken possession of the kingdom of Naples, as his right, having excommunicated the late king, for not having done him homage. Manfred having now so far got the good opinion of the pope, as to be admitted into his councils, determined to turn it to his own advantage, by advising him to disperse his forces all over his dominions, and by that means he divided the pope's, troops, and his allies.

"The army Innocent had brought into Naples, could not be maintained without very great expence, which the pope could not bear for any great length of time. His apprehensions that his troops would quickly disband themselves, if he did not find money to pay them, set him upon making a fresh attempt upon the king of England. Under pretence of informing Henry of the circumstances of the death of the king of Sicily his nephew, he sent a nuncio, says Rapin, who had orders to offer him in his name, the crown of the Two Sicilies for prince Edmund his second son. These tempting offers had the desired effect. Henry, without consulting the prince his brother, or the parliament, from whom he was to expect the aids necessary for this undertaking, accepted this imaginary present, with all thankfulness. From thenceforward he caused prince Edmund to assume the title of king of Sicily. From the time that this ill-advised prince had inconsiderately embarked himself in this affair, he had never either the power or prudence, to get clear of the snares which the pope laid for him on that pretence. The pope sent him word, that by the help of an inconsiderable sum of money, he would have the satisfaction to see, in a little time, his second son on the throne, and that a crown like that of Sicily was well worth taking some pains to obtain. Pleased with these flattering hopes, Henry sent to the pope all the ready money he had by him, all that the prince his brother would lend him, and all that he could extort from the Jews, or his other subjects, by means of judges sent into every county, whom he once more made use of. But this not being enough to satisfy the pope, he was carried to that degree of indiscretion, as to oblige himself, under pain of being excommunicated and deprived of the royal dignity, to pay all such sums as the pope should borrow towards carrying on their enterprize. Innocent, empowered in this unlimited manner, spared not his friend's pocket. By loans real or pretended, he engaged him so deeply, that his ordinary revenue could not possibly answer the expence. This put him frequently under a necessity of making such demands of the parliament as rendered him more and more odious to his subjects. But he was so fond of this affair, that he regarded not the complaints and murmurings of the people, provided he thought he could get the money necessary for the compassing his ends. The pope knowing that it was not in Henry's power to keep his engagement, used several means to raise money in England for the king. To this end he directed a bull to the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of Caester, empowering them to borrow money of persons of all conditions, in the name of the church of Rome, with orders to pay what sums should be thus raised into the king's hands. The voyage to the Holy Land furnished the pope with a handle, to grant the king two tenths from the clergy: but at the same time, he ordered the money to be deposited in a safe place, from whence it could not be taken but by his orders. He pretended, that it was to prevent the king from putting it to any other use than the expedition to Palestine. By a third bull, he granted the king a twentieth part of the church's revenue in Scotland, provided the money might be raised without giving offence. Though Edmund as yet enjoyed only an empty title, the king his father, blinded by the hopes instilled into him by the pope, considered this young prince as the real monarch of the Two Sicilies. In this belief, he would have him give, by an authentic patent, to Thomas, earl of Savoy, uncle to the queen, the principality of Capua, which, like the rest of the kingdom, was still in dispute between the pope and Conradin. But notwithstanding the pope thought fit to divest himself of this kingdom in favour of Edmund, he would not, however, suffer him to dispose of any thing belonging to it, without his leave. Whilst the pope continued his negotiations in England with all possible secrecy,

was never intended either he or his family should inherit.

The king now stood in need of vast sums of money, but how to raise them was a very difficult matter. He therefore applied to parliament for an aid, when they acquainted him, that they would grant him a subsidy, if

for fear of alarming the Sicilians, Manfred the Bastard was taking at Naples measures to procure the crown of the Sicilies. As soon as affairs were in the posture he wished them, he waited for an opportunity to declare himself openly; and it was not long before he had one. A quarrel, which he had at the court of Rome, wherein he killed a man who had affronted him, having obliged him to abscond, he was summoned to appear and take his trial. Upon his refusal, Innocent ordered his troops to march towards the little city of Nocera, inhabited by Saracens, whither the murderer was fled. This was enough for Manfred to draw his friends together, who were all in readiness. With the succours which flocked to him from several parts, he went out to meet the troops which were marching against him, and having attacked them advantageously between Troja and Foggia, he killed part of them, and put the rest to flight. Innocent was not a little surprized at the defeat of his army, and to find upon his hands a fresh enemy on whom he depended to clear the kingdom of the Germans. This incident having convinced him that Manfred had only amused him, he perceived, that since the Germans had sided with the bastard, it would be a hard matter to keep his footing in the kingdom with only his own forces. In this belief, he repeated his instances to the king of England, for troops and money, with an English general, threatening him, in case of refusal, to give the crown of Sicily to some other prince. But as these succours were at a great distance, the vexation he was under to see his affairs in so ill a situation, threw him into a fit of sickness, which caused his death. Alexander, who succeeded Innocent, resolved to prosecute the war against Manfred, who had declared for Conradin, for fear of offending the Germans, of whom he stood in great need. As the pope was in no less want of the succours from England, instead of menacing Henry, as Innocent had done, he dispatched to him the bishop of Bononia, on whose hands he put a ring to invest, by that mark, prince Edmund with the kingdom of Sicily. But whilst the legate was on the road, Alexander's affairs were entirely ruined; the pope having borrowed money from all hands, on the king of England's account, had found means to draw together an army of sixty thousand men, of whom he had given the command to cardinal Octavian Ulbalini Florentinus, with orders to besiege Manfred in Nocera. The cardinal had for his lieutenant-general the marquis of Hoemburch, a German, who had a long time served Innocent IV. but who, for some time since, had been corrupted by Manfred. Upon the approach of this army to Nocera, the marquis, who watched for an opportunity to cause Octavian to take some false step, represented to him, that it was not only needless, but a lessening to his honour to employ so great an army against a paltry town. He told him, that the country adjoining afforded no forage, and that besides, it was evident, that Manfred was in no condition to do any great matters, since he had shut himself up within walls. The ecclesiastical general, who had but little experience in the art of war, looking upon the marquis as an able and faithful soldier, was easily persuaded to divide his army, on the false notion of his enemy's being afraid of him. He had no sooner committed this blunder, but Manfred sallied out of Nocera, and falling, on a sudden upon the army which was coming to besiege him, entirely put them to rout. The pope's loss in this action was so great, that he could no longer keep his footing in that country. Accordingly Manfred, without any difficulty, became master of the Two Sicilies, and was crowned at Palermo, after he had spread a report that young Conradin was dead in Germany. Though Alexander had nothing to depend upon in Italy, yet he did not despair of restoring his affairs by means of the king of England, who little knew what a turn had happened in the country, which he was so much concerned in. The truth is, the bishop of Bononia came to London, where, without saying a word of what had happened in the kingdom of Naples, or of the coronation of Manfred, he invested prince Edmund with the Two Sicilies. This was done with great solemnity, which was a fresh satisfaction to Henry. This weak prince was as much pleased with the ceremony, as if Edmund had actually been put in possession of a crown. But if there were flatterers who congratulated him upon this augmentation of glory, there were wiser people, who were grieved to see their king become more and more a tool to the pope. Indeed, says Rapin, it was no very hard matter to perceive, that he was embarking in an undertaking which all the ready-money in the kingdom would not suffice to bring about." *Vid. Rapin, book viii.*



the charters were to be observed for the future; and they further required, that the nomination of the treasurer, the justiciary, and the chancellor, should be vested in the parliament, and that they should not be liable to be turned out but by the same authority. The king not thinking fit to agree to these terms, prorogued the parliament till Michaelmas.

In the mean time Henry took a journey to Scotland, on account of the queen his daughter, who complained of the oppressive usage of those who governed the kingdom during the king's minority\*. The presence of the king of England contributed much to the settling the affairs of that kingdom, which began to feel the effects which usually attend a minority. He made but a very short stay in Scotland, being in great haste to return into England, where the affairs of Sicily, which ran perpetually in his mind, required his attendance.

In the year 1255, the pope sent one Rustand as his nuncio, whom he furnished with several bulls, all tending to exact money from the clergy. The first, which the nuncio produced, was an order to gather a tenth in England, Ireland, and Scotland, as well to the use of the pope, as of the king. The artful manner in which this bull was expressed left the clergy no room to cavil. The pope laid this imposition on them, "Notwithstanding† any former letters, indulgencies, privileges, exemptions, or other grants, under any form, and for what cause soever, and notwithstanding all objections which could be devised." A second bull gave the nuncio power to change the vow the king had made to go to the Holy Land, into that of undertaking the conquest of Sicily. Henry engaged himself in this new vow, by a solemn oath on the relics of St. Edward, as he had done before with regard to his first vow. The nuncio ordered the clergy to recommend in these discourses a Crusade against Manfred, as an enemy to the Christian name; and also promised pardon of their sins to all those that should assist the holy see against that excommunicated prince. The publication of this Crusade had but little effect in England; but in Palestine the Christians, imagining the succours intended for them were diverted to other uses, concluded a truce with the Saracens for ten years.

The parliament, which had been prorogued, being met, the king solicited in vain for a subsidy. He had taken care not to summon such of the lords as had shewn the most resolution in the last session: but on account of their not being summoned, the parliament refused his demand. They alledged that, according to the tenor of *Magna Charta*, they were not obliged to debate any business, unless all that had a right to sit in parliament were summoned. Henry, seeing little hopes of getting any money from this assembly, dissolved them, and took other courses to compass his designs. Not having been able to succeed with the parliament, he would have borrowed of the prince his brother; but he was not to be prevailed upon: Richard was displeased that the king should rashly engage in this affair, without vouchsafing to consult either him or the barons of the realm.

This year also the pope sent several other bulls into England, with a view to extort money. These bulls are extant among the records of England, and are printed in the Collection of Public Acts. In one of these bulls, he orders Henry to pay four thousand

pounds to the bishop of Bononia, for the charges of his legateship, as if the court of Rome had no manner of concern in the affair. In another, dated the same month, he confirms the change of the king's vow to go to the Holy Land into that of an expedition into Sicily, in order that the money designed for the war against the Saracens, might serve to pay the debts contracted for the conquest of that kingdom. By another, directed to the archbishop of Canterbury, he makes, by his authority, the same change with regard to the vow of the king of Norway and of his subjects. He commands them to send into England, for the pretended expedition to Sicily the money which they had raised for the voyage to the Holy Land. Another, enjoins all the English, who have received any money towards their journey to Palestine, to pay it into the hands of certain commissioners, to be employed in the Sicilian expedition. Although he had before confirmed the change of Henry's vow, he granted him, by a bull, the twentieth part of the clergy's revenue in Scotland, to be expended in the expeditions to the Holy Land. After this, by a subsequent bull, he absolves the Scots from their vow of going to the Holy Land, on condition they would send into England a certain sum to be employed in the conquest of Sicily. He granted the same favour to the English, by a bull dated in August the same year. And by another in October, he commanded his nuncio to compel the English prelates, to pay the tenths which had been granted to the king, for the payment of the debts contracted since his engagements with Innocent IV.

The sums taken up in the king's name amounted, according to the pope's account, to one hundred thirty five thousand five hundred and forty marks, principal money, besides interest‡. Alexander was not ignorant that the king's revenue was hardly sufficient for his necessary expences, and that consequently, it was impossible to take any thing from thence to satisfy the pretended creditors. To assist the king at this juncture, he thought fit, that all the extraordinary levies of money made in the kingdom should be applied to this use, for which he took upon him to find means himself to raise what sums should be necessary. Accordingly, in order to oblige the clergy to pay the greatest share of this debt, Alexander made use of an extraordinary means, suggested to him by the bishop of Hereford, who was a foreigner. He caused a great many obligatory notes to be drawn up, whereby each bishop in England acknowledged to have received of particular merchants of Sienna or Florence, or some other place in Italy, the sum of — § for the occasions of his church, and bound himself to repay it at a certain time. This done, endeavours were used to constrain each man to sign one of these notes, as if he had actually borrowed the money therein mentioned. This was an oppression of such a nature, that it would puzzle history itself to find an instance of the kind among the most famous tyrants. To put this infamous design in execution, Rustand the nuncio, assembled all the prelates of the kingdom in 1256, and acquainted them, that it was the pope's pleasure, that each of them should sign one of these notes, by which he was to bind himself to pay the sum therein mentioned, in a short time, under pain of excommunication. This proposal so much surprized the bishops, that the bishop of London declared, "He would lose his life, rather

\* The regents were Sir Robert de Ros, and Sir John Baliol.

† *Non obstante.*

‡ Besides fifty thousand more in which the prelates stood bound to the pope, though without their own knowledge and consent. The words of M. Paris upon this occasion are these: "The sacred privileges of churches signify nothing, and though the pope has a power only for edification, and not for destruction, yet the tax upon the clergy, which was granted at first but for three, is now changed into five years; and formerly laymen paid tithes to the clergy, but now even the prelates are compelled to pay tenths to the laity; an aid was granted in succour of the Holy Land, and we are compelled

" to pay it, to fight against the Christians of Apulia: a tenth was also granted by us to the king for the observation of the great charter, which notwithstanding is not kept; besides many other grievances then done to the clergy and church of England by the pope's means, though with the privity and connivance of the king himself, too long to be here repeated." which, as Tyrrel observes, though omitted by Dr. Brady, yet may serve to let us see the sad condition of the people, where the prince instead of defending them, gives them up for a prey to a foreign power. See M. Paris toward the close of the year 1255.

§ Five, six, or seven hundred marks a-piece, or more.

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was never intended either he or his family should inherit.

The king now stood in need of vast sums of money, but how to raise them was a very difficult matter. He therefore applied to parliament for an aid, when they acquainted him, that they would grant him a subsidy, if

for fear of alarming the Sicilians, Manfred the Bastard was taking at Naples measures to procure the crown of the Sicilies. As soon as affairs were in the posture he wished them, he waited for an opportunity to declare himself openly; and it was not long before he had one. A quarrel, which he had at the court of Rome, wherein he killed a man who had affronted him, having obliged him to abscond, he was summoned to appear and take his trial. Upon his refusal, Innocent ordered his troops to march towards the little city of Nocera, inhabited by Saracens, whither the murderer was fled. This was enough for Manfred to draw his friends together, who were all in readiness. With the succours which flocked to him from several parts, he went out to meet the troops which were marching against him, and having attacked them advantageously between Troja and Foggia, he killed part of them, and put the rest to flight. Innocent was not a little surprized at the defeat of his army, and to find upon his hands a fresh enemy on whom he depended to clear the kingdom of the Germans. This incident having convinced him that Manfred had only amused him, he perceived, that since the Germans had sided with the bastard, it would be a hard matter to keep his footing in the kingdom with only his own forces. In this belief, he repeated his instances to the king of England, for troops and money, with an English general, threatening him, in case of refusal, to give the crown of Sicily to some other prince. But as these succours were at a great distance, the vexation he was under to see his affairs in so ill a situation, threw him into a fit of sickness, which caused his death. Alexander, who succeeded Innocent, resolved to prosecute the war against Manfred, who had declared for Conradin, for fear of offending the Germans, of whom he stood in great need. As the pope was in no less want of the succours from England, instead of menacing Henry, as Innocent had done, he dispatched to him the bishop of Bononia, on whose hands he put a ring to invest, by that mark, prince Edmund with the kingdom of Sicily. But whilst the legate was on the road, Alexander's affairs were entirely ruined; the pope having borrowed money from all hands, on the king of England's account, had found means to draw together an army of sixty thousand men, of whom he had given the command to cardinal Octavian Ulbaladini Florentinus, with orders to besiege Manfred in Nocera. The cardinal had for his lieutenant-general the marquis of Hoemburch, a German, who had a long time served Innocent IV. but who, for some time since, had been corrupted by Manfred. Upon the approach of this army to Nocera, the marquis, who watched for an opportunity to cause Octavian to take some false step, represented to him, that it was not only needless, but a lessening to his honour to employ so great an army against a paltry town. He told him, that the country adjoining afforded no forage, and that besides, it was evident, that Manfred was in no condition to do any great matters, since he had shut himself up within walls. The ecclesiastical general, who had but little experience in the art of war, looking upon the marquis as an able and faithful soldier, was easily persuaded to divide his army, on the false notion of his enemy's being afraid of him. He had no sooner committed this blunder, but Manfred sallied out of Nocera, and falling, on a sudden upon the army which was coming to besiege him, entirely put them to rout. The pope's loss in this action was so great, that he could no longer keep his footing in that country. Accordingly Manfred, without any difficulty, became master of the Two Sicilies, and was crowned at Palermo, after he had spread a report that young Conradin was dead in Germany. Though Alexander had nothing to depend upon in Italy, yet he did not despair of restoring his affairs by means of the king of England, who little knew what a turn had happened in the country, which he was so much concerned in. The truth is, the bishop of Bononia came to London, where, without saying a word of what had happened in the kingdom of Naples, or of the coronation of Manfred, he invested prince Edmund with the Two Sicilies. This was done with great solemnity, which was a fresh satisfaction to Henry. This weak prince was as much pleased with the ceremony, as if Edmund had actually been put in possession of a crown. But if there were flatterers who congratulated him upon this augmentation of glory, there were wiser people, who were grieved to see their king become more and more a tool to the pope. Indeed, says Rapin, it was no very hard matter to perceive, that he was embarking in an undertaking which all the ready-money in the kingdom would not suffice to bring about." *Vid. Rapin, book viii.*



the charters were to be observed for the future; and they further required, that the nomination of the treasurer, the justiciary, and the chancellor, should be vested in the parliament, and that they should not be liable to be turned out but by the same authority. The king not thinking fit to agree to these terms, prorogued the parliament till Michaelmas.

In the mean time Henry took a journey to Scotland, on account of the queen his daughter, who complained of the oppressive usage of those who governed the kingdom during the king's minority\*. The presence of the king of England contributed much to the settling the affairs of that kingdom, which began to feel the effects which usually attend a minority. He made but a very short stay in Scotland, being in great haste to return into England, where the affairs of Sicily, which ran perpetually in his mind, required his attendance.

In the year 1255, the pope sent one Rustand as his nuncio, whom he furnished with several bulls, all tending to exact money from the clergy. The first, which the nuncio produced, was an order to gather a tenth in England, Ireland, and Scotland, as well to the use of the pope, as of the king. The artful manner in which this bull was expressed left the clergy no room to cavil. The pope laid this imposition on them, "Notwithstanding† any former letters, indulgencies, privileges, exemptions, or other grants, under any form, and for what cause soever, and notwithstanding all objections which could be devised." A second bull gave the nuncio power to change the vow the king had made to go to the Holy Land, into that of undertaking the conquest of Sicily. Henry engaged himself in this new vow, by a solemn oath on the relics of St. Edward, as he had done before with regard to his first vow. The nuncio ordered the clergy to recommend in these discourses a Crusade against Manfred, as an enemy to the Christian name; and also promised pardon of their sins to all those that should assist the holy see against that excommunicated prince. The publication of this Crusade had but little effect in England; but in Palestine the Christians, imagining the succours intended for them were diverted to other uses, concluded a truce with the Saracens for ten years.

The parliament, which had been prorogued, being met, the king solicited in vain for a subsidy. He had taken care not to summon such of the lords as had shewn the most resolution in the last session: but on account of their not being summoned, the parliament refused his demand. They alledged that, according to the tenor of *Magna Charta*, they were not obliged to debate any business, unless all that had a right to sit in parliament were summoned. Henry, seeing little hopes of getting any money from this assembly, dissolved them, and took other courses to compass his designs. Not having been able to succeed with the parliament, he would have borrowed of the prince his brother; but he was not to be prevailed upon: Richard was displeased that the king should rashly engage in this affair, without vouchsafing to consult either him or the barons of the realm.

This year also the pope sent several other bulls into England, with a view to extort money. These bulls are extant among the records of England, and are printed in the Collection of Public Acts. In one of these bulls, he orders Henry to pay four thousand

pounds to the bishop of Bononia, for the charges of his legateship, as if the court of Rome had no manner of concern in the affair. In another, dated the same month, he confirms the change of the king's vow to go to the Holy Land into that of an expedition into Sicily, in order that the money designed for the war against the Saracens, might serve to pay the debts contracted for the conquest of that kingdom. By another, directed to the archbishop of Canterbury, he makes, by his authority, the same change with regard to the vow of the king of Norway and of his subjects. He commands them to send into England, for the pretended expedition to Sicily the money which they had raised for the voyage to the Holy Land. Another, enjoins all the English, who have received any money towards their journey to Palestine, to pay it into the hands of certain commissioners, to be employed in the Sicilian expedition. Although he had before confirmed the change of Henry's vow, he granted him, by a bull, the twentieth part of the clergy's revenue in Scotland, to be expended in the expeditions to the Holy Land. After this, by a subsequent bull, he absolves the Scots from their vow of going to the Holy Land, on condition they would send into England a certain sum to be employed in the conquest of Sicily. He granted the same favour to the English, by a bull dated in August the same year. And by another in October, he commanded his nuncio to compel the English prelates, to pay the tenths which had been granted to the king, for the payment of the debts contracted since his engagements with Innocent IV.

The sums taken up in the king's name amounted, according to the pope's account, to one hundred thirty five thousand five hundred and forty marks, principal money, besides interest‡. Alexander was not ignorant that the king's revenue was hardly sufficient for his necessary expences, and that consequently, it was impossible to take any thing from thence to satisfy the pretended creditors. To assist the king at this juncture, he thought fit, that all the extraordinary levies of money made in the kingdom should be applied to this use, for which he took upon him to find means himself to raise what sums should be necessary. Accordingly, in order to oblige the clergy to pay the greatest share of this debt, Alexander made use of an extraordinary means, suggested to him by the bishop of Hereford, who was a foreigner. He caused a great many obligatory notes to be drawn up, whereby each bishop in England acknowledged to have received of particular merchants of Siennæ or Florence, or some other place in Italy, the sum of — § for the occasions of his church, and bound himself to repay it at a certain time. This done, endeavours were used to constrain each man to sign one of these notes, as if he had actually borrowed the money therein mentioned. This was an oppression of such a nature, that it would puzzle history itself to find an instance of the kind among the most famous tyrants. To put this infamous design in execution, Rustand the nuncio, assembled all the prelates of the kingdom in 1256, and acquainted them, that it was the pope's pleasure, that each of them should sign one of these notes, by which he was to bind himself to pay the sum therein mentioned, in a short time, under pain of excommunication. This proposal so much surprized the bishops, that the bishop of London declared, "He would lose his life, rather

\* The regents were Sir Robert de Ros, and Sir John Baliol.  
† *Non obstantes*.

‡ Besides fifty thousand more in which the prelates stood bound to the pope, though without their own knowledge and consent. The words of M. Paris upon this occasion are these: "The sacred privileges of churches signify nothing, and though the pope has a power only for edification, and not for destruction, yet the tax upon the clergy, which was granted at first but for three, is now changed into five years; and formerly laymen paid tithes to the clergy, but now even the prelates are compelled to pay tenths to the laity; an aid was granted in succour of the Holy Land, and we are compelled

"to pay it, to fight against the Christians of Apulia: a tenth was also granted by us to the king for the observation of the great charter, which notwithstanding is not kept; besides many other grievances then done to the clergy and church of England by the pope's means, though with the privity and connivance of the king himself, too long to be here repeated." which, as Tyrrel observes, though omitted by Dr. Brady, yet may serve to let us see the sad condition of the people, where the prince instead of defending them, gives them up for a prey to a foreign power. See M. Paris toward the close of the year 1255.

§ Five, six, or seven hundred marks a-piece, or more.

"than



"than submit to so tyrannical an oppression." The bishop of Worcester spoke in similar terms, and Rustand had for answer, "That the clergy of England would not be slaves to the pope." The nuncio complained to the king of this bold answer, and intimated, that the bishop of London was the cause of the clergy's disobedience. Henry, who was no less nettled than the nuncio, fell into a great passion with the bishop, and told him, that since he was afraid neither of his nor the pope's indignation, he should quickly be made to feel the effects of it. This threat was not capable of daunting the prelate, for he replied, "That he was very sensible, the king and the pope were more powerful than he, but in case his mitre were taken from him, he would clap a helmet in its place." But this firmness and resolution could not make the nuncio drop his design. By the help of the bishop of Hereford, he sowed discord among the chief of the clergy, by caressing some and frightening others, and excommunicating the rest. His censures were so much the more terrible, because if within forty days they sued not for absolution, which could not be obtained but by submitting to the pope's will, all their revenues were confiscated. But the money which was raised by this means was not sufficient to answer their present necessities, therefore Rustand summoned the prelates again, who requested time to prepare themselves, which was granted them. Some time after the clergy sent deputies to the nuncio, who complained of the injustice of the pope: whereupon Rustand treated them with indignity. The time granted to the clergy being expired, the prelates with the archdeacons, who were the representatives of the inferior clergy, assembled at London. As they met purely upon this affair, Rustand renewed his instances the very first day. The clergy replied, by Leonard their prolocutor, that their poverty hindered them from consenting to the pope's demand, considering it was founded neither upon reason nor justice. The nuncio told them, that there was no injustice in what the pope claimed, and that "as all the churches belonged to him, he could dispose of their incomes as he pleased." This assertion was immediately answered by Leonard, who said, "That it might be made appear in some sense, that all the churches belonged to the pope, for him to protect and defend them, but not to appropriate them to his own use. In like manner, as we say in England, that all things are the king's: yet no man ever took it in his head to say, the king was proprietor of all the estates of his subjects: so with regard to the lands of the church, it can never be proved, that it was the intention of the founders to give them to the pope." This reply so exasperated the nuncio, that he did not care to dispute the matter, but contented himself with saying, "Let every one speak for himself, that the pope may know who is for and who against him." The bishops, fired with indignation at this treatment, unanimously replied, that they neither could nor would submit to such an unjust exaction; that this was their last resolve; and that they would suffer death in a just cause, rather than submit. The nuncio, finding he was not able to succeed by threats, grew more calm, and said, he would go himself and talk with the pope about the difficulties which occurred in the executing his orders. The clergy dispatched likewise, in their name, the dean of St. Paul's, to acquaint his holiness with the reasons of their denial. As the pope affirmed that the sums in question were really taken up for the service of the king and church, he ordered that each prelate should pay his share in proportion to his revenue: but that the money thus paid, should be deducted out of the tenths which should here-

after be granted to the king. After this decision, he would not hearken to any thing further: so that the clergy were forced to pay money which they had not borrowed, and to the payment of which they had been bound without knowing any thing of the matter\*.

In March this year (1256) the king called a parliament, which met at Westminster, when the king demanded an aid to place the prince his son on the throne of Sicily. He likewise requested, that a body of troops should be sent into Italy, in order to facilitate the design, but the parliament would not suffer the troops to be sent out of the kingdom, as the pope and king desired, because the country would by those means have been left without soldiers, and consequently exposed to foreign invasions. These considerations induced them to refuse the king an aid which he demanded. To justify their denial, they presented an address to him, wherein they exhibited their reasons. 1. The difficulty of the projected undertaking. 2. The poverty of the nation. 3. The dread of an invasion from the neighbouring states, if the forces of the kingdom were sent at a distance. 4. That this project was formed without the consent of parliament. Lastly, That the conditions annexed to the grant of Sicily, left the pope at liberty to revoke it whenever he should think fit. The king was not satisfied with demanding of his parliament an extraordinary aid; but he requested, that the clergy should be bound for the sums which the pope pretended were still due to him, and give the consent, that the tenths granted for three years should be continued for five more. The clergy resolved not to comply with these extravagant demands: but the pope had no sooner spoken by the mouth of his nuncio, than the clergy tamely submitted, and gave the king the greatest part of what he had demanded.

Notwithstanding the immense sums which he had been lately drawn out of the kingdom. Henry still continued his exactions, as well upon the citizens of London, as upon the rest of the kingdom. He even considered the Welsh as his subjects, ever since they had been his vassals, and made them feel the effects of his greediness. The oppressions they had endured roused them from their lethargy, and they had had recourse to arms; and making an irruption into the frontiers of England, they carried off a great booty. Prince Edward desired leave to go against them; but was not able to raise a sufficient number of troops to stop their progress. The king's treasury was so exhausted, by his profuseness, that not being able to furnish money for this war, he was forced to suffer the Welsh to plunder his borders.

In the interim, the pope, not yet contented with the vast sums he had drawn from England, pressed the king to send him money, threatening to revoke the grant of Sicily, if he did not speedily perform what he had promised. Henry excused his not being able to send troops to Italy, with an English general, because, far from being in a condition to defray this fresh expence, he could not yet accomplish the payment of the sums which the pope demanded of him. But nevertheless he remitted five thousand marks to the pope, and ordered prince Edward his son, who was to succeed him, to ratify his agreements relating to Sicily. In another letter which he wrote to him on this occasion, he acquainted him, that the barons of the realm refused to subscribe to the terms which had been exacted of him, thinking them somewhat unreasonable†, especially since the affairs of Sicily had taken a new turn by the treachery of the marquis of Hoemburch. As soon as the pope heard that the great men began to murmur, he thought it time to get all he could hope for from England, plainly forelee-

\* The unparalleled tyranny which the court of Rome exercised over the clergy of England, was of so strange a nature, that many would be apt to suspect the historians of invention, if an authentic proof could not be produced to substantiate them. The conclusion of one of the pope's bulls, directed to Rustand, was, "You shall take care to let the king know, that all this is our will and pleasure. Wherefore I set down

"in these presents, what each abbot and prior shall be bound to pay. The prior and monastery of Durham, five hundred marks; of Bath, four hundred; of Thorney, four hundred. &c.—Dated at Anagnia, the X of the calends of July, in the second year of our pontificate."

† These terms or agreements are to be seen at the end of tome I. of the Public Acts among those that were omitted.



ing that it would not last long. With this view he sent John de Die, as his nuncio into England, with several bulls, all tending to procure money of the king in order to pay the pope's pretended debts. By the first, he enjoined the bishops punctually to pay the tenths granted to the king, notwithstanding all letters, indulgences, or privileges whatsoever. In all appearance, the deduction, which they were before allowed to make, was rendered of no effect by this clause. Another bull granted to the king for his voyage to the Holy Land, from which he had already excused him, all the revenues of the vacant benefices. By a third, he gave him the incomes of such ecclesiastics, as resided not on their livings. A fourth, granted him the tenths of all the ecclesiastical revenues of the kingdom, according to their extended value, whereas they were wont to be rated according to the ancient taxes. A fifth, ordered Rustand to adjudge to the king the chattels of clergymen who died intestate. By a sixth, he commanded the same nuncio, to tax himself all the ecclesiastics of the kingdom, for the aid they were to give the king, notwithstanding all privileges granted by his predecessors, and all exemptions or objections whatever. A seventh, excommunicated all the prelates who should not pay their tenths within such a time. There were several others which it is needless to mention, seeing they all aimed at the same thing. The importunity of the creditors of Sienna and Florence was always made the pretence for these oppressions.

In the beginning of the year 1257, William, earl of Holland, and king of the Romans, was killed in a skirmish with the Frisians, and the electors of the empire were divided in chusing a new king of the Romans. Some, who were the majority, gave their votes for Richard, brother to the king of England, and the rest elected Alphonso, king of Castile. Richard, more diligent than his competitor, forthwith caused himself to be crowned at Aix la Chapelle, and kept up his right by his presence in Germany, whilst Alphonso acted only by ambassadors. Richard, however, had no other advantage over his rival, but that of being crowned; an honour which cost him vast sums. It is affirmed, that Richard carried over into Germany seven hundred thousand pounds sterling in ready money\*, an immense sum in those days, which joined to all those the pope had squeezed out of the nation, made a very great scarcity of money. The meaner sort of people were great sufferers by it, because, the harvest not having been very plentiful, they were not able to buy provisions, which were grown very dear†. But the king was unmoved at the distresses of his subjects, being infatuated with his Sicilian project, so that he pressed the clergy for a new subsidy, that of the last year not having even sufficed, as he assured them, to pay his debts. As he expected to meet with great opposition from the bishops, he brought to the assembly prince Edmund his son, dressed in a Sicilian habit, imagining, that charmed, like him, with the sight, they would not be able to help granting what

he demanded. This artifice would have been but of little force, had not the prelates been again awed by the nuncio, who constrained them by his threats, to grant the king forty-two thousand pounds sterling.

To the calamities under which England laboured during the course of this year, must be added the war with Wales, which was vigorously carried on by the Welsh; but very faintly on the part of England, Prince Edward, who had undertaken to chastise them, had retreated before them with some loss. The progress which they made daily, obliged the king to march against them; and upon his approach they retired to their mountains, after having themselves laid waste their borders, and by that means Henry halted, not caring to proceed any further. But when he imagined the Welsh at a distance and seized with fear, they took advantage of his negligence, and surprized him and his army; after which he returned to England.

Without considering the weak estate he was in, Henry sent ambassadors‡ to the king of France, to demand the restitution of Normandy, and the other provinces in France taken from the English. It is not known, what was his motive for renewing his claim in so proud and haughty a manner, since he was not in a condition to support this bravado. Lewis who had a greater insight into his affairs than he himself, forbore however to insult him, contenting himself with roughly denying a demand made so unseasonably.

Rustand the nuncio, who went to Rome for new instructions, returned suddenly to England, with a bull empowering him to excommunicate the king, if pursuant to his engagements, he did not speedily undertake the conquest of Sicily. Henry was not a little surprized at these menaces, and in order to satisfy the pope, caused Edmund his son humbly to intreat the pope, that he would be pleased to soften the terms on which he had accepted the grant of Sicily. This petition proving of no great effect, Henry appointed ambassadors to go to Rome and renounce, in the name of the prince his son, the grant of this imaginary crown which had already cost him so dear. But the pope was so far from being satisfied with this renunciation, that he sent a new nuncio, one Arlot, to whom he gave power to make some alteration in the articles relating to this affair; ordering him at the same time, to use his utmost endeavours to engage the king more and more, by procuring him some fresh grants from the clergy. With this view, he charged his nuncio to publish a bull, whereby the bishops were commanded to pay the tenths granted to the king, under pain of excommunication; "notwithstanding all objections, all appeals, and all letters ob-  
tained, or to be obtained, to the contrary §."

In the beginning of the year 1258, the barons began to hold secret conferences together, wherein they consulted about the proper expedients to reform the government, and especially to exclude the foreigners from the high offices they enjoyed. The king quickly furnished

\* M. Paris says he was so rich, as to be able to spend one hundred marks a day for ten years together.

† The author of Walter of Coventry's Julius says, provisions were so scarce, that he himself saw the people fighting for the carcases of dead dogs and other carrion, and to eat the wash that was set for the hogs. But M. Paris observes, that this was owing not so much to the scarcity of corn as to the want of money, corn having several times been dearer than it was now, and yet none died with hunger, as many did at this time.

‡ These were the bishops of Worcester and Winchester, the abbot of Westminster, the earl of Leicester, Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, lately made earl marshal; Peter, of Savoy; and Robert Waleran. It seems as if he did this on the account of the king of France's scruples.

§ Rapin speaking of this bull, says, "What is the more strange, and hardly conceivable, is, that the vast sums sent to the pope, not only had not promoted at all the conquest of Sicily, but also that not the least part of the money had been put to that use, since after the defeat at Nocera, the pope had no army on foot. Besides the tenths which the clergy had frequently paid, and the other subsidies granted the king on

this account, the parliament had furnished considerable aids; and yet there appeared no bottom to this gulph, which swallowed up all the riches of the kingdom. The clergy groaned to see themselves thus grievously oppressed. The people for their part murmured no less, when they considered, that so much money raised in England, and which, it is affirmed, amounted to above nine-hundred and fifty thousand marks, was not capable of satisfying the avarice of the pope, who still craved for more."

We may here observe also, that, notwithstanding Henry's distress for want of money, he was the first prince that ever coined gold in England. This year he ordered to be struck a piece of pure gold that weighed two sterlings, or silver pennies, and commanded that it should pass for twenty shillings; but this coin gave great offence to the citizens of London, who petitioned against it, probably on account of some deficiency in the weight; and Henry, unwilling to disoblige such a powerful body, published a proclamation to cry it down, desiring all those who had taken it in payment, to bring it to his exchange, where they should receive the current value, deducting one halfpenny for the coinage. Lib de Antiq. Legib. fol. 42.



them with an opportunity to put their designs in execution, by calling a parliament, of whom he demanded, according to custom, a powerful aid for the affair of Sicily, the voyage to the Holy Land being no longer the plea. The parliament, pursuant to the resolution which the principal barons had taken before among themselves, instead of granting his demand, grievously complained of the breach of his promises, and of all the grievances we have had occasion to mention in the course of this reign. Henry perceiving that the aid would not be granted, acknowledged himself guilty, and promised to reform what was amiss. But the barons were far from believing him; they told him, that they designed to reform the government themselves, so that they need not fear his breach of faith in future. Accordingly the parliament was prorogued, and Oxford appointed for the place where the next session was to be held. As he was apprehensive, that, in the mean time, the barons would make preparations to redress the grievances of the nation, he gave them a positive promise, that as soon as they should meet, he would join with them in redressing all abuses. He signed likewise a writing, whereby he consented that the articles to be reformed, should be drawn up by four and twenty lords, of whom he would chuse twelve, and promised to stand to whatever should be settled by these commissioners. To give the greater authority to this writing, he ordered prince Edward his son to sign it with him, that they might be convinced of his good intentions\*. They had been often deceived by the like promises, so that they could hardly give credence to him at this time. Therefore, the barons summoned all that owed them military service, and went to Oxford on the day appointed, well-

\* That the reader may form his own judgement on this writing, we shall here give the original words, as extracted from Rymer, vol. 1. p. 654, 655; and the more readily, as it seems to be a necessary supplement to the Great Charter itself:

"The KING to all, &c

"Know ye, that we have granted to the peers and great men of our kingdom, by an oath taken for our soul by Robert Waleran, that the state of our kingdom shall be ordered, ratified, and reformed, by twelve loyal persons chosen out of our council, and twelve others chosen on the part of our peers, who are to meet at Oxford one month after the feast of Pentecost to come next, according as shall seem to them most expedient, for the honour of God, for our service, and for the benefit of our kingdom.

"And if any of those who shall be chosen on our part should chance to be absent, they who are present have power to substitute others in room of the absent; and in like manner on the part of our peers and loyal subjects.

"And we will inviolably observe whatever shall be ordered by the said twenty-four, or the majority of them, duly elected and sworn, concerning the premises; being willing, and firmly commanding, that henceforth whatever they may order shall be faithfully observed by all their subjects.

"And whatever security they, or the greater part of them, shall think proper for the due observation of the premises, or shall provide for the same, we will duly and inviolably fulfil, and cause to be performed.

"We likewise declare, that our eldest son Edward, having taken his bodily oath, has by his letter granted, that all the above covenants he will, as far as lies in his power, inviolably observe, and cause to be observed for ever.

"The aforesaid earls and barons likewise promised, that the affairs above-mentioned being fulfilled, they will, with earnest zeal, labour to induce the community of our kingdom to give us a common supply."

The witnesses to this charter are, prince Edward, Galfrid de Lusignan, and William de Valence, the king's half-brothers; Peter, of Savoy; John de Plesley, earl of Warwick; John Mansel, treasurer of York; Henry de Wingham, dean of St. Martin's, in London; Peter de Rivall, Guy de Rocheford, Robert Waleran; and in presence of many others of our earls and barons: and is dated at Westminster, the 2d of May.

† The bishops of London and Westminster; Henry, son to the king of the Romans; John, earl of Warren; Guido de Lusignan, and William de Valence, the king's half-brothers; John, earl of Warwick; John Mansel, friar; J. de Derlington, abbot of Westminster; Henry de Wingham, dean of St. Martin's, London; the twelfth is omitted, but supposed to be either Peter of Savoy, or James Audley.

attended with armed men, and resolutely bent to compel the king to keep his word. The four and twenty commissioners, who were to draw up the articles of the intended reformation were first elected. The king chose twelve †, and the other twelve were elected by the barons ‡, who placed Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, president of this council. The commissioners drew up some articles, to which the parliament reserved to themselves a power to add, from time to time, such others as should be deemed necessary for the good of the state§.

This is the first time that the representatives of the commons were admitted to sit in parliament. Their number was twelve: they were not commoners, as now reputed, but all barons styled, immediate tenants in capite||. We the more readily assert, that this was the first time, because no historian from the time of the Conquest to the end of the reign of Henry III. who has mentioned parliaments, distinguishes the commons as making a distinct body, or separate house from the barons.

Thus we perceive that Henry, for his too great neglect of his subjects, found himself at last compelled to divide with them the government of his kingdom, or rather to give up the whole into their hands. Perhaps he would have avoided this misfortune, had he been less obsequious to the court of Rome, which certainly was the principal cause of his being reduced to this condition. But at that time, it was very difficult to keep in that respect a just medium. King John lost himself by too vigorously opposing the pope, and Henry by making himself a slave to him.

The articles agreed upon met at first with some opposition. The earl of Warren refused to sign them.

† The bishop of Worcester; the earls Simon, of Leicester; Richard, of Gloucester; Humphrey, of Hereford; Roger, of Norfolk, earl marshal; the lords, Roger Mortimer, John Fitz-Geoffrey, Hugh Bigod, Richard de Gray, William Bardolf, Peter de Montfort, and Hugh de Espenser. M. Paris.

§ The articles were in substance as follows:

I. That the king should confirm the Great Charter, which he had sworn so many times to observe without any effect.

II. That the office of chief justiciary should be given to a person of fit capacity and integrity, that would do justice as well to the poor as the rich, without distinction.

III. That the chancellor, treasurer, justices, and other officers and public ministers should be chosen by the four and twenty.

IV. That the custody of the king's castles and of a stronghold, should be left to the care of the four and twenty, who should entrust them with such as were well-affected to the state.

V. That it should be death for any person, of what degree or order soever, to oppose directly or indirectly, what should be enough by the four and twenty.

VI. That the parliament should meet three times every year, to make such statutes as shall be judged necessary for the welfare of the kingdom. The first meeting shall be eight days after Michaelmas; the second, on the morrow after Candlemas-day; and the third, on the 1st of June. In the Annals of Burton these articles are drawn up in form. The articles were called the STATUTES OR PROVISIONS OF OXFORD. They were approved by the parliament, and confirmed by the king and prince Edward.

|| In the same annals is the act for the Election of the Twelve, which was drawn up in French in this form. "Be it remembered that the community have chosen twelve wise men, who shall come to parliaments, as also at other times, when there shall be need, and the king or his council shall command or send to them, to treat of the business of the king and realm; and the community will hold for established what these twelve shall do; and this shall be done to spare the cost and charges of the community."

The names of the twelve are entered in the said annals thus: "These are the twelve who are chosen by the barons to treat in the three parliaments every year with the king's council, for the whole community of the land, upon the common business, namely, the bishop of London, the earl of Winchester, the earl of Hereford, Philip Basset, John de Baliol, John de Verdon, John de Gray, Roger de Sumens, Roger de Montalt, Hugh de Espenser, Thomas de Grelley, and Ægidius de Argentun." Ann. Burt. p. 415.



Prince Edward, who had sworn to them against his will, wanted to go from them. Henry, son to the king of the Romans, openly protested, that they were of no force, till the king his father, who was then in Germany, had consented to them. On account of this protestation the earl of Leicester, without regarding the quality of the speaker, told him, that "if the king his father refused to join with the barons, in the regulation just made, he should not enjoy one foot of land in England." The greatest opposition, however, was from the foreigners, and especially the king's half-brothers, and the queen's relations, particularly William, bishop elect of Valence, who was chiefly concerned in this affair, because the whole royal authority which they had taken care to reduce within narrow bounds by these statutes, was properly in his hands. He publicly declared, "He would not deliver up the castles of which he had the custody." But the earl of Leicester, who was naturally of an impetuous temper, immediately replied, that "he should part either with the castles or his head." This threat having been backed by the rest of the barons, the Poitevins resolved to shut themselves up in Winchester, plainly seeing they were not able to stand against the torrent. Their departure\* was no sooner known, but the barons mounted their horses and pursued them, but could not overtake them. At such a juncture, it was a hard matter for the foreigners to procure a protection powerful enough to screen them from the resentment of the barons; so that they consented to depart the kingdom, provided they might have a safe-conduct. This being complied with, they were brought to London, and in a few days after they embarked at Dover, in order to return into their own country. The barons being thus rid of the foreigners, agreed, before they broke up upon an oath of association, whereby they obliged themselves to stand by the Provisions of Oxford with their lives and fortunes†.

In July, the parliament assembled at Winchester,

when the barons resolved to send deputies to the city of London, to invite them to join in their association; whereupon the Londoners readily assented, they having had more reason to complain of the king's harsh treatment than all the rest of the kingdom. This affair being ended, the parliament judged it necessary to proceed in a legal way against the foreigners, who had been expelled the kingdom, and therefore passed an act for their perpetual banishment. In the mean time, as Athelmar, bishop of Winchester was in the number of the banished, it was necessary to make some excuse to the pope, as the bishops were not subject to the civil jurisdiction. It was also necessary to justify to the pope, the conduct of the parliament, as well with regard to the affair of Sicily, as to the alterations lately made in the government of the kingdom. The barons therefore resolved, to inform him of what had passed‡. But the pope was not satisfied with the reasons they gave; his inclination was still to draw money from the king, on the old pretence of the affair of Sicily; but what the barons had done, laid an insurmountable obstacle in the way of his designs. Not caring to thwart them, he delayed sending an answer, and contented himself with privately assuring the king of his protection; but pressing him at the same time, to pay the arrears due to the Italian merchants, of which he pretended, that the interest alone amounted to a vast sum. His holiness, to make his lenity appear the greater, allowed the king a short time, which was no sooner expired, than the bishop of London received an express order, to excommunicate all the debtors of the Italian merchants of what quality soever. But the times were now altered, and his orders were no longer countenanced by the government, so that they remained unexecuted. For the same reason, the conquest of the kingdom of Sicily was now looked upon as a chimerical project, which only tended to the ruin of England.

The king, from an absolute monarch, now found himself constrained to assent to every thing the governors were pleased to prescribe him, and to sign all the

\* They stole away privately while the barons were at dinner, in order to take refuge with their brother the bishop of Winchester. M. Paris.

† The oaths agreed upon were as follow:

This the community of England did swear at Oxford:

"We, such and such, make it known to all people, that we have sworn upon the holy Gospels, and that we are obliged or bound together by that oath, and we promise in good faith, that every one of us, and all together, shall aid one another; and that we will do right to ourselves and ours, against all men, taking nothing therefore, which can be so done without misdoing, saving the faith we owe to the king and the crown. And we promise, upon the same oath, that we will not take any thing from one another, either land or moveable (goods), whereby this oath may be disturbed, or any ways impaired; and if any man shall do contrary hereunto, we will hold him for our mortal enemy."

This is the oath of twenty-four:

"Every one swore upon the holy Gospels, that, to the honour of God, and by keeping their faith to the king, and to the profit of the realm, he would ordain and treat with those that had sworn before (that is, the community) about the reformation and amendment of the state of the kingdom: and that he would not desist from that work for any gift, promise, love, or hate, nor for the power of any man, nor for the gain or loss; but that he would loyally (that is, faithfully and justly) do according to the tenor of the king's letter which he had granted and also made."

This the high-justice of England did or shall swear:

"He swears, or swore, that well and loyally, to his power, he would do what appertained to his office of justice, and do right to all men, to the advantage and good of the king and kingdom; according to the Provisions made, and to be made, of the twenty-four, and of the council of the king and the great men of the land, who had sworn to aid and maintain him in these things."

This the chancellor of England did swear:

"That he should seal no writs without the command of the king and his council, that shall be present, except writs of course; nor should seal the gifts or grant of a great ward or great—, or of escheats, without the assent of the great council, or the greater part of them; nor that he should seal any thing, contrary to the ordinances then made, or to be

made, by the twenty-four, or the greater part of them, nor that he should take any reward, but what had been given to others; and that if he took to him an assistant or deputy, it should be according to a form prescribed by the council."—Ann. Burton. p. 413, 415, 435.

‡ According to Rapon, the substance of their letter was, "That they had been prevented, for several good reasons, from yielding to the instances made them in his name, on the score of the conquest of Sicily. First, because the king had engaged in that undertaking, without consulting them, and without considering the state of the kingdom, which was by no means able to bear the expence of such an expedition. Secondly, because the conditions on which the king had accepted the grant of Sicily, for the prince his son, were too hard and impracticable. Nevertheless, that if the pope would mitigate them, they were ready to prosecute that affair to the utmost of their power. Then, they vindicated the Oxford Provisions, by alledging the King's incapacity and his easiness to give himself up to the guidance of such as had no manner of concern for the good of the kingdom: they insisted chiefly upon this, making it appear by strong reasons that it was not proper the kingdom should be governed by foreigners. They mentioned the bishop of Winchester in particular, as the principal author of the evils England laboured under. They affirmed, that this prelate had been guilty of divers enormous crimes, which had induced him to demand leave to depart the kingdom, being very sensible that it would not be possible for him to render a good account of his actions; more especially they accused him of having advised the king to break his word and oath, the which could not but be construed as a settled design to disturb the peace of the kingdom. In fine, they added, that they would never suffer him to return again, and supposing they should agree to it, the people were bent to oppose it. To give the greater weight to their apology, they sent their letter to the pope by the hands of some of their own body, who were commissioned to display more fully the outrages of the bishop of Winchester and the rest of the relations of the king and queen." To this letter eleven great men put their seals, and witnessed it in the name of the whole community. Eight of them were of the number of the four and twenty, and the other three were William de Forz, earl of Albermarle; Peter of Savoy, earl of Richmond; and James Audley.



orders that were brought him for the causing the statutes, which deprived him of all his prerogatives, to be observed. Though the earl of Leicester was his brother-in-law, yet he looked upon him as his greatest enemy, and as the chief author of his disgrace. The constraint he was under did not hinder him from letting the earl himself know what he thought of him. One day as he was going to the Tower by water, a sudden storm of thunder and lightning having obliged him to land at the first stairs, which was at Durham-house, where the earl of Leicester then lay, he was received at his coming out of the boat by the earl himself, who told him, "He need not be afraid, for the storm was over." "No, Montfort," replied the king, with a severe look, "by God's head the storm is not yet over; and I see none that I fear so much as I do thee." And it was not without reason that the king stood in fear of the earl of Leicester. This earl, who was the head of the confederates, took with them all possible measures to hinder him from throwing off the yoke his indiscretion had laid upon his neck. The resolution they had taken to hold fast their authority, manifestly appeared in their answer to the king of the Romans. This prince having communicated to them by letter his design of returning to England, to assist them in appeasing the troubles of the kingdom, received for answer: "That they would not suffer him to enter the kingdom, unless he would swear to observe the Oxford Provisions." Richard received the deputies which were sent on this occasion, in a very haughty manner, telling them, "That it was strange to him, that the barons should take upon them to alter the government in his absence, and without his knowledge, and protested that he would not take the oath, they would extort from him, but, however, he was resolved to return to England." This answer being brought back to the governors, they fitted out a fleet and raised an army, in order to dispute his passage and landing. But the prince finding they were resolute, and knowing he was in no condition to surmount so many obstacles, he promised to agree to what had been done. Upon this condition, he was suffered to come over, as soon as he was arrived at Dover, he took the oath in the presence of the king and a great number of barons who went to meet him\*.

This year, the barons fearing that the king of France would take advantage of the ill state England was in, to push his conquests in Guienne, they therefore resolved to conclude a firm peace with France, by making him a sacrifice of all the claims which the king had to Normandy and Anjou. The earl of Leicester was sent into France to propose the matter to Lewis, who perceiving the offers were advantageous, concluded a treaty with him, which Henry was obliged to sign. He was even persuaded to meet Lewis at Abbeville, where the states of France were assembled, and to quit in their presence, all his pretensions to Normandy and Anjou. Lewis, in return, gave up the Limousin, and Perigord, with all that France possessed beyond the Garonne, on condition he would do him homage, and take his seat among the peers of the realm, as duke of Guienne. Thus by a treaty, France acquired to these two provinces, a right which she had not before, but by force of arms. But the kings of England, successors to Henry III. did not think themselves bound by a treaty made at such a juncture.

During the king's stay in France, the four and twenty who governed England, thought fit to reform a very great grievance, which had been introduced by the king's excessive complaisance for the court of Rome; this was the vast number of Italian ecclesiastics, who were in possession of all the best preferments in the kingdom.

These men, without residing on their benefices, farmed them out to private persons or religious houses, who sent the revenues to Italy. By this means, the want of money daily increased. As a remedy to this evil, the governors issued out a proclamation enjoining all that farmed the benefices of foreigners, to pay the revenues into the hands of certain persons who were appointed to receive them, on pain to the offenders, of seeing their houses razed to the ground; so that England was freed, for a time, from these Italian ecclesiastics.

According to Matthew Paris, the earl of Leicester usurped all the authority committed to the four and twenty; which raised the jealousy of his colleagues, particularly the earl of Gloucester, who endeavoured to form a party against him. He accused him of being in league with prince Edward, with a view to place that prince on the throne in his father's life-time. The king, who was then at St. Omers, became acquainted with this pretended project, and was so terrified, that he would not return to England, till he received a letter from Edward, which was couched in such submissive terms, that he entirely removed all suspicion in the king his father. He even offered to submit to the judgement of the king of the Romans his uncle, being unwilling to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the barons of the realm, whom he did not look upon as his peers. But he had no farther occasion to prove his innocence.—Henry, at his return, seemed perfectly well satisfied of it. The Earl of Gloucester finding these indirect ways did him more hurt than good, directly attacked the earl of Leicester, accusing him of many misdemeanors committed as well in Guienne as in England. Upon this foundation, he demanded that a day should be fixed to hear the accusation he had to produce against him: but on the day appointed, the earl of Leicester boldly appeared to make his defence, which so intimidated the earl of Gloucester, that he dared not proceed. Accordingly, pretending some of the witnesses were absent, he desired the affair might be farther adjourned. This disagreement was, however, happily made up by the interference of the king of the Romans, who soon after set out for Germany, where he had some hopes of being owned for emperor by all the princes of the empire; but perceiving it was not in his power to dispel the factions which the Germans were divided into, he dropped this project, and returned to England, where he found the king and queen of Scotland on a visit to the king. A few days after arrived also John de Dreux, duke of Bretagne, in order to espouse Beatrice, the king's second daughter, so that the court was very numerous. Although the governors had no great regard for the king's person, they did honour to his royalty, by received these illustrious guests in very magnificent manner.

The king now sought the means to throw off the yoke of the barons. With this view he demanded of the pope, absolution from the oath he had taken concerning the Oxford Provisions. His holiness readily granted him this favour; but dying before the dispensation could be sealed, he was forced to stay till the holy see was filled again. Urban IV. who was promoted to the papal throne, being as compliant as his predecessor, Henry was not long before he pulled off the mask. He summoned a parliament, which assembled at London in February 1261, when he suddenly repaired thither without acquainting any person with his design, and declared, that before he was made to sign the Oxford Provisions, they had obliged themselves to pay his debts, and increase his revenue, and since neither of these articles had been performed, he did not look upon himself as bound to observe them. He added, that his

\* King Henry met him at Canterbury, and both kings going into the chapter-house, Richard earl of Gloucester, called upon the king of the Romans, by the name of Richard earl of Cornwall, (without any regard to his other title,) to take the oath, which ye did in these words: "Here ye, all people, that I Richard earl of Cornwall, do here swear upon the Holy

"Gospels, that I will be faithful and diligent, together with you the barons, to reform the kingdom of England, hitherto too much out of order by the counsel of evil men; and I will be your effectual helper to expel all rebels and disturbers of this kingdom, and will observe this oath inviolably, under pain of losing all the lands I hold in England." M. Paris.



intention was no longer to make use of the counsellors which were imposed upon him, and who treated him rather like a slave than a king. After he had thus declared his mind in a few words, he retired to the Tower, the governor whereof he gained to his side, and seized upon all the money he found there. After this, he issued a proclamation, whereby all the officers and magistrates chosen by the four and twenty, were ejected from their posts, and others were nominated in their room. In short, he shewed by his whole conduct, that he was resolved to reign in the same independent manner, which he had done before the passing of the Oxford Provisions.

Prince Edward, who was then at Paris\*, having received notice of what had passed in England, speedily returned thither, hoping to apply some remedy to the evils, which appeared to be breaking out. He was well enough acquainted with the king his father's temper, to have reason to fear, that he had taken this step, without having concerted proper measures; and his fears in this respect were not without grounds. The barons waited his return with impatience, as they were assured, that having a greater insight into things than the king, he would apply himself warmly to prevent the calamities impending on the kingdom. To prepare the way for him, they had presented an address to the king, wherein they desired him to observe his oath, offering, on their part, to give up such articles as should be found to bear too hard upon him in the Oxford Provisions. Henry, pretending nothing could be done till his son's arrival, had returned no answer to this proposal, which by no means agreed with his projects. He was no less impatient than the barons, to see the prince, in hopes that he would strengthen his party; but he was extremely surprized, when he found that the prince at his return, openly blamed him for having broke his word. He was greatly chagrined at this, which was followed by a still more fatal blow, the union of the earls of Leicester and Gloucester, upon whose dissention the king relied. These two earls became fully reconciled to each other, in order to divert the common ruin, and swore once more to abide by the Oxford Provisions. The barons party being considerably strengthened by this union, they desired the king to remove from about his person all evil counsellors, or they would compel him to do it. This weak prince, who had rashly engaged in a business, in which he saw he could not come off honourably, chose to return them no answer. In the mean time he kept himself shut up in the Tower, from whence he durst not venture, through fear of being delivered into their hands. In this ill posture of affairs, he saw no other course to take, but to treat of an accommodation with the barons. He perceived that his condition would be worse, if he persisted in prosecuting his design. Matters even seemed to be in a good way by the concessions of both parties; but this project lasted not long. Henry thinking to make his cause better, by means of the pope's authority, made the breach wider, by unadvisedly shewing the bull whereby he was absolved from his oath. The discovery of this secret, did him an irreparable damage. The barons, who till then were in hopes they should be able to bring him to equitable terms, resolved to keep no longer any measures with a king, who on all occasions, procured a sanction from the pope to cover his villainies. They plainly saw they could have no dependance upon an accommodation, to which the most solemn oath could give no manner of

force. Pursuant to this resolution, they formed the design of surprizing the king in Winchester, whither he had retired in expectation, that the negotiation on foot would have a good issue; but Henry by some means received intelligence of their design, and returned again to the Tower. Finding himself in a place of safety, he sent orders into all the counties, to turn out the sheriffs appointed by the four and twenty; which produced a general confusion over the whole kingdom. Some were willing to obey the sheriffs nominated by the king, whilst others refused to acknowledge them†. In the mean time, the barons continuing to take measures to oppose the king's designs, had prevailed with the governors of the cinque-ports to fit out a fleet to guard the coasts, lest he should receive any succours from some foreign prince. The cinque-ports were obliged by their charter, to equip fifty men of war whenever the king's service required it.

A civil war now seemed to be unavoidable; but the fear that the adherents to both parties were in of making their condition worse, suspended the effects of the animosity which they mutually bore one another. Whilst the king and the barons were equally desirous of avoiding the blame of having begun the war, the king of the Romans took the advantage of this disposition, in order to endeavour to procure a lasting peace. His mediation in 1262, was accepted, and he persuaded the king his brother to promise, that he would confirm the Oxford Provisions, and the barons to yield up such articles as were most displeasing to the king‡. The earl of Leicester refused to consent to this accommodation, and chose rather to retire into France. He declared that he could not rely on the word of a prince, who made no scruple to break his oath, when he found his interest concerned. Among the barons who signed this agreement, there were several that were no less dissatisfied with it; but as the majority had given their consent, they chose rather to join with them, than appear to be the cause of the troubles. By this treaty, England seemed to be restored to its former tranquillity; but the fire, which lay concealed among the embers, soon re-kindled and burst out into a violent flame.

The affairs of Guienne required Henry's attendance in that country; so that he sailed from England, and arrived at Bourdeaux, where falling ill of a quartan ague, he staid longer than he designed. Richard, earl of Gloucester, dying in the mean while, Gilbert his son immediately repaired to Guienne, to be invested with the inheritance of the earl his father. Henry having no kindness for that lord, was solicited a great while before he would do him that justice. And it was not till after he received a considerable present, that he sent him away satisfied. The absence of the king furnished Leicester's friends with an opportunity to renew their cabals, and to unite the party which the late treaty had divided. This they found an easy matter, since the king had delayed to confirm the Oxford Provisions. As soon as the earl of Leicester was informed that the party began to strengthen, he returned into England, where his presence entirely restored the courage of those who, through fear or weakness, had signed the agreement. The king hearing of these transactions, came over in great haste: but it was now too late; the barons had resolved to put themselves in a condition, not to fear any thing from his inconstancy. Immediately after his return, they presented, in 1263, an address to him,

"proclaim in all places," &c. &c. &c.

† Our historians have left us in the dark as to the particular articles of the Oxford Provisions, which were to be confirmed or cancelled by this agreement; but we are told by two ancient MSS. one in Bennet's College library, in Cambridge, and the other in the Bodleian collection, that those statutes chiefly related to the suits of court, and distresses made by tenants *in capite*, and other lords of the manor, upon the under tenants; which being very much for the benefit both of the lords and tenants, were, some years after, again confirmed by the king, and inserted, word for word, in the Statutes of Marlborough, which see in a note under the year 1268.

\* He was gone thither in company with the earl of Bretagne's son, and the two sons of the earl of Leicester, whom the king had knighted, to be present at a great tournament. T. Wykes.

† The writs or letters issued out by the king on this occasion are upon record, and printed in Dr. Brady's Appendix, N. 205. The substance of them was: "That the barons not having performed their part of the Oxford Provisions, he had got himself absolved by the pope from his oath to observe them. That he was ready to do justice to all men in his courts, and to keep the articles of the Great Charter and Charter of Forests, which the sheriffs were ordered to